EUROPE.

The Radical Reform Agitation in England.

Pope Pius the Ninth and Mr. Gladstone.

The Ex-Empress of Mexico and General Miramon's Family.

Italian and Irish Emigrants Rushing to the United States.

The Inman steamship City of Baltimore, Captain Leitch, which left Liverpool at two P. M. on the 15th and Queenstown on the 16th of April, arrived at this port last night, bringing a mail report, in detail of our cable despatches, dated to her day of sailing from Ireland.

ENGLAND.

Splendid Turnout of the Volunteer Army—The Pope and Mr. Gladstone—The Cobden Reformers in Council—New Peers—Condition of the Money Market.

The London journals of the 14th of April contain detailed accounts of the British Volunteer review at Portsmouth, which is pronounced the greatest success yet achieved by the volunteer army.

According to reports from Rome the Pope has requested Mgr. Manning, Archbishop of Westminster, to thank Mr. Gladstone for his attitude in the House of Commons upon the subject of the Established Church in Ireland.

The Leeds "Cobden Club" held its first banquet on the 14th inst. The speeches generally enjoined upon the liberal party unity of action and active preparations for the next election. Mr. Foster, M. P., said the liberals had now more power than when they sat on the ministerial benches under Palmerston's administration. Mr. Baines, M. P., expressed a hope that if the Queen should call upon Mr. Bright to take part in the Councils of State the member for Birmingham would accept office. The London *Gazette* notifies that the dignity of a baron of the United Kingdom has been conferred on the Right Hon. Sir John Trollope, by the title of Baron Hestwen; on Sir John Walsh, by the title of Baron Ormathwaite; on Sir Brook Bridges, by the title of Baron Fitzwalter, and on William O'Neill, by the title of Baron O'Neill.

The Prince of Wales in Ireland.

[From the London News, April 15.]

The Prince and Princess of Wales set foot to-day on Irish soil, and they are assured of a thousandfold welcome from the gallantry and courtesy of the nation, as well as from its loyalty. Even disaffection will respect the guests of a people; and a nation of born courtiers will not violate in any jot the code of politeness. The peer and the peasant, rich and poor, Protestant and Catholic, Trojan and Tyrian, will know no discrimination in the cordiality of their welcome to a kind hearted and well meaning prince, and to a lady whose grace, amiability and patient sufferings have won and touched all hearts. The royal visit is in one respect well timed. At the moment when the House of Commons has virtually pledged itself to a great act of national justice it is fitting that the reigning family should not be wanting in signs of good will toward Ireland. It might be well if royal visits had been earlier and more frequent. * * * * The only remedy for Irish disaffection is justice. But the signs of good will have their value as pledges of good works. An appeal to the loyalty of the people is an implied promise to fulfil the conditions on which loyalty depends. The task of necessary repression has been firmly and judiciously performed. Its execution may defy censure and may even exact approval, but it cannot win affection. For that other agencies must be used, and the visit of the Prince and Princess of Wales is an augury, we hope, of their employment. Except in the rarest instances, Irish disaffection to the English government has seldom in recent times grown into actual disloyalty to the person of the monarch or to the ruling dynasty. On the contrary, almost the only feeling common to Irishmen of both creeds and all ranks has been a hearty allegiance to the throne. In the ceremonial of which the venerable cathedral will be the scene, Protestant and Catholic peers will find themselves side by side, untroubled by controversies as to whether the saint who gives his name alike to the Church and their knightly order was a Catholic, or a Protestant, or a Primitive Christian, or, as Mr. Osborne on learned authority contends, a myth, and but the shadow of a name. They will meet as Irishmen and as loyal subjects. Faction, party and sect will for the time be absorbed in a common patriotism and allegiance. The less courtly crowd which will gather on an occasion probably as interesting to the royal visitors at the Punchestown race course will be animated by substantially the same feelings. In giving occasion to them the Prince and Princess of Wales will render a real aid to the larger and wiser statesmanship of the future. It is to be hoped that such help will be renewed from time to time.

[From the London Times, April 15.]

* * * The Irish people have been more truly and effectually represented at Westminster than they ever were in College Green; they have done more for themselves, and have constituted a more influential part of the general government of this empire. They have repeatedly made administrations and have unmade them; and have contributed at least their share to our political and public functionaries. Nothing has been done without them; very much for them; and while the popular cause and popular interests of Ireland have been continually asserted to a point far beyond even recent experience, all the interests of this island affecting an exclusive and prescriptive character have continually decreased in as great a proportion. Whom, then, or what does the Prince represent, unless it be this great imperial unity, with which Ireland has now living and growing ties, numerous political obligations and glorious recollections? He does not represent any one church, or class, or party. Upon many points arising out of these matters it is open to most men to have opinions and predilections of their own. Our princes may not, or, at least, may only cherish their convictions in the depths of their own bosoms. That is their duty, and if they transgress they are the first to suffer. Their duty is to feel for all, and as much as possible, with all; to represent our unity, not our differences, and, in that way, as far as they can, to shape their course by the rule and example of that Providence that cares for us all.

