the time of publication of this order for loading and departing; and if met at sea by any of her Majesty's ships shall be permitted to proceed, if, upon examination, it shall appear that their cargoes were taken on board before the expiration of the above term, providing they have not on board any officer in naval or military service of the enemy, or any article prohibited, or contraband of war, or despatch to the Russian government.

Also, that any Russian vessel which, prior to the 22th of March, shall have sailed from any foreign port, and for her Majesty's Indian territories, or foreign or colonial possessions, shall be permitted to enter such port or place and discharge their cargoes, and afterwards forthwith depart, without molestation; and that any such vessel, if met at sea by any of her Majesty's ships, shall be permitted to continue their voyage to any port not blockaded.

Forty thousand artisans filled the streets of Barcelona on the 31st ult. They were unarmed, and when summoned to disperse they refused. They then turned their steps towards the Garcia suburb, in order to join their comrades outsides the walls. The gates were then barred by the troops, who, when pelted with stones by the mob, had recourse to their arms. The result was that several of the mob were killed and wounded, after which they dispersed.

The steamship Arabia, Captain C. H. G. Judkins, from Boston, reached Liverpool on the 8th inst.

On the 7th inst., the Canadian Steam Navigation Company's steamship Ottawa, Captain Atkins, arrived in the Mersey, from Portland, Maine, after a rapid passage of little over twelve days. She left Portland at 8 40 P. M. on the 25th ultimo.

The mail steampacket Washington, from New York for Cowes, was off Plymouth at half-past two P. M. on the 7th inst.

Our London Correspondence.

LONDON, Friday, April 7, 1854.

NEW PROPOSITIONS OF RUSSIA—CHARLEY NAPIER'S ADDRESS TO THE BALTIC FLEET—THE RUSSIANS ABANDON ALAND AND BOMARSUND—SOMETHING BREWING AT CONSTANTINOPLE—THE DANUBE—THE BLACK SEA—ASIA—GERMANY.

Russia has made another attempt at negotiations. Prince George of Mecklenburg has arrived at Berlin with letter from the Czar, in reply to an autograph letter from the King of Prussia. The Emperor of Russia offers to conclude peace, and to evacuate the Danubian Principalities, if the rights which the Christian subjects of the Porte have recently obtained through the intervention of France and England are guaranteed by treaties, and if, in addition, the fleets of the Western Powers abandon the Black Sea and the Bosphorus. If this nature of guarantee is accepted by the Western Powers and by the Porte, the Emperor of Russia declares himself ready to allow the rest to be settled by the means of negotiation, in a congress, which might, for instance, be held at Berlin.

Such are the terms, as published in the Prussian papers. At first sight they seem plausible enough, but they can only be regarded as another attempt at subterfuge. No man dreams that these proposals will be listened to. I do not think the country would stand it. We are sick to death with negotiations. The tone of the English journals leave little doubt as to what will be the reply of the English government, and the Paris journals are equally opposed to taking them into consideration. The best reply to them would be to send the Emperor the short but characteristic address by Sir Charles Napier to his Baltic fleet, on receipt of the orders to commence hostilities, and which the telegraphic wires have a few hours since brought to town:—

Lads, war is declared; we are to meet a bold and numerous enemy. Should they offer us battle, you know how to dispose of them. Should they remain in port, we must try to get at them. Success depends upon the precision and quickness of your fire. Lads! sharpen your cutlasses, and the day is your own.

It is needless to say that Charley's address was cheered from ship to ship, and re-echoed from one end of England to another.

It was only yesterday that the above address was made, and you may be sure he will not lose time in having a slap at the enemy.

The Russians have already abandoned the island of Aland, and the fortress at Bomarsund. Revel or Helsingfors will be the first points attacked.

The Danes and Swedes are making daily pleasure excursions to the fleet in Kjoege Bay, and openly expressed their hopes of success of the Western Powers.

So much for the Baltic.

Curious things are taking place in Turkey. We hear that troops are patrolling Constantinople day and night. The fact is, that the Sultan, Abdul Medjid, has taken a step which Mahmoud, the destroyer of the Janissaries, would not have dared even to hint at. He has deposed the Sheik-ul-Islam, the head of the faith, because he refused to sanction the concessions demanded by the Western Powers in favor of the Christians. The whole priesthood, muftis, softas, &c., are in a state of fanatical insubordination. But they can do nothing now. Ere this there are 20,000 European troops in or near Constantinople.

We are still in the dark as to the exact details respecting the fall of three Turkish fortresses in the Dobradscha. It was first said that little or no resistance was made. We now hear that at Matschin the loss of the Russians was immense. It is also hinted that gold did as much service as lead. This I do not believe, simply because the Turks have all along been actuated by a feeling of noble patriotism, officers as well as men.

With the combined fleets at Varna, consequently in communication with the main body of the Turkish army at Shumla, and the Balkan range between, there is no fear of Constantinople falling, as the fears of some make them believe. 40,000 English and French troops to aid the Turks, would have decided any action that has hitherto taken place on the Danube. At Oltenitza and Citate the Turks beat the Russians single handed.

