before proceeding to the developement of each point, to pass rapidly in review the general bases.

The Earl of Clarendon supports this opinion, and points out that the order to be followed, in the definitive examination, should be regarded by the importance of the subjects.

The Plenipotentiaries of Russia, of Sardinia, and of Turkey assent to this arrangement.

The question whether one or more instruments should be drawn up was adjourned by common consent; but all the plenipotentiaries acknowledge that the negotiation must be closed by a general treaty, to which the other acts would be annexed.

Count Walewski accordingly reads, paragraph by paragraph, the propositions of peace accepted by the contracting powers as bases of the negotiation and which are enumerated in the document annexed to the protocol signed at Vienna on the 1st February last.

Upon the first paragraph of the first point, Baron Brunnow remarks that the word "protectorate" improperly describes the position which had been acquired by Russia in the Principalities; the Russian plenipotentiaries had pointed this out at the Vienna Conferences, and had obtained the substitution of another term, in order to restore to the action of Russia its true character. Baron Brunnow demands that the interpretation which had been adopted in the acts of the Vienna Conference should be adhered to.

Count Buol remarks that the protectorate existed in the facts and in the situation, if the word itself was not in the diplomatic stipulations with Turkey; that the term used is in effect that of "guarantee," but that it is important to find a form of expression calculated to show clearly that an end will be put to this exclusive guarantee.

Aali Pasha, on his side, remarks that the word "protectorate" was employed in diplomatic documents, and specifically in the organic statute of the Principalities.

The first plenipotentiaries of France and of Great Britain add, the resolutions adopted at Vienna had not all equally satisfied the allied powers, and that, moreover, there was no occasion now to trouble themselves about them, as the efforts made at that time for the re-establishment of peace had been ineffectual.

The Russian Plenipotentiaries express a wish that, in order to hasten the proceedings of the Congress, the agreement which had been come to at that time on certain points should at all events be taken into account.

Baron Brunnow is of opinion that the situation of Servia should be the object of a special article.

This opinion is assented to by all the plenipotentiaries.

Aali Pasha remarks that the cessation of any single protectorate naturally excludes all idea of collective protectorate, and that the intervention of the powers will be confined within the limits of a simple guarantee.

After having read the second paragraph of the first point, Count Walewski remarks that the future organization of the Principalities has given rise to several systems.

The plenipotentiaries are unanimously of opinion that all these combinations shall be referred to a committee selected from the Congress, which shall, moreover, itself only have to lay down the principles of the political and administrative constitution of the Danubian provinces, leaving the duty of working out the details to a second commission, in which the contracting parties shall be represented, and which shall meet immediately after the conclusion of peace.

The third paragraph of the first point, relative to the system of defence in the Principalities, is read by Count Walewski.

Baron Brunnow states that the Russian plenipotentiaries would willingly refer on this point to the terms agreed upon at Vienna.

Baron de Bourqueney replies that the ideas on this important point are at present more developed and better defined; that the reference would not effect the object contemplated by the terms of the paragraph under discussion.

Count Walewski, after having read the fourth and last paragraph of the first point, passes on to the second point, which contains only a single paragraph.

Count Orloff observes that the presence at the mouths of the Danube of vessels of war bearing the flags of powers not bordering on the Black Sea will constitute an infringement of the principle of neutralization.

Count Buol remarks that the ships of the non-bordering powers intended to be stationed at the mouths of the Danube will, nevertheless, have the power of moving about freely in the Black Sea; that the nature and requirements of the service imposed on them would not admit of the existence of any doubt on that point.

Baron Brunnow observes that the object of their mission is, however, clearly defined.

The reading of the first, second, and third paragraphs of third point gives rise to no observation.

A short discussion showed that the plenipotentiaries were agreed as to the interpretation of the fourth, fifth and sixths paragraphs, relating to the protection of commercial interests in the Black Sea, and the separate convention to be concluded between Russia and the Ottoman Porte.

On the eighth paragraph, relating to the renewal of the convention of the Straits, the plenipotentiaries unanimously expressed a wish that the separate act destined to record that important principle should be annexed to the general treaty.

Count Walewski observes that it will be necessary, when the plenipotentiaries enter upon this point of the negotiation, to inquire what powers shall be called upon to concur in it; and Count Orloff, as well as Count Buol, add that Prussia would naturally be invited to take part in it.

Whilst agreeing to this point, the Earl of Clarendon stated that Prussia ought not to be invited to take part in the negotiation until the principal clauses of the general treaty should be settled.

Count Walewski points out that the plenipotentiaries will have to decide later at what time this invitation should be sent to Prussia.

The fourth point is read throughout, and Count Walewski remarks thereupon that it will be proper to record the entrance of Turkey within the public law of Europe. The plenipotentiaries agree that it is important to record this new fact by a special stipulation inserted in the general treaty. The terms agreed upon at Vienna to that effect were read, and it is admitted that they might be accepted by the Congress.

Count Orloff expresses a wish to be informed of the course which Turkey proposes to follow, in order to give the proper effect to the fourth point.