Conference of Railway Shareholders.

[From the London News, April 15.]

Yesterday morning a conference of railway shareholders from all parts of the kingdom was held at the Town Hall, Manchester, summoned together by the Railway Shareholders' Association. There was a large and influential attendance. The object of the conference is to effect improvements in railway administration and legislation. A great number of letters have been received, from which extracts will be of interest. The Marquis of Clanricarde writes that he will be in Ireland, and regrets that he cannot attend the meeting. He says the papers to be discussed are of the highest interest and importance to the shareholders. The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone expresses himself deeply sensible of the importance of the conference and of the good results that may flow out of it. Mr. S. Laing, M. P., writes that he will be in Lisbon, and regrets that he cannot attend. He looks to great good as likely to result from this interchange of opinions among railway proprietors. Similar letters of apology were received from Captain Surtees, M. P.; Mr. Baines, M. P.; Mr. G. Hadfield, Mr. E Leatham, M. P.; Mr. J. T. Hibbert, M. P.; the Rev. J. A. Wedgewood, Mr. R. Goulding, Mr. E. Grey, Mr. M Slaughter (secretary of the London Stock Exchange), and about one hundred others. Mr. Bazley, M. P., was called to the chair.

The Chairman said:—At the present time they employed on railways what was equal to ten million horses' power to convey the traffic, and they carried about 275,000,000 fares annually, or what was equal to the population of the whole country multiplied nine times. This was indeed one of the great triumphs of the age. To revert for one moment to the advantages of the system, they were receiving not only immense personal comfort and convenience, but they had their goods sent from place to place in the most expeditious manner they could possibly conceive. With these advantages there had also been a great economy of time, which might be said to have increased the duration of human life, inasmuch as all were enabled to do much more than could have been achieved under the old system of travelling. (Hear, hear.) He did not come before them to denounce this splendid system of communication which had been established all over the country. There were unquestionably administrative defects which had crept into it from the very necessities of the case, but he would not attribute intentions of wrong to anybody of his countrymen. Such errors as now existed had probably been inevitable, but they now called for imperative amendment and reform. He thought that nothing less than a comprehensive act of Parliament for the purpose of improving the system of management, and directing and controlling railways, would meet the necessities of the movement. (Hear, hear.) Some of his friends might say that it would not be very discreet to thus extend the powers of the Legislature; but they must recollect that railways did not exist by themselves. They were called into existence by act of Parliament; their regulations, even their charges for passengers and other matters, were controlled by act of Parliament; and he thought that nothing less than parliamentary control would suffice for this emergency. (Applause.) In conclusion he chairman expressed his regret that other engagements would prevent him taking any part in the second day's conference.

Mr. Thomas Wrigley, of Bury, then read a lengthy paper on the importance of securing a more effective control over expenditure, with a special view to an accurate division of capital and revenue charges. He remarked that it was not a little extraordinary that after thirty years had elapsed since the advent of railways, with all our knowledge and experience of business and business principles, it shoud be necessary to discuss a question of this character. The business of a railway is only a question of receipts and disbursements and their relation to each other; and compared with the operations of many of our great commercial and manufacturing establishments was simple to a degree. The question under consideration—viz., the importance of securing a more effectual control over expenditure—implied a want of control over the executive who had the charge of our affairs. Theoretically, the law appeared to have made provision for giving to the shareholders all necessary power to protect their interests. The directors are to be chosen by the shareholders. Their approval is required to the raising and also the expenditure of capital. The half-yearly accounts are presented in due form for their approval or rejection, having first been audited by gentlemen of their own choice. If the Legislature intended, as doubtless it did, that the power of controlling their own affairs should be vested in the shareholders, it had most signally failed in its object, for the practical operation of the law, as it stands, was to enable the directors to secure their own election, and to usurp the power nominally vested in the shareholders. The collection of proxies, in anticipation of a meeting, is systematically organized and regularly practised. The facilities which directors possessed of communicating with the shareholders at the expense of the company give to them an inseparable advantage over the proprietors, who were not even allowed to know the names of their fellow shareholders, except at a cost which no individual shareholder would incur. In the London and Northwestern Railway, with which he was connected, six of the directors retired annually; but the board claimed to nominate four out of six and for any practical difference in the result they might just as well claim the other two. Shareholders might be quite competent to understand and to lay down general principles, but they were not competent to work them out, nor would it be for their interest that the directors of a railway should be liable to perpetual interference in the management of the undertaking under their charge by an irresponsible body outside. There were certain matters over which the shareholders ought to exercise an absolute control, and that, too, without the necessity of having recourse to an organized opposition, with all its concurrent evils. Where an effort to this nature was required to enable the shareholders to exercise their legitimate influence, it was clear that there was something constitutionally wrong. What was necessary for the protection of their property was an easy and effectual means of controlling the expenditure, and also of determining the principles and policy by which the undertaking should be conducted. Although he should deprecate any attempt to overawe the directors by means of a permanent organization, the position in which shareholders found themselves was so far exceptional as to demand exceptional measures for its correction. He thought it would be far better, and tend to a better understanding between directors and proprietors, if, instead of wasting strength in attempting to cope with the directors, under the law as it now stood, they were calmly to review their relative positions, and at once seek, through Parliament, for such changes in the law as might be necessary for the object in view.