The war is only about to commence. From Asia we learn that the gallant highland chieftain Schamyl is preparing to come down upon the Russians. The headquarters of the Turks are at Kass. General Guyon (Kurschid Pacha,) will shortly, I believe, take the chief command. He is an Englishman, whose name is familiar as having greatly distinguished himself in the Hungarian war. He is said to be the *beau-ideal* of a gallant gentleman and soldier, and beloved by the men. The snow still lies deep in Asia, but the warm breath of spring is already felt, and active operations will shortly commence there.

The English public are astonished that we have not yet heard of a naval engagement in the Black Sea. The English and French Admirals are in bad odor. They are accused of want of energy; the more especially as reports are received of Russian vessels going and coming to and from Batoum, &c. Last night the subject was brought forward in the House of Lords, but the government fully approved of the action of the admirals. The Russian fleet is supposed to be in the harbor of Sebastopol.

In the House of Commons Lord John Russell gave some explanations respecting the Greek insurrection. He said that he feared, unhappily, that it was fostered by the Court of Greece and encouraged by the king and queen; and that consequently a rupture had taken place between Turkey and Greece, and the Western Powers had thought fit to interfere. King Otho had better take care or he will lose his crown. We have not yet heard of the effect produced in Greece by the Czar's revelations in the secret correspondence.

Nothing further has transpired respecting the views of Austria and Prussia. Their dubious attitude cannot be maintained much longer.

The Revolutionary Review of the War in Europe.

LONDON, April 7, 1854.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE HERALD:—

The Greek revolution is republican, not Russian. It is of much more consequence than the English press would lead you to believe, and should Austria, in opposition to all natural conclusions, side with the Western Powers, will form the basis of the republican movement throughout the continent. I enclose you a well written article upon the real position of Austria. G. N. S.

THE CRISIS—ITALY.

With feverish anxiety, Italy is watching the crisis. The war once fairly begun, Italy, it can hardly be doubted, will again rise, and assert her own claims to life. We commit no imprudence in saying this—we are not betraying secrets—we speak on rational grounds, open to all. There is so vast an amount of suffering going on in Italy, and so universal and powerful an aspiration towards a better state of things, that it would be very strange if Italy did not avail herself of the opportunity offered to her—strange if, when the Powers are going to war for Turkey's independence, the Italian patriots should not likewise feel the moment come for re-asserting their own country's rights.

Should that event occur, what should be the thought and act of every Englishman? We have no hesitation in answering, sympathy and help.

There are politicians who give us a precisely contrary answer. Some, who were loud yesterday in proclaiming the indefeasible rights of Italy, who even found it impossible to understand how the Italian people could so long and patiently endure their yoke—these violently reprove to day any thought of a national rising in Italy. They uphold the immoral atheistic language of the French Emperor. They are even ready to threaten repression from the allied Western Powers. Why? Because they believe that they may get Austria to side with them against Russia. Even as politicians they are practically wrong. Austria is by necessity Russian. She is Russian because her principle is the Russian one—despotism. She is Russian because she cannot forbid Russia's interference with Turkey's internal concerns, whilst she must and will interfere with Roman, Tuscan, Neapolitan concerns. She is Russian because a compact has been recently signed in Olmutz, binding Austria to keep neutral as long as possible, and to unmask herself only in the event of the conquering Turkish army threatening to cross the Pruth, or of decisive Russian victories opening the way to a dismemberment of the Turkish empire. She is Russian because the same dangers which would be threatened by hostilities of the Western Powers are impending on her from Russia whilst, on the other side, England and France cannot, Russia alone can, assist her in crushing a Hungarian insurrectionary movement. She is Russian, because nearly the half of her subjects belong to the Slavonian stock, and could be easily subverted by Russian intrigues, gold and tendencies. Austria will adopt the plan of an armed neutrality; she will avail herself of the first symptoms of agitation in Servia and in Bosnia for the purpose of invading those provinces. She will say that she is holding them for Turkey, and protecting them from the consequences of the Greek movement. Government may choose to call this an alliance; it is a subterfuge. An armed neutrality, supported by a large body of troops on the Transylvanian frontier, must keep in abeyance an equal number of Turkish forces, and divert them from the field of battle. Mark this too: the two provinces which she is bent on occupying for Turkey, are really the two which, in case of a dismemberment, she would claim for herself.