Aali Pasha states that a new hatti scherif has renewed the religious privileges granted to the non-Mussulman subjects of the Porte, and prescribed new reforms, which proved the solicitude of his Majesty the Sultan for all his people without distinction; that this act has been published, and that the Sublime Porte, in proposing to communicate it to the powers by means of an official note, would in that matter have complied with the requirements in regard to the fourth point.

Count Orloff, as well as Baron Hubner, and after them the other plenipotentiaries, express an opinion that mention should be made in the general treaty of the measures taken by the Ottoman government. They appeal to the text itself of the fourth point, which imposes this as an obligation on the plenipotentiaries, yet so that no prejudice should result from doing so to the independence and dignity of the Sultan's crown.

The plenipotentiaries of Austria, of France and of Great Britain acknowledge the liberal character of the measures which have been adopted at Constantinople, and state that it is under the same impression that they consider it indispensable to record them in the final act of the Congress; and by no means in order to deduce therefrom any right whatever of interference in the relations of the government of his Majesty the Sultan with his subjects.

Aali Pasha replies that his powers do not permit him to give his full assent to the opinion of the other plenipotentiaries, and states that he will take the orders of his court by telegraph.

The sitting is broken up and the consideration of the fifth point is deferred till the next meeting.

[The signatures follow.]

PROTOCOL NO. 3.

RUSSIAN CONCESSIONS.

Sitting of March 1, 1856.

Present—The Plenipotentiaries of Austria, France, Great Britain, Russia, Sardinia and Turkey.

The Congress, as it had resolved, proceeds to the consideration of the fifth point.

Count Walewski reads it, and adds that in the first place, and as a separate condition, the allied Powers demand that henceforth Russia should no longer be able to rebuild or create any naval or military establishment in the Aland Islands.

Count Orloff replies that Russia is disposed to accede to this stipulation, if the plenipotentiaries succeed, as he hoped would be the case, in coming to an understanding upon the other points of the negotiation. He demands that this stipulation should be recorded in a separate act, to be concluded between France, Great Britain and Russia, those powers having exclusively taken part in the warlike operations of which the Baltic has been the theatre.

The Plenipotentiaries of Austria express the opinion that the separate act should, nevertheless, be annexed to the general treaty.

The Conference assent.

Count Walewski states that, as the second separate condition, the allied powers require that the state of the territories situated to the east of the Black Sea should be specially inquired into.

Baron Brunnow explains the diplomatic transactions which have placed Russia in possession of those territories, and their present situation.

Aali Pasha observes that difficulties have arisen in this respect between the Porte and Russia, and that it would be advantageous to verify, and, if necessary, rectify, the frontiers between the possessions of the two empires in Asia.

Baron Brunnow remarks that the line determined by the convention signed at St. Petersburg, in 1834, has not since that time given occasion for any dispute between the two governments; that in the district of Cabadtia, the map of which has been produced, claims had indeed been advanced, but they had been exclusively of a private nature, having their origin in titles to properties in dispute. The Russian plenipotentiary adds that Austria had given Russia an assurance that the separate conditions would involve no cession of territory.

Count Walewski answers that a revision of boundaries does not constitute a territorial re-adjustment, and proposes, in order to demonstrate the spirit of equity that animated all parties, to resolve that a mixed commission shall be charged, after the conclusion of peace, to decide on this point within a fixed period.

This proposition is assented to in principle by all the plenipotentiaries, but the definitive adoption of it is deferred till the next meeting.

Count Walewski observes that Russia had erected forts on the eastern coast of the Black Sea, which she had herself in part blown up, and that it will be necessary to come to an understanding in this respect.

The Earl of Clarendon, relying specifically on the principle of the neutralization of the Black Sea, proceeds to show that these forts could not be rebuilt.

The Russian plenipotentiaries, setting up the distinction which, according to them, exists between these forts and military-maritime arsenals, maintain the contrary opinion.

The consideration of this point is adjourned.

Count Walewski lays down that the town of Kars, and the Ottoman territory at present in the occupation of the Russian army, shall be restored to Turkey.

The Earl of Clarendon supports and enlarges upon this opinion.

The Russian Plenipotentiaries admit the principle of this restitution; but as it cannot be finally decided on till the end of the negotiation, they express a hope that in the course of the negotiation credit will be given to them for the concessions which they make in the consideration of the separate conditions proposed in addition to the bases already agreed upon.

Count Walewski, while taking note of the adhesion of the Russian plenipotentiaries, bears witness to the conciliatory disposition which they have evinced during the sitting, as well in regard to Kars as in regard to the Aland Islands.

Before the sitting breaks up, Count Walewski remarks that at the next meeting it will be proper to proceed to the developement of the bases, and to the drawing up of the articles of the treaty. He is of opinion that it might be advisable to commence by the third point, relative to the neutralization of the Black Sea.

[The signatures follow.]

PROTOCOL No. 4.

NEUTRALIZATION OF THE BLACK SEA.