Mr. GALSWORTHY said the great evil at present was the use of proxies. So long as they existed the shareholders could have no power over the directors and must continue at their mercy. Nor could they have independent auditors till that system was abolished.

Mr. WRIGLEY replied, observing that there was nothing new in the principle he advocated, but was that adopted by landowners in the management of their estates, and by manufacturers in that of their mills.

The Chairman conveyed the thanks of the Conference to Mr. Wrigley for his paper, amid applause.

Mr. C. H. Parker, of London, next read a paper "On the desirableness of enactments restricting any outlay by directors on capital account until the requisite funds have been provided, and on the expediency of making inquiry before Parliamentary committees into the financial arrangements made by promoters of new railways."

The Stock Exchange—Easy Condition of the London Money Market.

[From the London Times (city article), April 15.]

The rate of discount has now remained at 2 per cent for a longer period than on any former occasion. It has stood at that point for 264 days. As regards the general abundance of money, however, there have been times of much greater duration than that through which we have thus far recently passed. After the great railway panic of 1847, a period of nearly five years ensued during which the rate never went above 3 per cent, and was often down at 2½ and 2.

The distress created by the convulsion of 1866 was far more intense even than that from the railway panic, but while it was consequently more powerful in extinguishing every disposition to speculation it was not so fatal to the operations of commerce, and the power of the country to realize profits has, therefore, been manifested with little comparative interruption. Hence the accumulation of unemployed money is greater now than was witnessed after that occasion since. While we have been in the employment of a fair degree of trading prosperity we have nursed a state of dread that has caused us to hoard in an unparalleled degree the fruits of that prosperity.

Under these circumstances it is probable that, but for the deplorable character of the last wheat crop, the bank charge would during the past autumn have been down to 1½ per cent. Should the coming harvest prove abundant, and peace be preserved, the present plethora may be expected to increase, since the daily lessons still furnished in the Court of Chancery of the perils which are almost inseparable from every joint stock concern under our existing legal system must effectually prevent any revival of the spirit of adventure in that form, while the contest between France and Prussia as to which Power can soonest exhaust the financial energies of its people in warlike armaments must operate as a check to any large or indiscriminate ventures in continental loans.

The Telegraph Control Bill.

The bill submitted to Parliament by the English Cabinet, with the intention of placing the telegraphs of the kingdom under control of the government, recites that the means of communication by telegraph in the United Kingdom are insufficient, and many important districts are without any such means, and that it would be attended with great advantage to the State, to trade and to the public generally, if a cheaper, more widely extended and more expeditious system of telegraphy were established. The bill proceeds to give power to the Postmaster General to purchase existing telegraphs by agreement, a company to be bound by two-thirds of the votes of shareholders present in person or by proxy at a special meeting. But when the Postmaster General thus acquires the undertaking of one company he is to be bound for twelve months (if required) to purchase that of any other company upon terms to be settled (failing agreement) by an arbitrator to be appointed by the Board of Trade; and this clause includes railway companies possessed of a telegraph open to the public on the 1st of January last, and railway companies possessing any beneficial interest in such telegraph may in like manner require the purchase of their interest. The Post office is to charge *a uniform rate for transmission of messages throughout the United Kingdom without regard to distance, the rate not to exceed one shilling for twenty words and sixpence for every additional ten, names and addresses of senders and receivers not to be counted,* and the above charge to cover the cost of delivery by special foot messenger within one mile of the terminal office, or within its town postal delivery if it is a head office and that delivery extends for more than a mile from it. When the addressee does not reside within these limits the message will be delivered free of charge by the next postal delivery, or, if the sender desires, by special foot messenger at a charge for porterage beyond such limits not exceeding sixpence per double mile. The payments for telegrams, except for porterage, are to be made in stamps. The Postmaster General may arrange that messages (with the stamps) may be deposited in pillar letter boxes, the telegrams to be despatched forthwith on their arrival with the letters at the postal telegraph office. No purchase of a telegraph is to be binding until the agreement, with a statement of reasons for it, has laid for one month on the table of both houses of Parliament without disapproval.

Commercial Morality—The New Bankrupt Law.

[From the London Times, April 8.]

