

## The Politician.

### BRITISH PRESS.

From the London Times.

#### THE RUSSIAN SNAKE SCOTCHED—NOT KILLED.

Russia, though with a new Emperor and fresh opportunities, seems far from disposed to enter the path of reform. The obstinate and sullen spirit still lives—humiliations are, it would appear, almost already forgotten, and both Czar and people are as ready as ever to play the old game of pride, violence, and cunning, which was successful for more than 150 years. But we cannot think that at the present time such a display will be successful. Common prudence would advise a more gradual and less demonstrative return to the assumptions and menaces of former days. It is but a few months since Russia accepted the terms of peace proposed through Austrian mediation. At that time we were told daily by the Russian press in Europe of the sincerity and moderation of the Czar. To believe certain prints and certain politicians, Russia was a land of good faith, and her unambitious people were lost in astonishment at the designs imputed to them by the misguided Cabinets of the west. About last February, when the Representatives of Europe were to meet in Paris, the tone of every Russian organ was most magniloquent and high-minded. Peace, good-will to all men, popular instruction, railways, canals, improved agriculture, free-trade, were in the heart of every Russian. A smile of good-humoured pity was the answer to those who hinted that Muscovite policy might still remain unchanged, and that it would be as well to take guarantees while we were still strong, united, and in earnest. All this lasted until peace was made, and Russia obtained conditions with which she had no reason to be dissatisfied. Now, however, all is changed. Cronstadt is no longer threatened; Poland is for ever abandoned by the West, and will be fully Russianized before war again visits Europe; Bessarabia, with the exception of a narrow strip, is preserved; the Caucasus still remains a Russian possession. The Czar is about to be crowned with much splendour, and all Europe is flocking to the sight. Russia is again taking her stand as a great Power, and is no longer a vast prison, with a Sovereign, nobility, and people placed under the ban of the world. Hence the old, inveterate obstinacy revives; the old cunning is once more to be tried, to discover if it can, as of yore, command success.

There can be no doubt of the unwillingness of Russia to cede quietly and honourably what has become by treaty the property of the Ottoman State. We shall, perhaps, have it explained with many details that the difficulties we all complain of were unavoidable; that the destruction of Kars and the Danubian forts was strictly legal, and that the occupation of Serpents Island was only some transaction connected with the lighthouse. But facts still remain on record. It is certain that the conduct of the Russians has induced England again to occupy the Black Sea. The Hannibal has been sent to Serpents Island, and sufficient intimation has been given that in the opinion of the allies something like a breach of faith has taken place. Compare the conduct of France and England with that of their late enemy. The allies had more than 250,000 men in the East. They had prepared, far from their own country, immense stores of food, clothing, and warlike material, in expectation of long hostilities. Every man and horse and gun had to be brought away by sea, at a time when transport was scarce and dear. Yet in four months, two-thirds of the time allowed, not only the Crimea but Turkey itself has been cleared of the allied troops. We learn from Constantinople to-day that after the departure of a flotilla then about to sail scarcely a thousand Frenchmen would be left in Turkey. Our own naval and military establishments have been broken up, and soon Scutari will retain no traces of us except the graves of the dead and the monument which commemorates them. This promptness, so honourable to both nations, has not been imitated by Russia. Although Kars is but some 30 miles from her own frontier, and held but a few thousand men, she is there still, destroying works, cutting down forests, refusing English officers the right of visiting the spot, and, during her little term of power, playing the despot after the fashion of Warsaw or Tiflis. The same is the case at the mouth of the Danube. Russian troops are still there, and will remain until the latest day allowed by treaty, with perhaps the desperate hope that something will happen to enable them to refuse the cession altogether. The part of Bessarabia which is to be added to the Principality is still in Russian hands, and the Czar raises doubts on the topography, and would, as far as may be judged from appearances, gladly evade the condition which for the first time causes his frontier to recede.