So much for the mere politician: we should take higher ground. Are we about to fight against Russian despotism, while we uphold Austrian despotism? Are we going to assert the non-interference principle, as against Russian encroachments, while we allow the right of interference on behalf of Austrian tyranny in Italy or elsewhere? Is England's banner to be the terror of the autocrat in the East, the terror of patriots in the West of Europe? Do we mean to embark in that most solemn undertaking, a war, without a principle to teach us where lies right or wrong; with nothing to guide our efforts but a temporary policy and a mistaken interest? This were indeed a drifting through a war. Is there no moral sense left throbbing in our hearts? Is the confidence of the nation mortgaged to an Austrian Kaiser? This is the question we have, in all earnestness, to ask our countrymen; this is the question which a free people may surely ask of a responsible government. Let the statesmen who answer for England remember that the reply, given while it is yet night, will have to be defended when the dawn of intelligence has risen. French diplomacy has spoken out abruptly; with a reckless boldness well befitting a power based on the December *coup d'état*, it proclaims the wild godless theory. Long live liberty for all oppressed nations, if Austria sides with Russia. Let right and liberty be crushed, if Austria joins our anti-Russian policy. Are we to endorse this theory? Are we doomed to this, viz., that we cannot revolt against the omnipotence of the knout, without bowing at the same time to the cane of the Austrian corporal? What are we going to Turkey for? to cancel or confirm one or two obsolete treaties? simply to repudiate the *status quo ante bellum*? No; for should we so far succeed, should we even beat back the Russian forces, nothing real would be achieved—the cause of the struggle would remain as powerful perhaps before two or three years had passed. No, we should go to Turkey to end, and for ever, that state of things, dangerous as well as wicked, which has arisen from the violation by others of that principle of non-intervention proclaimed by us in 1831. The principle was valueless, and worse than valueless, if not equally binding on all. It did not bind all. It became an obstruction in the way of every advance that might be desired by England, or by any other liberal power, and a pledge of security to all despotic powers in any wrong it suited them to attempt. One violation succeeded another. Every noble attempt at liberty's name was stifled. The European continent was considered as a field open to absolutist encroachments. Poland, Hungary, Italy, were crushed. We held back for peace-sake. We were morally and politically wrong; had we made our stand against the first violation of international liberty, many noble nations would by this time be free, and friendly to England; many noble victims would have been spared, and we should not have now to throw British gold and British blood into the scale of the Eastern question. The Turkish question is the last, the determining incident of a struggle, the object of which must be a decisive change of system in the European international policy. Russia, hereafter, is for us a mere exponent of absolutism. England has taken up arms with great reluctance; she cannot, she must not lay them down until a series of propositions have been solemnly adopted by all the European Powers as a foundation for all future international transactions; and the first of these should be—"No Power shall ever interfere, except by peaceful and friendly advice, with another people's internal concerns. In the event of any Power violating this rule, all other Powers will interfere in opposition, and re-establish the balance in favor of the attacked nation. We do not, we cannot, fight for Turkey as it is, if Turkey as it is is doomed to perish. We cannot revive a corpse, if Turkey is, as many believe, a corpse. But the dissolving work must be left to the free spontaneous action of its internal elements. We cannot permit an external force to come into the field to kill, and then to say, "That corpse is mine." Life and death must be left to God, and not to Russia. On this ground our war will be a just, assured, and a victorious one; on any other we shall be wrong, and we shall fail. And this principle of non-intervention, which is not our principle, (which, at any rate, is certainly not the formulary by which we should express our sense of national right and national duty,)—this principle of non-intervention we may at least demand shall be acted upon by the existing governments, who make it the first article of their creed; and shall be applied not less to the Greek movement [very much misunderstood by our press. The Greek movement is a national, not a Russian one. The true tendencies of the party may be found in a pamphlet published in 1853 at Athens, under the title of *L'Orient par un Oriental*,] than to Hungary, to Italy, than to Turkey. England quailed before the frown of absolutism, and gave way before each onward step it made; till now fear comes to the aid of principle and policy, and we fight because we dare no longer yield.

To leave every people free to manifest spontaneously that special life which is its evidence of nationality—to permit no foreign, and therefore unintelligent, hand to crush its budding liberty, or rudely to hasten its transformation—such, and none other, should be England's programme.

THE WAR IN EUROPE.

THE TREATY WITH TURKEY.

The following is in substance the treaty just concluded between the sovereigns of England, France and Turkey:—

Whereas her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his Majesty the Emperor of the French, have been invited by his Highness the Sultan to assist in repelling the attack, which has been made by his Majesty the Emperor of All the Russias upon the territory of the Sublime Ottoman Porte—an attack, whereby the integrity of the Ottoman Empire and the independence of the throne of the Sultan are menaced, and whereas their Majesties are perfectly convinced that the existence of the Ottoman Empire in its present territorial circumscription is essential for the balance of power between the States of Europe, and whereas they have accordingly agreed to grant to the Sultan the assistance he has required to this end; it has seemed fitting to their Royal and Imperial Majesties aforesaid, as likewise to his Highness the Sultan, to conclude a treaty, in order to certify their views in accordance with the foregoing, and to define the way and manner in which their Royal and Imperial Majesties aforesaid will afford assistance to his Highness.