The idea of improving commercial morality by act of Parliament is not really so chimerical as it may appear at first sight. A good code of bankruptcy would do more than all the efforts of individuals to discourage those dishonorable, if not dishonest, practices which have lowered the character and diminished the credit of our merchants both at home and abroad. The Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, therefore, has done well to give this subject the first place in its programme of reform, and to concentrate its attention for the present upon the comprehensive bill of the Lord Chancellor. The main features of that bill are, indeed, founded upon sugestions from bodies representing the mercantile community rather than upon any consistent legal principle. The almost complete abolition of imprisonment for debt is, so far as it goes, a relaxation of the checks on reckless overtrading; the liability of future earnings has a contrary tendency, since it cuts off the hope of getting "whitewashed" by passing through a Bankruptcy Court. Both amendments, however, are embodied in the bill at the instance and in the interest of creditors *in posse*, who naturally regard the realization of assets as the paramount object of all such legislation. At the last meeting of the Liverpool Chamber, a report of which appears in another of our columns, the general policy of Lord Cairns' measure seems to have been fully approved; but a discussion arose on certain proposals of a special committee which, if adopted, would effect a still more sweeping change in our existing Bankruptcy law. The most important of these proposals related to the system of private arrangements and to the claims of creditors over property beyond the bankrupt's present control, whether settled upon his family or yet to be acquired. The opinion of the committee against the recognition of private arrangements, except where all the creditors are unanimous, is entitled, of course, to respect, but will hardly be accepted by the legislature without much consideration. The statement that in all cases of insolvency the fullest publicity is desirable, and can only be secured by regular proceedings in the Bankruptcy Court, is plausible enough in itself, but it leaves out of sight all the reasons which have brought these deeds of arrangement into use. The most urgent of these is the enormous expense of the process whereby the Bankruptcy Court, as hitherto administered, collects and distributes the assets. It is true that Lord Cairns' bill purports to render this process somewhat cheaper, and the committee express a hope that it will be successful in this respect. It can hardly be expected, however, that it will reduce the percentage of costs, now estimated at some thirty per cent, to less than twenty or twenty-five per cent, and this percentage is sufficiently formidable to frighten most creditors, with a choice of evils before them, into the alternative of composition. But this is not the only motive which operates to keep up this form of voluntary settlement, notwithstanding the monstrous frauds which are sometimes practiced under it.

* * * A moral obligation already rests upon the man who has thrown away the money of others to replace it when he recovers the power of doing so. It is one of the worst reflections upon modern commercial morality that restitution is so rare, and that merchants in prosperous business can meet in the streets without a blush those whom they have injured and have no thought of compensating. The experience of foreign countries and of our own insolvency law appears to be on the whole favorable to converting the moral into the legal obligation, while the present rule involves the consequence, repudiated alike by reason and justice, that "the merchant or trader who speculates beyond his capital takes the profits, if successful; if the speculation be ruinous his creditors bear the loss."

The Liverpool Chamber, like most similar bodies, objects to commissioners in bankruptcy retaining a criminal jurisdiction, but it professes a laudable anxiety to make fraudulent bankrupts and their accomplices amendable to punishment. It is for lawyers to say whether this object will be most conveniently attained by handing them over to a separate tribunal, or by placing them at the bar of that which, in a different capacity, has before it the evidence of misconduct. What is really important is that their punishment or impunity should not depend on the vindicative or compassionate disposition to creditors. The spirit of our old laws may have been unduly harsh towards debtors—"unfortunate" debtors, as they are usually called by writers of the last century; but the legislature has assuredly not erred of late on this side. Having once grasped the proposition that insolvency is not always a crime, we have been too apt to forget that it often is, and that a man of straw who sets up in business and trades on credit has nothing to deter him from overstepping the line except the fear of a jail.

IRELAND.

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE OF THE HERALD.

A Fenian Proclamation—Exile of Fenian Suspects—Death of a Well Known "Corkonian"—Immense Flood of Emigration—The Steamship Lines Fail to Accommodate the Exodus.

CORK, April 15, 1868.

This morning the following document, printed on green paper, about fourteen inches long and half as wide, was found posted on the doors of the several churches and dead walls throughout the city:—

PROCLAMATION OF THE CORK DIRECTORY OF THE I. R. B.

Whereas certain evil-disposed persons having forcibly entered the dwellings of peaceable and unoffending citizens, demanding and carrying off arms therefrom in the name of the Irish republic, and

Whereas said violent and unmanly conduct is calculated to bring the cause to which we have pledged our lives and sacred honor into contempt and infamy in the eyes of all honorable men,

Now, we, the Directory, as aforesaid, do hereby give this

PUBLIC NOTICE.