We do not certainly think that any practical result will follow from these litigious and undignified displays. The other Powers are far too much in earnest to allow any trifling in matters of such importance. It will be observed that Austria, who perhaps knows his neighbour better than we do, has not yet evacuated the principalities, although she ought to have some time since. She is, no doubt, waiting until Russia shall have performed her part of the engagement. That when the end of the six months comes we shall see the Russians

unwillingly depart is certain enough. We may in future times have to watch their designs for the recovery of their former territory, but that they will acquiesce for the present we know, because we have the power to enforce it. But the spirit of the court of St. Petersburg is not the less apparent. It can hardly be to impose on civilized nations that the Russian Sovereign makes this display of impotent obstinacy. Indeed, the impression it must leave on Europeans is rather that Russia is weaker and more sorely wounded than was thought.—To see her lingering at the spots she must leave, and performing acts of paltry tyranny to the last, cannot raise her in the eyes of German or Italian. But it may be that on some ignorant and confiding races the spectacle of her armed occupation after the allies have left the East, may have an influence. If she holds Kars after France and England have withdrawn their armies from Constantinople, the fact may be explained consistently with Russian interests among nations to whom Russia alone speaks. Nevertheless, in the end such subtleties can be of little avail, and the conduct of Russia, by destroying any nascent feeling of confidence among the Western nations, will bring on her evils far overbalancing any advantages which dilatory evacuation can procure.

From the London Weekly Times.

#### THE FOREIGN POLICY OF ENGLAND.

The indifference of the English people to foreign politics is proverbial, and yet there is scarcely a nation on the globe which has a stronger interest in foreign questions. It is a saying, as much in favour as it is true, that the sun never sets on the dominions of Queen Victoria. At the Antipodes states are growing up, now British colonies, but destined to become great empires in the revolutions of time. There is not a sea in which we have not some interest to protect, and everywhere we have frontiers divided only by a geographical line from barbarous tribes or aggressive monarchies. In the four quarters of the world we have possessions envied by other Powers, and which we may at any moment be called upon to defend. Few Englishmen know even the names of the territories and islands which own British sway. We believe that the Russian war added largely to our knowledge of the geography of eastern and northern Europe, as the dispute with the United States, on the Central American question, first attracted our serious attention to the little republics which occupy the narrow isthmus that divides the Atlantic from the Pacific. The Crimea was but a name, and Sebastopol was scarcely better known than the Island of Serpents before the peninsula was invaded and the fortress invested. Sweaborg, Helsingfors, and Cronstadt, so far as we were concerned belonged to mythical geography until the allied fleets took maritime possession of the Baltic. The encroachment of Russia on Sweden and Norway remained unknown or unnoticed until our eyes were opened by the war. We never heard of Rumania until the Government of the United States disputed our right to occupy that island; and Honduras, Nicaragua, Guatemala, or Costa Rica, to say nothing of the Mosquito coast, had no more real existence in our political ideas than Robinson Crusoe's island before Walker and his Filibusters began their war of annexation. We have cited remote examples, but the rule will apply nearer home. We have looked on while Poland has been crushed by the weight of Russian power Hungary has fallen before Russian intervention and while Italy has been tortured under the military occupation of Austria; and we have said, or our statesmen have said for us, that the extinction of European liberty was nothing to us. We are reproached on the Continent with the insularity of our ideas, and our conduct gives currency to the imputation. We are divided by the sea from the continent of Europe, and we act in most matters as if there were a moral division corresponding to the physical. As a people we do not trouble ourselves with foreign affairs, but leave them to be conducted by secret diplomacy, and the will of the governing classes. It results from this that we have no popular alliances, and that our Government responsible at home, are practically irresponsible abroad. The time has arrived when it behoves us to consider whether this state of things is conducive to our interests and our security. Great changes have taken place in the last half century. The development given to industry, the discoveries of science, and the progress of mechanical invention, while they have added immeasurably to our wealth and resources, have tended also to lessen the defensive value of our insular position.—Commercially we have entered more closely into union with all the nations of the earth, and the advance of steam navigation has, to a large extent, assimilated our frontier to those of the military powers of Europe. We have always claimed a potential voice in continental affairs, and we are every day coming nearer to the position of a continental Power. No boundary can be set up against thought, or the advance of ideas, and however confident we may be in the stability of our constitutional liberties, we cannot afford to be indifferent to the principles which obtain in the ruling States of the world. Two rival Powers now stand face to face in Europe, and none can tell how soon they will enter into active conflict. On one side is absolutism commands the armies, and rests upon bayonets, while on the other side are intelligence and the popular aspirations. At the present moment absolutism is in the ascendant, and the people are quiescent or crushed. A careless or unobservant spectator might easily suppose that the nations were content and happy under paternal despotism, but the Govern-