For this purpose their Royal and Imperial Majesties aforesaid, and his Highness the Sultan, have named as their plenipotentiaries—(here follow the names of the English and French ambassadors and that of the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs)—who, having mutually exchanged their credentials, that were found to be in good form, have agreed to the following articles:—

Art. 1. Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his Majesty the Emperor of the French, having already, at the request of his Highness the Sultan, given orders to strong divisions of their naval forces to repair to Constantinople, to protect the territory and the flag of the Sublime Ottoman Porte, as circumstances should require, their said Majesties engage, by this present treaty, to co-operate to a still wider extent with his Highness the Sultan in the defence of the Ottoman territory in Europe and Asia against the Russian attack, by supplying such a number of their land forces as may seem necessary for attaining this object. Their Royal and Imperial Majesties will despatch forthwith these land troops to such point or points of the Ottoman territory that shall appear eligible, and his Highness the Sultan engages that the British and French land troops which shall be sent in such wise for the defence of the Ottoman territory shall meet with the same friendly reception, and be treated with the same consideration, as the British and French naval forces that have been sojourning for some time past in the Turkish waters.

Art. 2. The high contracting parties collectively engage to communicate mutually to each other, without loss of time, every and any proposition that may be received by them, directly or indirectly, on the part of the Emperor of Russia, respecting the cessation of hostilities, whether a truce or peace, and his Highness the Sultan engages moreover to conclude no armistice, and to enter into no negotiations for peace, as likewise to entertain no preliminaries of peace with the Emperor of Russia without the knowledge and consent of the remaining high contracting parties.

Art. 3. So soon as the object of the present treaty shall have been obtained by the conclusion of a treaty of peace, her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his Majesty the Emperor of the French, shall forthwith adopt measures for the prompt withdrawal of their forces by land and sea, such as shall have been employed for attaining the object of the present treaty, and all the fortresses or positions on the Ottoman territory that shall have been provisionally occupied by the forces of England and France shall be restored to the authorities of the Sublime Ottoman Porte within * * * days, to be reckoned from the exchanges of the ratifications of the treaty by which the present war shall have been ended.

Art. 4. The present treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged, as soon as this can be effected, within the space of * * * weeks, reckoned from the day of signing.

In virtue whereof, &c.

THE TURKISH LOAN IN LONDON AND PARIS.

ITS PROBABLE EFFECT ON THE SULTAN'S INDEPENDENCE.

[London Times (city Article), April 7.]

The withdrawal of the Turkish loan was, of course, received with satisfaction to-day by the parties who had applied for it when consols were two per cent above their present price, but the question has been discussed as to the prospects of Turkey, if she is to be left without money at the present moment. *The proposals first put forward having failed, the credit of the Ottoman government has sustained damage, which would only be increased by attempting fresh negotiations on lower terms, and it is therefore difficult to conjecture what alternatives will be resorted to.* Namik Pacha has quitted London, and it is therefore to be assumed that the expectation of any plan being immediately devised for a renewal of negotiations with the capitalists of this country has been given up. *Meanwhile it is asserted that he has obtained £400,000 from the French government.* As the allied Powers, however, have thus far acted in concert on all points, *it seems scarcely likely that on one of such importance France will be left to act alone, especially since the fact of pecuniary claims being allowed to grow upon one side which are not feared by the other might lead to disagreeable complications when the war shall have been brought to an end.* Whatever course may finally be resolved upon, it seems certain that, if the required amount is to be raised either in Paris or London, nothing short of a political guarantee will suffice for the purpose. The opinion, supposing that method to be ultimately entertained, is that an equal sum should be raised in France and England, the subscribers in each country having the security of a pledge from their respective governments for the enforcement of their claims. *The granting of subsidies is out of the question, and, if the matter be undertaken at all by the two governments, it should only be with a determination to enforce upon Turkey a practical discharge of the obligations incurred.* If the ability to do this cannot be counted upon, then it will be equally impossible to suppose that she can be relied on *for the fulfilment of any of the clauses of the treaty by which her position is ultimately to be defined, and it would be useless to fight on her behalf.* Under these circumstances it is to be hoped that no further private proposals will be introduced to disturb the money market, and it will be very satisfactory if it should prove that the Sultan still has financial resources to which he can turn, and which it may be his duty to exhaust before he can be entitled to appeal for advances to his allies.

THE NEW PROPOSITION OF THE CZAR.

[Berlin Correspondence (April 4) of the London News.]

Before saying more about this proposition I will quote from the *Kreuz Zeitung*, a journal well entitled to speak with authority when the movements of Russian diplomacy are the theme, the language which describes the new propositions:—

In the message brought by the Duke George of Mecklenburg, the Emperor of Russia offers to make peace, and to evacuate the Principalities provided that the rights which the Christian subjects of the Porte are to receive by the mediation of France and England shall be guaranteed by treaty, and that the fleets of England and France leave the Black Sea and the Bosphorus. The guaranteeing of these rights of the Christian subjects of the Porte would be practically that which Russia asked from the first. Let this guarantee be given by England, France and the Porte, and Russia declares that she will be ready to regulate the rest by negotiation at a congress to be held, say at Berlin.