That any person or persons who, after this date, will dare to use the name of the I. R. B. while committing such mean and cowardly acts, will be visited with condign punishment, sure and swift; for we will know you. Our eye is keen, our ear is sharp, and we will not permit you to escape. The Directory alone can successfully plan and execute all raids for arms, &c. We fondly cherish the hope that all the Brotherhood will assist the Directory in keeping the I. R. B. pure and noble in the sight of God and man; for, the next best thing to success is to deserve it.

GOD SAVE IRELAND.

EASTER SUNDAY, April 12, 1868.

The police on perceiving the placards at once removed or obliterated them. While two constables were so engaged in Brunswick street stones were thrown from the windows, and one of them received a severe blow on the head. No arrests were made.

To-day eight Fenian suspects, who had been in custody under the Lord Lieutenant's warrants, passed through here from Mountjoy prison *en route* for Queenstown, where they will embark on to-morrow's steamer sailing for New York. Their names are Burke, Keegan and Furingam, booked for the National Steam Company; Ferguson, Walsh, Roony, Francis and Dowling, for the Inman steamer City of Baltimore; but the last named vessel having been full leaving Liverpool, no emigrants will be put on board at Queenstown, and they will likely leave on Saturday or Monday by an extra Inman steamer.

In addition to these seven other Fenians arrived from Mountjoy Prison by the same train and have been lodged in the county jail, where they will be detained pending the sailing of the steamer next week by which they are to depart. Their names are John Clure, W. H. O'Connor, J. H. Lawlor, Michael Brennan, Matthew McMahon, John Walsh and Thomas O'Rourke.

On their route from the terminus to the jail the prisoners were loudly cheered.

Barney Sheehan, the originator of the Cork "gooseberry," and who at one time was a prominent member of the Cork Corporation, to whose deliberations he imparted a peculiar raciness worthy of a George Francis Train, died this morning in his sixty-eighth year.

The steamers belonging to the various companies calling at Queenstown have been found inadequate for the number of emigrants offering for transportation to "Uncle Sam's" territory. Although four emigrant steamers sailed this week over five hundred persons have been shut out for want of accommodation.

ITALY.

Rush of Emigrants to the United States.

According to the Genoa papers twelve vessels left that port for America in the month of March, taking out 1,066 emigrants, nearly all of them from Northern Italy—that is to say, from the best part of the population.

Imperial Rank to Cardinal Bonaparte.

Cardinal Bonaparte has just had conferred on him by the Pope the title of Altezza Eminentissima. The Papal court has also placed at his disposal for ecclesiastical ceremonies four state carriages, the servants of which will wear the imperial livery.

A telegram from Rome says on Palm Sunday the Pope officiated at St. Peter's. He blessed and distributed the palms to the cardinals, prelates and diplomatic body. His Holiness enjoys good health. It is expected that the remaining French division will shortly return to France, the officers having received orders to prepare for leaving.

BELGIUM.

The Ex-Empress of Mexico Among the People—Carlota's Appearance—General Miramon's Widow at Court.

[Brussels (April 14) correspondence of London Post.]

The royal family are taking daily drives and horse exercise among their loyal subjects, and it is most touching to see the Empress Carlota of Mexico seated in an open carriage, driven by the Queen, saluting with graceful but sad smiles the people, whose idol she is and always has been from her childhood.

The Empress is looking very pale, and is dressed in deep mourning. The attention paid to her by the Queen is beyond all praise, and there can be no doubt that her recovery from the mental prostration brought on by the sad events so well known to every one is chiefly owing to the energy and devotion of her royal sister-in-law.

The widow of the late General Miramon, the bosom friend of the late Emperor Maximilian, has arrived here with her children within the last few days, with the intention of making Belgium her permanent home. It is said that she has had an audience at the palace.

FRANCE.

Citizen Expose of the Immense Armaments of Europe—Effects of the Money Expenditure—How Society Would Benefit by a Reduction.

Dr. Larroque, of Paris, author of a prize essay on the standing armaments of Europe, has published the following statement, from carefully prepared statistics, of the excessive expenditure involved in what Mr. Disraeli has most correctly termed the "bloated armaments" of modern Christendom:—