ments know better. The very activity and cruelty of repression show the consciousness of the ruling powers that revolt is imminent. Europe is governed under a system of terror, and the fears of the monarchs prove the strength of the revolutionary power that lies under the surface of society. The existing system cannot last, or one or other of the conflicting forces must be subdued or destroyed. All our feelings and our sympathies are on the side of civilization, humanity, legality, and progress, but we must make our wishes subordinate to our judgment. We cannot shut our eyes to the fact that a great absolutist conspiracy spreads its influence from Paris to St. Petersburg, and that the small constitutional States, such as Sardinia and Belgium, stand in great peril. The recent events in Spain are indicative of the march of imperialism, and if the *coup d'etat* of Queen Isabella prove successful, we may see it reproduced on other scenes. The Emperors affect to be alarmed at the "dissemination of subversive doctrines," and they have abundance of ugly names to apply to every aspiration after rational liberty. In virtue of these names they find excuses for proclaiming martial law, and for shooting, hanging, transporting, or imprisoning all who venture to question the imperial will. They have not yet succeeded in reducing all Europe to a dead level of slavery, but that is the object at which they aim. Let us suppose their object accomplished, in universal priestly domination and political seclusion could we hope to escape entirely free from the pestilential infection? It is true that in days gone by the people of England conquered and kept their liberties, even though they brought a treacherous king to the scaffold, while the rest of Europe pined under the shade of divine right, and they still have guarantees that could not be easily destroyed. But they have been told by a Prince near the throne, that constitutional government, after having endured for centuries, was on its trial in this country, and it is not possible to tell how far German ideas may be pushed in the presence of European slavery. When Kossuth first arrived amongst us, he was ridiculed for preaching what he called "solidarity of the peoples. The union of nationalities which he sought to establish under that title may be impracticable, but none who desire peace and good will amongst men, can deny that it would be desirable. We see a solidarity of despots to oppress the peoples, and when the conspiracy seems approaching success it is time for Englishmen to look to their foreign policy. We do not advocate a revolutionary propagandism, but we desire that the sentiments of the English people should be represented in their diplomacy. If they value their own liberties they must insist that their Government shall not become accomplices with the despots who are united to trample out every spark of freedom wherever their power extends.

The late war excited hopes amongst the oppressed nations of Europe which resulted in bitter disappointment. Before and after 1848 Russia was justly regarded as the protector of despotic governments. The Czar was united by family alliance to nearly all the princes of Germany. The King of Prussia willingly admitted his suzerainty the Emperor of Austria was bound to him by ties of gratitude for a throne preserved in the Hungarian war, and the generals and statesmen of Germany were purchased with stars and decorations or more vulgar gold. When the Western Powers took up arms against Russia in the name of liberty, it was expected that the defeat of the champion of despotism would lead to the emancipation of its victims. We need not follow the course of the war, or dwell on the terms of the peace.—The Czar held out until he saw the prospect of a campaign in Poland. Austria an insincere ally, and a treacherous friend, was permitted to arrange, almost to dictate the terms of the peace. France, represented by her Emperor, exhibited an eager desire to bring the war to a close, which was scarcely worthy of a great nation. England hesitated, and only accepted peace in deference to the determination of her powerful ally. Poland, Hungary, and Italy saw their newly awakened hopes utterly destroyed. It was clear to the world that peace was made in the interest of the despotic Sovereigns, who dreaded a war of principles. A contest in which the holiest names were evoked to stimulate the combatants was closed by a diplomatic compromise. Count Cavour in the memorial which he presented to the Congress of Paris, on the part of Sardinia, pointed out the consequences which are now in process of development. He argued that Austria could not or would not, adhere to an alliance based on liberal ideas, and he predicted that, as soon as peace should be concluded, assimilation of principles would draw Austria and Russia together. He might have added the French Empire.—And now, within a few months of the conclusion of peace, the three Emperors are sinking personal jealousies in a union against the freedom of Europe. It is no longer Russia playing the part of arbiter, but a coalition of Sovereigns for the purpose of uprooting constitutional government. The first move has been made in Spain, and while O'Donnell massacres the people in the streets of Madrid and Barcelona, Napoleon III. collects an army on the Spanish frontier; simultaneously the Emperor of Austria strengthens his forces in Italy, occupies Parma, and threatens Sardinia, while a gentle pressure is put by all the great European powers, except England, on the Government of Belgium, unwilling to put restrictions on the press. The British Government look on unmoved, as if Great Britain had no concern in the destinies of the people of Europe. We will not say that nothing has been done in the

way of remonstrance; but words have little weight, when it is known that they will not be supported by acts. Even the petty tyrant of Naples derides with impunity the representations of England.