Sitting of March 4, 1856.

Present—The plenipotentiaries of Austria, France, Great Britain, Russia, Sardinia and Turkey.

Count Walewski observes that the Congress had decided upon adopting in the present sitting a definitive decision in regard to the mixed commission charged with the verification and rectification, if necessary, of the frontiers of Turkey and Russia in Asia.

Baron Brunnow, on his side, reminds the Congress that this revision is to be effected without prejudice to the parties, and so as not to amount to any gratuitous or superfluous cession of territory.

The plenipotentiaries of France, of Great Britain and of Turkey consider that the commission should comprise, in addition to the commissioners of the two parties directly interested, delegates of the contracting Powers.

Count Walewski consequently proposes that the commission should be composed of two Turkish commissioners, of two Russian commissioners, of one English commissioner and of one French commissioner. The Russian Plenipotentiaries assent, subject to the approval of their court.

It is agreed that the labors of this commission shall be concluded within eight months after the signature of the treaty of peace.

Count Walewski observes that in accordance with the decision of the congress, the developement of the third point, relative to the neutralization of the Black Sea, should be proceeded with by coming to an agreement as to the wording of the stipulations, the basis of which had been laid down at the preceding sittings. The first plenipotentiary of France wroposes the text of the first paragraph, which, after having been the subject of a deliberation in which all the plenipotentiaries take part, is settled as follows:—

The Black Sea is neutralized: its waters and its ports, thrown open to the mercantile marine of every nation, are formally and in perpetuity interdicted to the flag of war, either of the Powers possessing its coasts, or of any other Power, with the exceptions stipulated in the present treaty.

Free from any impediment, the commerce in the ports and waters of the Black Sea shall be subject only to the regulations in force.

The second paragraph is in like manner agreed to by all the plenipotentiaries, after having been settled in the following form:—

The Black Sea being declared neutral, the maintenance or establishment upon its coast of military maritime fortresses becomes alike unnecessary and purposeless. In consequence, his Majesty the Emperor of Russia and his Majesty the Sultan engage not to establish or maintain upon that coast any military maritime arsenal.

The First Plenipotentiary of Great Britain states that Russia possesses at Nicholaieff an arsenal of the first class for maritime works, the maintenance of which would be in contradiction to the principles on which the paragraph of which the Congress has just settled the terms is founded. This arsenal not being situated on the shores of the Black Sea, Lord Clarendon does not mean to assert that Russia is bound to destroy the shipbuilding yards which exist there; but he remarks that public opinion would be authorized in attributing to Russia intentions which she cannot entertain, if Nicholaieff were to retain, as a centre for all maritime works, the importance which it has acquired.

The First Plenipotentiary of Russia replies that the Emperor, his august master, on acceding with alacrity to the propositions of peace, firmly resolved strictly to carry out all the engagements resulting from them; but that Nicholaieff, being situated far from the shore of the Black Sea, respect for her dignity would not permit Russia to allow a principle solely applicable to the coast to be extended to the interior of the empire; that the security of and watching over the coasts required, moreover, that Russia should have, as had been admitted, a certain number of light vessels in the Black Sea, and that if he consented to give up the shipbuilding yards of Nicholaieff she would be compelled to establish others in some other point of her southern possessions; that, in order at once to provide for his engagements and for the requirements of the naval service, the Emperor intends only to authorize the construction at Nicholaieff of the vessels of war mentioned in the bases of the negotiation.

The First Plenipotentiary of Great Britain and, after him, the other plenipotentiaries, consider this declaration satisfactory.

The Earl of Clarendon inquires of the first plenipotentiary of Russia whether he agrees to the insertion of this declaration in the protocol. After having replied in the affirmative Count Orloff adds that, in order to prove the sincerity of his intentions, the Emperor had intrusted him to demand a free passage through the Straits of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles for the two ships of the line which alone are now at Nicholaieff, and which would have to proceed to the Baltic as soon as peace was concluded.

The terms of the other paragraphs relative to the third point, as deliberated on by the plenipotentiaries, were thus settled:—

In order to afford to the commercial and maritime interests of every nation the security which is desired, Russia and the Sublime Porte will admit consuls into their ports situated upon the coast of the Black Sea, in conformity with the principles of international law.

His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias and his Majesty the Sultan having concluded between them a convention for the purpose of settling the force and number of light vessels which they may maintain in the Black Sea, this convention is annexed to the present treaty, and shall have the same force and validity as if it formed an integral part thereof. It cannot be either annulled or modified without the assent of the powers signing the present treaty.

The convention of July 13, 1841, which maintains the ancient rule of the Ottoman empire relative to the closing of the Straits of the Bosphorus and of the Dardanelles, having been revised by common consent, the act concluded for that purpose is and remains annexed to the present treaty.

The plenipotentiaries of Russia and Turkey are invited to agree together on the convention to be concluded between them on the subject of the light vessels which the Sublime Porte and Russia may maintain in the Black Sea, and it is agreed that the project of it shall be communicated to the Congress at the next meeting.