There is no reason to doubt the substantial accuracy of this statement made by the organ of the Russian party in Berlin, but its value can only be rightly estimated if the special circumstances under which the offer is made are considered. This apparent advance of the Czar is not a spontaneous movement. The message in question is a reply to the autographic note of the King of Prussia, which was carried to St. Petersburg by General Lindheim, an officer high in the confidence of his sovereign. That letter, we are told, was "a supreme effort of conciliation"—the last appeal of an anxious royal brother. Moreover, the offer was made at a moment when it was notorious that Prussia was pressed by Austria to sign a treaty for facilitating a common military action between the two principal German Powers, and for fixing the conditions upon which Austria should be empowered to summon Prussia and the rest of Germany against Russia. Prussia evaded the demand in order to gain time to send to St. Petersburg, and declined to conclude the treaty with Austria until the result of General Lindheim's message should be known.

These are the circumstances under which Russia proposes new terms of peace, and regarding them, together with the unsubstantial nature of the latter, it certainly looks as if the court of Prussia, much in want of a pretext for evading its duty to Europe, had sent for one to St. Petersburg, and had succeeded. I know not what may be the effect of the new propositions abroad, but here they are considered as made, not so much for the purpose of promoting peace, as for furnishing a specious instance of the Czar's "moderation," with which to strike the imagination of the servile courts of Germany. No sincere friends of European order believe that England and France will be diverted from their great mission, and, by accepting the Czar's terms, allow the Eastern question to weigh on Europe for the next, as it has done for the last, quarter of a century. Of course, it is too much to expect that certain notorious organs of the press will allow the opportunity of lauding their great patron to go unimproved. The stock jobbers, too, will, as before, assume an obtuseness of wit which is not theirs, and affect to believe in the conciliatory intentions of the Czar as long as it suits their purpose. If, however, I am not mistaken, neither the professions of the Czar, nor the timid optimism of Vienna and Berlin will mislead them this year, and they will judge for themselves of the invitation to throw away all their preparations, saddle on Turkey and on England all the old treaties with Russia, leave the Black Sea a Russian lake, and the Czar as mischievous as ever.

IMPORTANT FROM TURKEY—THE NEW PROPOSITIONS OF THE CZAR.

[From the London Times, April 7.]

When we stated yesterday that the changes now introduced in the Ottoman empire by the influence of the Powers which have allied themselves for its defence amount to a revolution in its social condition, we did not foresee the very striking confirmation of this remark which reached us a few hours later by the telegraph. We are informed by a communication from Constantinople, dated the 27th of March, that *the possessions of the mosques are to be declared the property of the State, and that the refusal of the Sheik-ul-Islam to consent to this measure was the cause of his deposition.* If this statement be correct, it is beyond all comparison the most important resolution taken by the Turkish government since the destruction of the Janissaries, for it is a measure from which Sultan Mahmoud himself recoiled, though he had often contemplated it as one of the most essential conditions of the regeneration of the empire. In fact, a measure so contrary to the prejudices of the Mussulmans and the interests of the Ulemas could hardly have been attempted with any chance of safety to the Sultan or his ministers unless he had the support of a considerable force in the immediate neighborhood of the capital; and even now we shall not be surprised to learn that a *coup d'état* of this description has been followed by agitation and excitement among the Musaulman population.

The mosques and religious foundations of the Ottoman empire form important spiritual corporations, exercising an independent, legal, and theocratical power in the State. The Ulemas, or masters of the law and the Koran, are the sole possessors of the vast wealth belonging to these foundations, and at the same time, as the expounders of the faith and fundamental laws of Islam, they enjoy an authority to which the highest powers in the State have been compelled to bow. The insecurity of property under an arbitrary government and many other causes have induced Turkish landowners from generation to generation to assign over the fee simple of their estates to the mosques, reserving only the usufruct to themselves and their direct male descendants. Land thus held by the mosques or religious corporations became *vacouf*, or, as it is termed in India, *wakf*, and is held for ever in mortmain. Such lands have hitherto been exempt from taxation and personal confiscation, and this tenure has an increased and extended by the more influence of duration and security in an empire where all other property is fluctuating and insecure that full three quarters of the soil of the Turkish dominions are said to be held in this manner. To dispossess these powerful corporations of landed property which they have held for centuries by the twofold bond of legal usage and religious veneration—to resume the direct authority of the Sultan over so large a portion of the lands of the empire, one-third of which was allotted to the mosques by Mahomet the Conqueror—and to defy the whole power which the Ulemas and religious orders may be able to put forth in defence of their vested rights, is certainly one of the boldest measures ever taken in a great emergency.

But we entertain no doubt that this resumption of lands is an indispensable preliminary to the real reform and progress of the country. Sooner or later in its history, every Christian State has undergone it, and the vast possessions which the superstition or the rapacity of former ages placed in the hands of the church have been restored to the common uses of society. The social revolution which is being effected in Turkey by the emancipation of the Christians, and the establishment of a principle of equality between all races and religions of the empire, led by an inevitable consequence to the abolition of the exclusive supremacy which the Mussulmans have hitherto exercised over the largest portion of the soil, except in the Archipelago and in the provinces, from which they are excluded by treaty. And, although changes of this nature are never accomplished without the dangers and sufferings inseparable from revolution, the future strength and independence of Turkey depend on the introduction of a system totally distinct from that which has reduced so magnificent an empire to the verge of dissolution.