Annual amount of the naval and military budgets of Europe, £119,392,665; loss of labor involved by the withdrawal of so many men from productive industry, £132,174,892; interest of capital invested in military and naval establishments, £30,440,000. This makes a total of more than two hundred and eighty millions taken every year from the people for the maintenance of military establishments. Mr. H. Richard, referring, in an essay recently published by the Social Science Association, to these statistics, remarks as follows:—"The first effect of this is that the finances of nearly all European States are in a condition of normal embarrassment. In Russia there has been an excess of expenditure over income ever since 1832; in 1865 it amounted to nearly £7,000,000. In Austria there has not been a year, from 1789 to the present, in which the revenue of the State has come up to the expenditure. The accumulated deficits from 1851 to 1866 exceed £130,000,000. In France the public debt has been growing at an enormous rate. The funded debt has increased in thirteen years, from 1851 to 1864, from £213,000,000 sterling to £492,000,000, and the whole of its debt now amounts to £539,000,000. The new kingdom of Italy is reeling beneath the burden of its vast expenditure to such a degree that its best friends begin to have grave apprehensions whether it can stand. Official returns state the annual deficits, from 1860 to 1866, to amount to £114,000,000 sterling. Many of the smaller States of Europe, such as Turkey, Spain and Portugal, are in a similar condition. It is a melancholy reflection that, admirable as are the enterprise, invention, skill and laborious industry of the toiling millions of producing classes in Europe, they are deprived of so large a proportion of the fruits of their labors by the perpetual drain made upon them to sustain this armed rivalry kept up by their rulers." And, considering such a prodigious annual tax upon the masses of Europe, it is not to be wondered at that we hear of famine and starvation in so many even of her fertile provinces—in France and Germany, in Poland, Finland and Italy. M. Legoyt, the Secretary of the Statistical Society of Paris, writes:—"Let us for a moment suppose that, by an understanding with the great Powers, a disarming in the proportion of one-half was effected. Immediately two millions of men, of from twenty to thirty-five years of age, constituting the flower of the population of that age, are restored to labors of peace, and at once an annual saving of £64,000,000 is effected on the totality of European budgets."

The same author further shows that this reduction of only one-half of the armies would afford funds for the completion of the entire network of railways throughout Europe and for the erection of a primary school in every parish and commune; or, on the other hand, it would enable all the national debts of Europe to be paid off in less than forty years, thus occasioning an immense alleviation of popular burdens and an incalculable stimulus to business.

TURKEY.

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE OF THE HERALD.

The Grand Vizier's Report on the Condition of Crete—Causes of the War and Inferences from the Struggle—Material and Moral Aid from Greece and Russia—Turkish Provincialism as It Is—Defence of the War Acts Against Insurgents—Conquest and Nationalism in Opposition.

CONSTANTINOPLE, April 3, 1868.

On Saturday last, just five weeks after the return of the Grand Vizier, his report on his mission to Crete was read at a council of Ministers convened at the palace. As a literary production and a state paper it presents another evidence of the ability of its author, and may be regarded on the whole as a very fair *exposé* of the facts connected with the insurrection since its commencement, considering the interested source from which it emanates. The report has the following paragraphs:—

If I have not the happiness to lay before your Majesty the news of the full and entire pacification of every part of Crete, still I have the satisfaction of testifying, and that in the most positive manner, that the mission with which I have been charged by your Majesty is by no means a failure, as the friends of the insurrection and their dupes strive to give the impression, both here and in Europe. I have not the slightest hesitation in giving the assurance that the measures adopted by order of your Majesty will produce the most complete and prompt results if the transport of families should finally cease, and will triumph just as surely, but more tardily, if this regretable interference continues. The Grand Vizier assigns three causes for the insurrection, the first of which—in fact but the semblance of a pretext—is the discontent of the population.

The second is the *grande idée Panhellenique*, that unrealizable Utopia worked to the exclusive profit of other ambitions; a ramification of underground work which mines most European nations by means of a new instrument, the principle of nationalities; a dangerous principle which can never be admitted by Turkey, and which serves in Crete to make a religious war. In fact the Cretans all speak the same language, the Mussulmans being as much natives as the Christians.

The third lies in the pressure exercised upon the Cabinets, allies of Turkey, through public opinion, deceived by means of a system of falsehoods and calumnies, propagated by the press, which has given rise to a system of intervention equally new, known henceforth under the name of salvage of families, the result of which is to give the insurgents freedom of action in relieving them of their family cares as well as those counsels of submission which the presence of the suffering women, children and aged would naturally produce.

There is still a fourth cause, which existed before all the others, that influences everything in the East, and which your majesty will recognize by this simple announcement.

It would have been better had Aali Pacha frankly stated to the Sultan that by the conditions of the treaty of 1830 (although the desire of the Cretans to be detached from Turkey and incorporated with the new kingdom of Greece was refused at that time) they were admitted to an exceptional and advantageous position over the other populations of the empire. And however honest the intentions of the imperial government may have been the promised concessions have not been carried out in good faith by its local representatives in the island in years past, which has created discontent and caused revolts from time to time among the population, and to this cause alone must the origin of the present revolt be attributed. This course would also have given an air of impartiality to the report which would have insured for it a more favorable reception with the European Cabinets, who are fully informed as to the original causes of the insurrection, but perhaps not so well posted in regard to the machinations for keeping it alive in the face of the ample concessions now for the first time honestly carried out through the wise measures adopted by the Grand Vizier.