[The signatures follow.]

PROTOCOL NO. 5.

THE DANUBE.

Sitting of March 6, 1856.

Present—The Plenipotentiaries of Austria, France, Great Britain, Russia, Sardinia and Turkey.

Count Orloff states that the plenipotentiaries of Turkey and of Russia are not prepared to lay before the Congress the project of treaty relative to the vessels of war which the powers possessing the coasts may keep in the Black Sea, and applies to defer this communication till the next sitting.

The First Plenipotentiary of Great Britain inquires of the plenipotentiaries of Russia whether the declaration made by Count Orloff in the preceding sitting on the subject of Nicolaieff, applies equally to Cherson and to the Sea of Azoff.

The First Plenipotentiary of Russia replies that, like Nicolaieff, the Sea of Azoff cannot be included under the direct application of the principle accepted by Russia; that, on the other hand, it is indisputable that large vessels cannot navigate that sea; he abides, however, by the assurances to which the Earl of Clarendon has referred, and he repeats that Russia, being desirous of acting loyally in conformity with the engagements which she has contracted, will not build anywhere on the shores of the Black Sea, or on its tributaries, or in the waters which are dependent on it, any ships of war other than those which Russia will maintain in the Black Sea, according to the terms of her convention with Turkey.

The Congress proceeds to the developement of the second point.

The First Plenipotentiary of France remarks that the Conference of Vienna had carefully studied all the questions relating to the navigation of the Danube, and that it would, consequently, be advisable to take into account what had been then prepared.

Count Buol reads the annex to the fifth Vienna protocol.

Count Walewski proposes that the following clauses should be drawn up:—

The act of the Congress of Vienna having established the principles intended to regulate the navigation of rivers which traverse several States, the contracting powers stipulate among themselves that these principles shall in future be equally applied to the Danube and its mouths; they declare that this arrangement henceforth forms part of the public law of Europe, and take it under their guarantee.

The navigation of the Danube cannot be subjected to any impediment or charge not expressly provided for by the stipulations which follow; in consequence, there shall not be levied any toll founded solely upon the fact of the navigation of the river, nor any duty upon the goods which may be on board of vessels, and no obstacle whatever shall be opposed to free navigation.

The Sublime Porte engages to cause to be executed, in conjunction with the local government in the Principalities, the works which are at present or which may become necessary, as well to clear the mouth of the Danube from the sands which obstruct it, as to put the river in the best possible state for navigation or other points in the upper parts of its course, especially between the ports of Galatz and Braila.

In order to cover the expenses of such works, as well of the establishments intended to secure and to facilitate the navigation, fixed duties of a suitable rate may be levied on ships navigating the Lower Danube, on the express condition that, in this respect, as in every other, the flags of all nations shall be treated on the footing of perfect equality.

With the view to carry out the arrangements of the preceding article, a commission, which can only be dissolved by common consent, and composed of ——

shall be charged with the duty of determining the extent of the works to be executed, and of preparing the basis of a regulation for navigation, and for river and maritime police; it shall also draw up instructions intended for the guidance of an executive commission.

In conformity with the stipulations of the treaties of Vienna, this commission will be composed of ——

In the quality of river-bordering States; it will be permanent. In case of disagreement relative to the interpretation of the established regulations, reference shall be had to the contracting powers.

Count Walewski observes that the Congress will further have to take into consideration the composition of the commissions mentioned in the two last paragraphs; but that as the executive commission is to comprise delegates of all the Powers bordering on the Danube, it will be proper to invite Bavaria to send representatives to it.

Count Buol remarks that the regulation of which this commission will have to superintend the execution can affect only the interests of the navigation of the Lower Danube; that the navigation of the Upper Danube has not given rise to any dispute among the interested parties, and that there could be no reason for giving to the authority of the commission an extension for which there was no justification.

The First Plenipotentiary of France replies that the congress has to deal with a general question affecting the navigation of the river; that it had been thus laid down in the document which forms the basis of the negotiation; and that, from the moment it is agreed that the commission styled executive is to be composed of river-bordering powers, it becomes impossible to exclude Bavaria from it. He adds that, moreover, the text of the proposed articles admits of no ambiguity, and sufficiently indicates the nature of the attributes of this commission.

Count Walewski reads the seventh and last paragraph, which is in the following terms:

In order to insure the execution of the regulations which shall have been drawn up by common consent in accordance with the principles above set forth, each of the contracting powers shall have the right of stationing (one or two) light vessels at the mouth of the Danube.

The Congress defers to a future sitting the final drawing up of these several paragraphs.

The First Plenipotentiary of Great Britain expresses the opinion that the terms of the stipulations inserted in the protocols ought not to bind the Congress irrevocably; he adds that, in his opinion, each plenipotentiary retains the right of further proposing such modifications as he may consider it advantageous to bring forward.

Count Orloff replies that as the plenipotentiaries transmit each protocol to their respective governments, he cannot admit that paragraphs accepted unanimously can be indefinitely altered.

The Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain explain that they do not propose to reserve to each plenipotentiary the right of revising the resolutions adopted and the principles accepted by the Congress, but the power of proposing a simple revision of the text, if necessary, in order better to define its sense and bearing.

The observations of the Earl of Clarendon, confined within these limits, are agreed to by the congress.

[The signatures follow.

PROTOCOL NO. 6.

NEW RUSSIAN BOUNDARY.

Sitting of March 8, 1856.

Present—The plenipotentiaries of Austria, France, Great Britain, Russia, Sardinia and Turkey.

The First Plenipotentiary of Turkey states that Mehemmed Djemil Bey would not be present at the sitting, the state of his health not allowing him to be so.

The First Plenipotentiary of Russia states that his court has assented to the establishment of the mixed commission which will be charged with the revision of the Asiatic frontier, and to which, as stated in Protocol No. 4, the plenipotentiaries of Russia had only agreed subject to the approval of their government.

On the proposal of Count Walewski, the congress proceeds to the developement of the first point, and decides that, before touching on the questions relating to the organization of the Principalities, it will take up the rectification of the frontiers between the Danubian provinces and the Russian territory.

Baron Brunow reads a memorandum tending to prove that the character of the localities, and the direction of the roads of communication, do not admit of a direct line being drawn between the two extreme points indicated in the preliminaries of peace. He observes that the allied Powers propose to insure the free navigation of the Danube, and he conceives that this object would be attained by another line, which he is instructed to propose to the congress. This line, which would have the advantage of causing no disturbance in the administration of the province, would start from Waduii-Tseki, on the Pruth, follow the Val de Trajan, and terminate on the north of Lake Yalput. Russia would abandon the Islands of Delta, and raze the forts of Ismail and Kilianova.

Count Walewski replies that this proposition is too material a departure from the very bases of the negotiation for the plenipotentiaries of the allied Powers to be able to take it into serious consideration.

Baron Brunow, reverting to the observations which he had already urged, states that it would be difficult to fix upon a good boundary if the limits which he has suggested are departed from. He adds that it might, however, be possible to add to the territory ceded by Russia by the line which he has already proposed that which is included between the Lake Kartalabug, the Val de Trajan, and Lake Salsyk.

The First Plenipotentiary of Great Britain represents that the admission of the line indicated by the Russian plenipotentiary would be equivalent to the abandonment of the propositions drawn up by Austria with the assent of the allied Powers; that those propositions have been accepted at St. Petersburg, confirmed at Vienna and Paris, and that the plenipotentiaries of those Powers, whatever may be the spirit of conciliation by which they are animated, could not depart to such an extent from the conditions of peace, and entirely renounce concessions admitted in principle by all the governments represented at the congress.

Count Walewski makes similar observations.

Count Buol also remarks that the line proposed by Baron Brunow comprises only a small portion of the territory the cession of which had been consented to by Russia when she accepted the conditions of peace conveyed by Austria to St. Petersburg and that he hopes that the plenipotentiaries of Russia will make to the congress a proposition approaching more nearly to the facts which had preceded the opening of the negotiations.

Baron Hubner observes that the line indicated by its two extreme points, in the Austrian propositions, is founded on the configuration of the country, as laid down in all the maps.

The Plenipotentiaries of Russia reply that they have given evidence, in the preceding sittings, of their conciliatory intentions; that they have placed before the congress considerations which, in their opinion, deserve to be taken into account; that they have no other object than to elicit an understanding in conformity with the topography of the country and with the interests of its inhabitants; and that they are consequently ready to discuss any other proposition which might be communicated to them.

The First Plenipotentiary of France repeats that the allied Powers could not agree to a boundary which would not be in accordance with the concessions obtained by the negotiation; but that it is nevertheless admissable to proceed by means of compensation; and that it might perhaps be possible to come to an understanding by extending the boundary to the southeast and beyond Lake Salsyk, if as the plenipotentiaries of Russia conceive, it would encounter topographical difficulties to the north.

After a discussion upon this amendment, in which all the plenipotentiaries take part, it is proposed to the plenipotentiaries of Russia to settle the frontier by means of a line which, starting from the Pruth between Leova and Hush, would pass to the north of Lake Salsyk, and terminate above Lake Albedies.

The Plenipotentiaries of Russia being obliged, they say, to ascertain what effect this would have upon the Bulgarian and Russian colonies established in this part of Bessarabia, request that the continuation of the discussion may be deferred till the next sitting.

The congress agrees, but the plenipotentiaries of France and Great Britain maintain that the proposition to which they have assented in a spirit of concord constitutes, in every respect, a concession, the importance of which is proved by the extent of territory comprised between Chetyn and Hush, and they express the conviction that this concession will be fully appreciated by the plenipotentiaries of Russia.

Count Orloff bears witness to the good will which the Russian plenipotentiaries, in their turn, experience from the other members of the congress, and he adds, that in requesting to be allowed time fully to examine the proposition which had been made to them, the only object they had in view is to endeavor to reconcile it with local requirements.