We are told that the last message received at Berlin from the Emperor of Russia, and conveyed to that court by Prince George of Mecklenburg, is to the effect that *the Emperor will evacuate the Principalities whenever the Western Powers have obtained from the Turks, by treaty, the emancipation of the Christian population. The Western Powers have sought as little as possible to bind the Porte by treaty to any such conditions*, and it is not necessary for their object that the concessions made to the Christians should be the result of any compact with a foreign government; but, as a matter of fact, the Porte has already conceded infinitely more to its Christian subjects, on the friendly representations of the allied Powers, than it could ever have granted to the menaces of Russia; and, if the Emperor Nicholas is disposed to make the emancipation of the Christians the test of peace or war, he may at once withdraw from the Principalities he has invaded, since we have gained more for the Christians of the East by defending the rights of Turkey than he claimed by attacking them. We cannot, however, regard the proposals last forwarded to Berlin by the Prince of Mecklenburg as a serious or honest overture; and we fear they are intended to serve a very different purpose. The object of the court of Russia is, if possible, to detach Prussia and Austria altogether from the alliance of the Western Powers, and even to induce them to repudiate the principles to which they have given their assent by the protocols of Vienna. To accomplish this purpose, the most obvious course is to put forward a proposition of peace sufficiently plausible to enable the German Powers to make it a pretext for them to desert the interests of Europe, though not sufficiently real and important to arrest the operations of the Western Powers. Such a proposition has accordingly been sent to Berlin, where, as we have strong reason to believe, *both the King of Prussia and his Minister are watching for an opportunity to evade the assurances given by them only last week to the Chambers, and to betray the confidence which has been unduly placed in those assurances by the representatives of the people.* It is, however, in Berlin only, and not in Vienna, that these scandalous intrigues of the Russian party are carried on with activity and success; for the language and attitude of the Court of Austria towards Russia and towards the Western Powers continue to be totally different from that of Prussia, and the very existence of Germany as an independent nation depends on the triumph of the principles to which Austria adheres over the base and shortsighted views of the Court of Charlottenburg. No language which we could with propriety employ would adequately describe the policy of the King of Prussia, and we regret to add that Baron Manteuffel, in whom we were for some time disposed to place confidence, has incurred strong suspicion of duplicity and bad faith, which are the more disgraceful as they are directly opposed to the course he professed at no distant period his firm resolution to pursue. We had hoped he might be the Hardenburg of Prussia, but we fear he will prove another Haugwitz, and lose in mean subjection to foreign intrigue the credit he once enjoyed as the Minister of an independent crown.

WAR DEBATES IN PARLIAMENT.

THE ALLEGED CONVEYANCE OF RUSSIAN TROOPS THROUGH THE BLACK SEA.

In the House of Lords, on the 6th instant,

The Earl of MALMESBURY rose and said—Seeing my noble friend the secretary for Foreign Affairs in his place, I think it my duty to ask him a question which cannot but be of the greatest interest to the House, and notice of which I gave him in a letter I wrote to him this morning. I beg to direct the attention of the noble earl to the reported report, confirming almost to a certainty the accounts given in the public papers, that the Russian ships had left Sebastopol in very considerable force, some sailing with troops on board and others without, and that that fleet had made a diversion in two places, one at the mouth of the Danube, where it is reported that 4,000 men have been landed, and the other on the Circassian coast, where it is alleged considerable succors have been transported by the Russians in the shape of artillery and stores so that it would appear that, notwithstanding all that has taken place, Russia was allowed totally unmolested, to strengthen her forces and shift her troops across the Black Sea according to her views as to the necessity of such operations. Now, my lords, since we have begun this unfortunate war, nobody feels more than myself how highly improper it would be either to embarrass the Ministers with useless questions (hear, hear) or to make observations which would be indiscreet, and which might tend to affect the operations or proceedings of her Majesty's military or naval officers at the theatre of war. (Cheers.) I have never asked my noble friend any question which might have a disadvantageous tendency as to what were the intentions of her Majesty's government with respect to their operations in those parts, but still I think it is a duty which the government owe to the country that they should inform it of facts which have actually occurred, and of the events which are passing at the present moment. My lords, these reports have certainly created a very strong impression upon the public mind, intermingled with no very pleasant feelings. It is well known that there is a very large fleet of English ships joined to an equally large French fleet, lying within reach of Constantinople. No doubt the public expected more than they ought from those fleets, but since their first arrival there events have taken place which have certainly in their nature rendered the fleets fairly liable to obloquy on the part of the public, and I need only allude to the affair of Sinope as one of those events. Of that melancholy affair nothing more need now be said, but it does appear that from some cause or other, our fleets have not been able to occupy that position and assume that mastery upon the Black Sea which we have been led to anticipate; but on the contrary, having made, as far as we can learn, several attempts to occupy that sea, they have been obliged to return after a very short sojourn in the Euxine, to their anchorage near Constantinople. Now, my lords, we are told that a squadron of Russian ships have come out from Sebastopol, that they have landed troops in safety on the shores of the Euxine, and that an English frigate has reported that operations of a similar character have taken place on the Circassian coast. Assuming these reports to be true, nothing can be more mortifying, after the manner in which we have put forth our pretensions to command the Black Sea, and after the manner in which notification of our intention to do so has been given to the Russian fleet at Sebastopol by an English frigate—nothing can be more mortifying than to find that we should have been unable to act with such energy as to prevent the conveyance of succors and reinforcements by the Russian fleet to any portion of their forces carrying on active operations. The question I would now ask of my noble friend the Secretary for Foreign Affairs is, whether the government has had any information confirming this report; and, if such report be true, I beg to ask him whether he has any objection to state why the English and French fleets have been content to lie inactive, as it were, at Beicos Bay; and why, also, it appearing that the Russian ships have been enabled to navigate the Euxine, it has been thought dangerous or intricate for the English fleet to do so, whereby it has been prevented from intercepting the supplies sent to our enemies? (Hear, hear.)