It must be admitted also that since the breaking out of the insurrection the support, both moral and material, extended to the insurgents by Greece and Russia might very properly be made the subject of complaints much more forcible than the mild allusion contained in the report. With these remarks I will continue the translation of the report of the Grand Vizier, leaving the reader to make his own comments. It is sufficient to see each of these causes in operation to determine what amount of influence each exercises on the actual state of things in Crete and to perceive the obstacles which in their artificially combined aggregate complicated my task before my arrival. At the same time facts themselves protest against the calumnious accusations which have been charged against the imperial army and the reproach of weakness against the government. As to the discontent of the populations, what foundation is there for such assertion?

Crete is the most western of all the provinces of the empire. It has a mild climate and is rich in its productions. All who have seen the island before the insurrection could judge of its real prosperity. The increase of its population in spite of frequent emigrations is sufficient proof. Taxes were one-quarter less than in any other province of the empire. It has never exceeded in Crete the sum of forty piastres for each inhabitant, while in all other places it amounts to at least sixty piastres. This difference results from the fact that by special favor the Cretans were released from any tax on revenue. Liberty of worship, so complete in Turkey, was largely extended in Crete. The Mussulman population, having its activity and capital engaged in commercial and industrial transactions, were reconciled to the fusion of the two elements on the ground of material interests. The complaints addressed to your Majesty in the petition of the 14th of May tends to confirm my statement. In truth, there was only the semblance of a pretext, since the signers of the petition of the 14th of May are the same who on the 15th signed the circular to the Powers by which they demand annexation of the island to Greece. We must, then, seek elsewhere the real origin of the insurrection.

In Turkey the liberty of education is no less absolute than religious liberty. The Hellenique propagandist availed himself of this liberty to make converts, sending for the purpose, as missionaries, preceptors recruited at Athens. The teachings of political doctrines in vogue in Greece, aided by the preaching of a portion of the clergy, native or foreign, introduced by infiltration the disease of Hellenism into the minds of a people ignorant and easily impressed to the profit of an idea the realization of which was presented to them in all cases as an absolute pledge of felicity. This is the moral cause of the insurrection. If to this you would add the material causes they may be found in the following facts, the importance of which will strike every honest mind:—

Before the insurrection the individual debts in Crete amounted to 150,000,000 of piastres, and of this sum the Mussulman population were the creditors for more than two-thirds. There were besides many persons having a universal interest in shaking off the yoke of the government to get rid of the obligations towards the treasury in their quality of tithe farmers. Many of the principal chiefs of bands are in this position. Such a state of things gave rise in the mind of some to the thought of ridding themselves of their debt, and inspired the mass of Christians with the hope of enriching themselves at the expense of the Mussulman population, who would, it was expected, be expelled from the island at the same time that annexation with Greece would take place. If Europe had been aware of these odious acts, it would have been indignant. It then became necessary to deceive it, and the revolt which counted in Greece alone one hundred and seventeen journals in its service, used them very skilfully to impute to Mussulman barbarity the destruction of property. Moreover, the persons killed in battles with the imperial troops were represented as innocent victims. Europe believed these falsehoods, systematically circulated by the Hellenic press with the utmost industry, never suspecting that it was the victim of a speculation on its good faith. It would have been very easy, however, to have put itself right as to the value of these calumnies by bringing to mind the old Roman adage, "the guilty is he who profits by the crime." How can we admit that the Mussulman population, whose fortunes were invested in the olive plantations, directly by the right of property and indirectly by hypothecated or commercial credits, could so easily lend their aid to the destruction of the security of their own fortunes? Is is not more likely that the incendiaries are those who, wishing to escape the payment of their debts and expel the Mussulman population, had the only interest in committing the crime?

Reprisals were committed, and who will wonder at it? But is it fair to blame the imperial government or the Mussulman religion for these acts? It should not be forgotten that there are in the island of Crete men, both Mussulmans and Christians, so slightly removed from savages that they are incapable of curbing their passions as well as their interests to practice the tolerance or charity which forms the essence of their respective religions. It became necessary to look into the facts which have influenced public opinion and exaggerated beyond all proportions the Cretan affair.

In the meantime Panhellenism, which I have cited as having the heaviest responsibility in this affair, set all its resources at work. I have already indicated the part played by the press. Committees were formed, which collected subscriptions in Greece and the Greek colonies. Considerable sums were set apart for the purchase of arms and provisions, to the enrolment of volunteers who, it is believed, did not belong to the *élite* of the population. We see armed ships leaving the ports of a neighboring power to supply arms and provisions to the revolt without this violation of the rights of nations, and the first principles of morality being preceded by a renunciation of diplomatic relations.

So many unusual events have accompanied the Cretan insurrection that it seems useless to dwell upon this particular scandal. This precedent will, however, bear its fruits, like so many others which have shaken the respect for treaties, and from which the principles of international law and public order have had to suffer of late.