The congress then proceeds to the examination of the propositions relative to the organization of the Principalities.

Count Walewski remarks that, before touching on this important point of negotiation, it is indispensable to deliberate on a question which is of a paramount importance, and on the solution of which must necessarily depend the further labors of the congress on that subject; this question is whether Moldavia and Wallachia shall henceforth be united in one single Principality, or whether they shall continue to possess a separate administration. The first plenipotentiary of France conceives that, as the union of the two provinces satisfies the requirements brought to light by an attentive investigation into their true interests, the congress should admit and proclaim it.

The First Plenipotentiary of Great Britain shares in and supports this opinion, relying especially on the utility and expediency of taking into serious consideration the wishes of the people, which it is always right, he adds, to take into account.

The First Plenipotentiary of Turkey contests it. Aali Pasha maintains that the state of things to which it is proposed to put an end cannot be attributed to the separation of the two provinces; that the separation dates from the most remote times, while the confusion which has prevailed in the Principalities dates from a comparatively recent period; that the separation is the natural consequence of the difference of manners and habits in the two provinces; that some individuals, influenced by personal considerations, have propounded an opinion adverse to the existing state of things, but such certainly is not the opinion of the people.

Count Buol, although not authorised to discuss a question which is not provided for in his instructions, agrees with the first plenipotentiary of Turkey, that nothing could justify the union of the two provinces; the people, he adds, have not been consulted; and if the value which each community attaches to its self government is considered, it may be inferred *a priori* that the Moldavians, equally with the Wallachians, desire above all things to preserve their local and separate institutions.

After having added further arguments in support of his opinion, Count Walewski replies that the Congress cannot directly consult those people, and that it must necessarily in this respect act upon presumption. Now, he says all accounts agree in representing the Moldo-Wallachians as unanimously imbued with the desire of forming for the future only one single Principality; this desire is explained by the community of origin and of religion, as well as by previous occurrences, which have shown the political and administrative inconveniences resulting from the separation—the union being, no doubt, an element of prosperity for both provinces, answers the end to which the solicitude of the Congress is directed.

The First Plenipotentiary of Austria does not think that he can place implicit confidence in the information on which the first plenipotentiary of France relies. He thinks, besides, that the opinion of the first plenipotentiary of Turkey, who is in a better position than any other member of the Congress for estimating the real wants and wishes of the people, deserves especial consideration; that, on the other hand, the powers are, above all, bound to maintain the privileges of the Principalities, and that to compel the two provinces to amalgamate with each other would be to inflict a severe blow on those privileges, since among the number of those privileges was above all, comprised that of separate administrations. He adds that at a later period, and when there shall be established in the Principalities an institution which can be regularly considered as the legitimate organ of the wishes of the country, it might be possible, if necessary, to unite the two provinces, with a full knowledge of all the circumstances.

Baron Bourqueney replies to the first plenipotentiary of Austria, that he cannot share his views; the bases of the negotiation, he says, sets forth that the Principalities shall preserve their privileges and their immunities, and that the Sultan, in concert with his allies, shall grant or confirm to them an internal organization suitable to the wants and wishes of the people. It had therefore been proposed at Vienna to reserve to the Sultan and his allies the right and the care of devising together the measures calculated to ensure the happiness of these people, taking into account their own wishes. Now, France had presented at the Conferences of the preceding year an act which placed the question on the ground of the discussion, and since that time no demonstration had taken place tending to invalidate the accounts which lead to the supposition that the Moldo-Wallachians desired the union of the provinces in one single Principality.

The First Plenipotentiary of Sardinia remarks, in order to prove that the wish of the people in this respect is antecedent to the present state of affairs, that an article of the organic statute has decided the question by recording in that act the principle of the eventual union of the Principalities.

Aali Pasha maintains that the article quoted by the Count de Cavour would not bear such an interpretation.

Count Orloff declares that the plenipotentiaries of Russia, having had opportunities of ascertaining the wants and wishes of the two Principalities, support the project of union, as calculated to promote the prosperity of the provinces.

Upon the declaration made by Aali Pasha, that the plenipotentiaries of Turkey are not authorised to pursue the discussion on this basis, and the plenipotentiaries of Austria being therefore without instructions, the question is adjourned to another sitting, in order to enable them to take the orders of their courts.

[The signatures follow.]

PROTOCOL No. 7.

Sitting of March 10, 1856.

Present—The Plenipotentiaries of Austria, France, Great Britain, Russia, Sardinia, and Turkey.

The second plenipotentiary of Turkey, prevented by the state of his health, does not assist at the sitting.

The congress resumes the discussion on the demarcation of the frontiers in Bessarabia.