It is not impossible that events may quickly test the sincerity and the resolution of our Government. At the Conferences of Paris Lord Clarendon openly proclaimed his horror of the cruelties perpetrated by the King of Naples, and declared his opinion that the royal monster had pushed his atrocities to the point which would justify interference in the name of outraged humanity. Since then we have heard that remonstrances were addressed to Bombs by the English and French Governments, and that they were replied to by fresh excesses of cruelty. It was stated in Parliament by Lord Palmerston and Lord Clarendon that the government of Austria was about to make representations, which they hoped would be more successful than their own. Whether Austria interfered or not, we are not in a position to state, although we have our doubts. The last intelligence from Naples is to the effect that the discontent which previously prevailed in all classes of society had spread to the army, and that news of a revolution might be expected from day to day. The catastrophe may have arrived as we write, and we may have the satisfaction, when this sheet issues from the press, of announcing the expulsion of the Bourbon from Naples. We are assured by correspondents that the Austrian Government has warned the King of Naples that it would not give him any military assistance, and that the note in which the intimation was conveyed had been communicated to the representatives of England and France. We entertain a profound disbelief of the sincerity of Austria and we think it more than probable that the public note was contradicted by private and confidential promises. The King of Naples has pursued his oppressive policy in a manner which shows on his part a sense of security. Now, it may be that our Government cannot interfere to help a revolution against the Neapolitan tyrant, notwithstanding the declarations of Lord Clarendon, made to the representatives of all the European Governments; but they are bound by every consideration of honor and sound policy to prevent the intervention of Austria in favour of the King. A revolution in Naples will no doubt, be calculated to kindle a flame from one end of the Italian peninsula to the other, and Austria will be disposed to employ her vast military forces for the purpose of extinguishing the conflagration before it spreads. It is in view of such a contingency that we urge the people of England to remember that they have an interest in the foreign policy of their government, and that they will be false to themselves if they do not insist that the whole force of this kingdom shall be employed to prevent the crushing of popular liberty at Naples, or elsewhere, by the interference of a foreign military force.

#### THE RIGHT MAN AT LAST.

If there were health in a multitude of medical systems as there is said to be wisdom in a multitude of counsellors, sickness would be unknown in this age so called pathological discoveries. The homeopaths tell us that the salvation of our lives in sickness depends upon infinitesimal doses and infinite dilution; the hydropaths profess to raise health upon us from shower baths, or seek disease out of us with wet blankets; while a still newer set of exclusives propose burying us up to the armpits in earth—putting both feet in the grave as it were, by way of saving our lives! Then, we have Sangrodes, who are all for bleeding, blistering, and low diet; and mineralists, who believe in nothing but mercury and its oxides. It happens, unfortunately, however, for all these theorists that they can show no practical proof of the assumed infallibility of their methods of cure. Not so Professor Holloway, who has really inaugurated a new era in the history of the healing art, and whose medicines for the last twenty years have annually rescued tens of thousands from impending death. This is no assumption, but a fact verified by the unimpeached evidence of a choice of witnesses. The archives of his central offices in London and New York, contain more than half a million of manuscript certificates authenticated in the strongest manner, and beyond the possibility of doubt, the infallibility of his Pills and Ointment in nineteen-twentieths of the maladies to which man is subject. Great Britain, the Continent of Europe, India, China, Australia, the United States, the West Indies, British America, every civilized land, and every country to which the pioneers of civilization, commercial and religious, have found their way, ring with the fame of these all-conquering remedies. There is no written language in which he cannot produce testimonials of their efficacy, no printed one in which they are not advertised and recommended.—Such is the demand for them in all parts of the world that may be justly called a great commercial staple, and the number of agencies for their sale amounts to tens of thousands!

Professor Holloway, whose comprehensive mind is the motive of principle of this immense system of popular dispensaries is now in this country. His manufactory for the Continent is at 80 Maiden Lane, New York, and there is no newspaper in the union that has not endorsed his preparations; no city or town within the same limits, where they are not known and appreciated. These facts speak for themselves, and clearly show, that while so many medical dogmatists have been groping in the dark he has actually discovered and applied the true