The Earl of CLARENDON said—My lords, I am very far from considering the question which has been put to me by my noble friend as of a useless or improper character, and I agree with my noble friend that the people of this country ought to be informed of the great events which occur in the present juncture, although the government are certainly not bound to give any information as to the disposition or operations of our fleets; and I cannot agree with the noble Earl in thinking that our fleet is liable to be exposed to fair obloquy, or any obloquy at all, for I believe that it will turn out that since the notification to which allusion has been made by my noble friend, the Russian fleet has not been in the Black Sea at all. (Cheers.) According to all the information which the government has received since that time, none of the Russian fleet has entered the Black Sea, and therefore I consider that the object the government had in view when it gave directions that the Russian fleet should be confined within Sebastopol has been fully obtained. (Cheers.) Your lordships will be probably aware of the situation and the condition of Sebastopol, and must be convinced of the very great advantages derived by the Russians from the possession of that important port. (Hear, hear.) To a certain extent it may be said to command the Black Sea, affording extreme facilities to the Russian vessels to pass out and return without being seen; and unless, therefore, we had actually occupied the Black Sea, or rather blockaded Sebastopol in full force during the whole of the winter months, it would have been impossible to give a security that no Russian ship should come out of it. Your lordships must remember that the Russian fleet which occupies Sebastopol is a powerful and numerous one, and it could not be kept in that port except by the greater portion of the combined fleets. If, therefore, only a few vessels had been left there, the Russians might have come out in superior force and inflicted a loss upon the British and French admirals, while the effect of the whole fleet being employed to blockade the mouth of Sebastopol during the bad weather of the winter months—and I can tell your lordships the weather in the Black Sea has been particularly bad this season—would have been to expose their ships to imminent danger, and to the certain wear and tear of the bad weather, while the Russians would have been lying safe and snug within the harbor, and at the approach of the time which has now come upon us, when war has been declared, their whole fleet would have been in the most effective state, while the combined fleets, from the causes I have enumerated, would have been very ineffective. (Hear, hear.) It is for those reasons that the Black Sea has not been occupied by the whole of the fleets, as my noble friend has remarked; but they have been constantly cruising there. They had the whole of the steam fleet out there on the 18th of last month, and our frigates have been constantly cruising there, so as to give timely notice to the admirals of any intention, so far as such intention could be ascertained, by the Russian fleet to come out. Both the admirals considered that Beicos Bay was the best place where the main body of the fleet should lie to receive notice from the scouts, and be prepared to act accordingly. With respect to the particular question which my noble friend has asked me with regard to the ships, which, it is alleged, have gone out from Sebastopol, and conveyed troops to Varna and to Circassia, I can only repeat to him what I said the other night, namely, that we have no official knowledge at all of the fact, and such knowledge as we have induces us to believe that no such circumstance has occurred. It has been alleged that the first information which was given of these Russian ships having taken out troops was by an English ship—an English frigate, too—but what does the real fact turn out to be? Why, that the only news that has been received at Constantinople of the kind was brought by the master of a Bremen vessel, who stated that several Russian ships had gone out from Sebastopol and landed troops at the portion of the coast indicated. On the receipt of this information, Sir Edmund Lyons went to Constantinople, saw the master of the Bremen vessel, and instituted an inquiry, the result of which was, that the report turned out to be untrue, it being proved to the entire satisfaction of the officers who conducted the inquiry that he never could have been near where he said he was when the observation was said to have been made. (Cheers.) But, my lords, on the 22d ult., Sebastopol itself was reconnoitered by an English ship of war, when it was found that the whole of the Russian fleet was there. Since that time the whole of the united fleets have gone into the Black Sea, and on the 24th they proceeded to Varna, and I have this very day received letters from Admiral Dundas and Sir Edmund Lyons, in which they both express the belief that no such circumstances could have occurred as have been stated. (Cheers.)