Baron Brunnow explains that the plenipotentiaries of Russia have examined, in the same spirit of conciliation which had suggested the terms of it to the plenipotentiaries of the allied powers, the line which had been proposed to them at the preceding sitting; that they acknowledge how much this line justifies the confidence which they had placed in the conciliatory dispositions of the congress; but that after having consulted their instructions, and grounding their opinion on the topographical and administrative considerations which they have already explained, they find themselves compelled, in the interest itself of a good demarcation, to demand an amendment of the line which had been offered to them, so that the frontier, starting from the confluence of the Pruth and the Saratsika, should ascend this latter river as far as the village of the same name, and should proceed thence towards the river Yalpuck, the course of which it should descend as far as the point where it joins the Val de Trajan, which it should follow as far as Lake Salsyk, terminating finally at the northern extremity of Lake Alaoies.

This proposition is subjected to an examination, in which all the plenipotentiaries take part, who come to an agreement, and decide that the frontier shall start from the Black Sea, one kilometre to the east of Lake Bourna Sola, shall run perpendicularly to the Akerman road, follow this road as far as the Val de Trajan, pass to the south of Bolgrad, ascend the Yalpuck river to the height of Saratzika, and terminate at Katamori on the Pruth.

The Plenipotentiaries of Russia, while assenting to the result of this deliberation, yet having, they say, been obliged to depart from their instructions, reserve the approbation of their court.

A commission, composed of engineers and surveyors, shall be charged with fixing in its details the line of the new frontier.

Count Orloff, grounding his arguments on precedents, proposes to the congress to decide that the inhabitants of the territory ceded by Russia should retain the full enjoyment of the rights and privileges of which they are in possession, and that they shall be permitted to transfer their abode elsewhere, ceding their property in return for a pecuniary indemnity agreed upon by common consent, or by means of a separate agreement to be concluded with the administration of the Principalities.

Several plenipotentiaries observing that this proposition may raise difficulties which they are not in a position to appreciate, the congress receives it *ad referendum*.

Count Walewski remarks that the developement of the first point, as far as concerns the future organization of the Principalities, requires that the details of it should be confided to a commission, the labors of which, if the conclusion of peace were made to depend on them, would delay, without sufficient reason, the principal object entrusted to the care of the Congress. In the opinion of the first plenipotentiary of France, they might confine themselves to laying down in the treaty the bases of the political and administrative system which shall henceforth regulate the Danubian provinces, agreeing, at the same time, that the contracting parties shall conclude a convention on this subject with the least possible delay. In this case, he adds, the treaty of peace might be signed shortly, and the expectation of Europe would be no longer kept in suspense.

This proposition is the subject of a discussion in which take part particularly the plenipotentiaries of Austria and Great Britain.

The First Plenipotentiary of Austria proposes an amendment, which is accepted; and, in consequence, the Congress decides that a commission, composed of Count Buol, Baron Bourqueney and Aali Pasha shall present, at the next sitting, the text of the articles of the treaty of peace destined to fix the bases of the convention which shall be concluded on the subject of the Principalities.

Count Walewski expresses the opinion that at the point at which the negotiations have happily arrived, the moment is come to invite Prussia to send representatives to the congress, in accordance with the decision come to at the meeting of the 28th of February and he proposes to adopt and forward to Berlin the following resolution:—

The congress, considering that it is a matter of European interest that Prussia, a signing party to the convention concluded at London on the 13th of July, 1841, should participate in the new arrangements to be adopted, decides that an extract from the protocol of this day shall be forwarded to Berlin through Count Walewski, as organ of the congress, in order to invite the Prussian government to send plenipotentiaries to Paris.

The congress adheres.

The Earl of Clarendon, expressing the confidence which he places in the sentiments of the Court of Russia, and speaking in the name of the allied powers, states that he thinks he may be sure that the cemeteries in which repose the officers and soldiers who have fallen before Sebastopol or on other points of the Russian territory, as well as the monuments raised to their memory, will be maintained in perpetuity, and treated with the respect due to the ashes of the dead; he adds that he should, however, be happy to receive an assurance of this from the mouth of the plenipotentiaries of Russia.

Count Orloff thanks the Congress for the opportunity which is offered him of giving a proof of the disposition which animates the Emperor his august master, of which he is sure that he is the loyal and faithful interpreter in declaring that all the necessary measures will be taken to realise fully the wish expressed by the plenipotentiaries of the allied Powers.

Count Walewski remarks that the treaty of peace should make mention of the full and complete amnesty which each belligerent power is to grant to its own subjects for all co-operation in acts of war.

The plenipotentiaries of Russia assent to this opinion which is equally agreed to by the other members of the Congress. [The signatures follow.]

PROTOCOL NO. 8.

PRINCIPALITIES AND BLACK SEA.

Sitting of March 12, 1856.

Present—The plenipotentiaries of Austria, France, Great Britain, Russia, Sardinia and Turkey.

Baron Bourqueney gives an account of the labors of the commission which at the last meeting had been charged with preparing the text of the articles of the treaty concerning the future organization of the Principalities.

Before reading the articles proposed by the commission Baron Bourqueney establishes that the object of the labors of this commission has been to reconcile the opinions expressed at the last sitting.

The course proposed by the commission, Baron Bourqueney adds, rests on three principles:—

To conclude peace without making the final instrument depend on a diplomatic act remaining in suspense.