CHRISTIANS IN TURKEY.

On the 6th inst. Mr. Bright wished to know what was doing at Constantinople touching the condition of the Christian population of Turkey? Lord Clarendon had intimated elsewhere that a great deal was about to be done in the matter. What was this? Was there, or was there to be, any convention for the security and improved position of the Christian subjects of the Sultan?

Lord J. RUSSELL said, there was no convention, either signed or proposed, of any kind, between this country and Turkey with relation to the internal government of the Ottoman dominions. Whether or no there ought to be one was a question into which he should not now enter. Lord Stratford, however, pursuing the course which he had followed on this subject for the last ten or fifteen years, had urged on the Turkish Government the expediency of improving the condition of the Christian subjects of the Porte, and of altering those laws affecting them which belonged to another period, and which were incompatible with the fair and equal treatment of all the subjects of the Sultan. The representations of Lord Stratford had been from time to time adopted, with the result of material improvements in the condition of the Christians in Turkey, and he was happy to add that Lord Stratford's recent endeavors to procure the admission of Christian evidence in criminal matters, were, as he learnt by a letter received that morning, likely to be successful.

CONDITION OF THE PROTESTANTS IN TURKEY.

On the same day, by order of the House of Commons, a parliamentary paper, presented by command, was printed, containing the correspondence respecting the condition of Protestants in Turkey. There are ten documents in the correspondence. The first from Colonel Rose to the Earl of Clarendon, from Constantinople, dated the 26th March, 1853, was received on the 15th of April, stating that the Porte had granted to the Christian communities a new and spacious burial ground. In February last the firman for establishing Christian evidence on an equality with Musulman throughout the Turkish empire was completed. Lord Stratford stated, "I have reason to hope that this great act of long withheld justice will be followed by other proofs of the Sultan's comprehensive beneficence and of the improved spirit prevailing among his Mahometan subjects." On the 10th ultimo Lord Clarendon, in his despatch to Lord Stratford, expressed the satisfaction of her Majesty's government that the long-deferred measure of justice as to the acceptance of Christian evidence was about to be put into force, and they doubted not but that it would be received by the Christian subjects of the Sultan as a further proof to redress their just grievances, and to remove all future ground of complaint on their part.

TURKEY AND GREECE.

Mr. MINES asked Lord J. Russell whether the government were informed that diplomatic relations had ceased between the Ottoman Porte and the government of Greece, in consequence of the refusal of the government of Greece to accede to demands which they considered derogatory to an independent State?

Lord J. RUSSELL had stated on a former occasion that there was no proof that the government of Greece was endeavoring to excite insurrection among the Christian subjects of the Sultan, and such was his opinion at the time. Since then the Turkish government had made certain demands on the government of Greece, and no satisfactory answer having been given to those demands, the Minister of Turkey at Athens had applied for his passport, and broken off diplomatic relations with Greece. Without touching on the particular demands so made by the Turkish government, and which, he believed, were made without the sanction of the ambassadors of France and England, he must express the opinion that Turkey had good reason to complain of the conduct of Greece. (Hear, hear.) He conceived that the diplomatic papers which the House had seen, clearly showed that the insurrection in the Christian population in the Turkish provinces bordering on Greece, and the part taken in the matter by the Greeks, subjects of the King of Greece, was not a course spontaneously taken by those parties (hear, hear,) that there was no strong sympathy in the matter in Greece, and that, in point of fact, the whole insurrection had been a contrivance of the court of Greece (hear, hear,) for the purpose of weakening the authority of the Sultan, then in alliance with Greece. (Hear hear.) There were numerous proofs that the King and Queen of Greece had undisguisedly given repeated and marked encouragement to the insurrectionary movements; and such being the case—without touching, for the present, upon the character of the demands made by Turkey—he was of opinion that the course which had been taken by Turkey towards Greece was perfectly intelligible. Her Majesty's government had been in communication with the governments of Greece and Austria, and had given such instructions as it thought expedient to our Minister at Athens. He would only add that he regarded the court of Greece as answerable for this unfortunate insurrection. (Hear.)

THE AUSTRIAN FRONTIER.

In the House of Commons on the 7th inst., Lord D. STUART asked "whether the Austrian government is not concentrating a large army on the frontier of Servia; and whether any explanations have been obtained from that government as to the object of such proceeding, or generally as to the intentions of Austria in regard to Turkey?"

Lord J. RUSSELL said it was true that the Austrian government was concentrating large armies on the frontiers of Turkey. Certain explanations had been given by that government as to the object of such proceeding, and, generally speaking, Austria had explained her intentions with regard to Turkey. However, further explanations had been asked, and the correspondence on that subject was still proceeding.

THE WAR QUESTION IN AUSTRIA AND PRUSSIA.

[Berlin Correspondence (April 3) of London Times.]

In my letter