To take proper measures for ascertaining the wishes of the populations on questions of principles not yet solved.

To respect the rights of the suzerain power, and not to overlook those of the guaranteeing Powers, by establishing the double necessity of a diplomatic act to record the principles adopted as bases of the organization of the Principalities, and of a hatti-scherif to promulgate the application of those principles.

Starting from these three principles, the commission proposes to send delegates immediately to Bucharest, who shall meet there an Ottoman commissioner.

Divans *ad hoc* would be convoked without delay in the capital of the two provinces. These divans would be composed in such a manner as to afford guarantees of a true and serious representation.

The European commission, taking into consideration the wishes expressed by the divans, would revise the statutes and regulations in force. The result of its labors would be transmitted to the present seat of the conferences. A diplomatic convention, founded on these labors, would be concluded between the contracting powers, and a hatti scherif, constituting the definitive organization, would be promulgated by the Sultan.

The Congress adopts the proposed course, and defers to a future sitting the definitive adoption of the text of the articles which Baron Borqueney has read.

The plenipotentiaries of Russia and Turkey communicate to the Congress the project of the Convention which is to be concluded between them, after being agreed to by the other plenipotentiaries, relative to the light vessels of war which the coast powers shall maintain in the Black Sea.

They announce that they are not agreed on one point. The plenipotentiaries of Russia think that the convention should authorize both powers to maintain, besides the vessels of war which shall be employed in the police of the Black Sea, and a fixed number of transports, some vessels of less tonnage, for the purpose of watching over the execution of the administrative and sanitary regulations in the ports. The plenipotentiaries of Turkey are not authorized to accept a stipulation framed in that sense.

The Plenipotentiaries of Russia give to the Congress explanations tending to prove the necessity of providing for the internal police of the ports, and of inserting in the convention a clause relative to the stationary vessels which shall be there employed, so as not to expose the powers on the coast of the Black Sea to the interpretations which might be authorized by this subject being passed over in silence.

The Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain and France reply that as these vessels cannot be either of the dimensions or armament of ships of war, there is no occasion to mention them in the convention; and that if Russia means only to have in her ports such boats as those called "pataches," for the service of the custom house and quarantine, which, consequently, would not be employed at sea, there is no reason to fear that the presence of these "pataches" in the commercial ports can give rise to objectionable interpretations.

The Plenipotentiaries of Russia withdraw their demand relative to the insertion in the convention of the clause concerning the small vessels destined for the internal service of the ports, reserving, at the same time, the approbation of their court.

The Earl of Clarendon remarks that the transport vessels should not be armed.

Count Orloff replies that, like all the transports employed by the other powers in other seas, the transports of Russia in the Black Sea will be exclusively furnished with a defensive armament suitable to the nature of the service for which they will be designed.

The Earl of Clarendon not considering that he should be justified in admitting these explanations, the question is adjourned.

The congress resumes the discussion of the project for drawing up the second point, which had been the subject of its deliberations in the sitting of the 6th of March.

Count Buol states that the principles established by the Congress of Vienna, and intended to regulate the navigation of rivers which traverse several States, lay down, as the principal regulation, that the Powers on the banks of rivers shall be exclusively entitled to arrange regulations of river police, and to superintend the execution of such regulations; that the European commission, of which mention is made in the terms inserted in the Protocol No. 5, will comprise, besides the delegates of the Powers on the banks of the Danube, delegates from Powers not on the banks of the river; that the permanent commission which is to be instituted for the European commission will be charged with executing the resolutions adopted by it; that from that time, and in order to abide by the spirit as well as the terms of the act of the Congress of Vienna, both commissions should confine their labors to the Lower Danube and its mouths.

Count Walewski recalls attention to the bases of the negotiation accepted by all the contracting powers, and which are to the effect that the liberty of the Danube and its mouths should be sufficiently secured; consequently it has been understood that the free navigation of this river shall be provided for.

The Earl of Clarendon notes that if it were otherwise, Austria, remaining alone in possession of the Upper Danube, and sharing in the navigation of the lower part of the river, would acquire separate and exclusive advantages, which the congress could not sanction.

The Plenipotentiaries of Austria reply that all the efforts as well as the tendencies of their government, in commercial matters, have for their object to establish and propagate on all points of the empire the principles of complete liberty, and that the free navigation of the Danube is naturally comprised within the limits of the improvements which it proposes to make; but that it finds itself hampered in this matter by previous engagements and acquired rights, which it is obliged to take into account; that its intentions, therefore, respond to the wish recorded in the preliminaries of peace; that, nevertheless, they cannot recognise, in the commissions which it is proposed to establish, an authority which could not belong to them on the Upper Danube.

The First Plenipotentiary of France says that it is necessary, in fact, to distinguish between two resolutions, equally admitted in principle, but having each of them an object perfectly distinct; that, on the one hand, the congress ought to provide for the free navigation of the Danube throughout its whole course, upon the bases established by the Congress of Vienna; and on the other, to