It will not be out of place to reply here to the accusations of meekness on the part of the imperial government. Was it necessary to declare war against Greece? or, what would be equivalent to it—seize the piratical ships in the very ports which served them as a refuge? Certainly the imperial government had reason to do so, and your Majesty would not have hesitated to authorize it, even at the risk of war, but for the very great interest elsewhere manifested from the commencement of the conflict. We do not forget advances, identical in their basis, made with a view to obtain the annexation of the island to Greece. The view which the government has taken of its rights and duties in the Cretan question should silence every calumny and insure for it the sympathies of history. So long as Europe is governed by public law and the treaties who can deny the government the independent possession of the island of Crete? Is there a desire to sacrifice the right of conquest to the advantage of the new right of nationalities? But who does not see that it would be necessary to recast the map of Europe and to plunge politics into. Crete was united to Turkey a long time before certain provinces belonging to certain Powers were conquered by these latter. Does it mean that these Powers have decided to sacrifice their own rights, and that the concession asked of Turkey is to become the rule in Europe? Such is, unquestionably, not the idea of the Cabinets. Therefore why should we offer ourselves for the practice of a theory which no one will apply to himself, to the greatest detriment of European interests? Is it that the respective position of conquered provinces was different elsewhere, because in Crete there is a difference of language and religion between this government and the governed? But there are Mussulmans who are the subjects of Christian States and Catholics in orthodox countries. Is it the natural antipathy of the conquered for the conqueror? Who will venture to say that it is greater here than elsewhere? Is it that possession is contrary to treaties? But, without going very far back, one of the most noteworthy contemporaneous diplomatic acts—the treaty of Paris, signed scarcely twelve years since—solemnly sanctions the principle of the integrity of the Ottoman empire, and places that integrity under the collective guarantee of the Powers, and there is great reason for surprise that the idea should exist that the imperial government would destroy with its own hands a treaty concluded at the price of the greatest sacrifices, at the risk of authorizing by this precedent all ulterior claims and of itself giving the signal of dismemberment. The imperial government is convinced that in maintaining its rights in Crete it has accomplished an act of European conservation; for the arguments resorted to to wrest from it this province, leads to nothing less than the setting aside of the very bases of public order, the result of a bloody work which has taken ages to accomplish, and to retard civilization by substituting anew brutal force for right.

In sustaining the contest in Crete, the imperial government believes it is defending the very principle of its existence, threatened on all sides, and is resigned to await the triumph of its just cause until the time when right shall prevail. Is it to be blamed for this course of action? Time will tell.

In any case your Majesty's government repels forcibly the reproach of weakness which has been imputed to it. The Island of Crete is entirely in our power, and the insurrection, notwithstaning the efforts of Greece, combined with the sort of coalition that has paralyzed the action of our army and fleet, is reduced to impotency. What government could flatter itself to suppress promptly the revolt of one of its provinces so unfavorable to military operations as Crete—an island with an extent of one hundred and sixty leagues of coast, receiving material support from a neighboring country, and a long time defended by an abused public opinion. Notwithstanding, in the month of July last, the insurrection was on the point of extinction when a third cause brought to its aid an unexpected support. It was at the moment when Omar Pacha had carried the heights of Sphakia, which served as the boulevard and the arsenal to the revolt. Upon this the prayers of submission flowed in from all sides. The foreign volunteers hastened to quit the isle, and the imperial government confidently expected an immediate renewal of the usual tranquility. Malevolence then invented a general massacre of old men, women and children, and certain powers issued orders to their ships of war stationed in the Mediterranean to undertake, under the name of sanvetage (salvage) the transportation "of these poor creatures threatened in their life, their honor and their worldly goods."

This measure, undertaken for a philanthropic purpose, and continued until the present time by the Russian squadrons exercised and still exercises too important an influence for the government of your Majesty not to have the right to perceive in it a disguised intervention. Without dwelling on the fact how much this intervention, practised in the name of humanity, which does not ask the religion of the unfortunate, was unjust and partial, inasmuch as it was only intended to protect exclusively Christian families, while the Mussulman families were equally affected by the calamities of war, it is proper to cite its immediate results. The revolt resumed fresh courage, for if the imperial government had reason to believe itself in the presence of a European intervention the same impression prevailed in the insurgent camp. Of this we had proof in the warlike stimulus given to the bands, in the ovations offered the foreign ministers at Athens, in the addresses of gratitude voted by the Philhellenic committees, and in the declarations of the Prime Minister of Greece to the Parliament of his country, December 3, 1867. This declaration goes so far as to doubt the motive of the Powers being that of humanity as they pretended. "Is it to a philanthropic sentiment, gentlemen, that we must attribute the transportation of families?" Without partaking of the doubt of the chief of the Athens Cabinet, it may be asked if the humanitarian ends sought for by Europe have been attained. When we see the Cretan families dragging out a miserable existence on Hellenique soil, and in view of the ravages death is making among them, we can but deplore a generous movement which, independent of the inevitable abuse of which it has been the cause, has only had the effect of introducing into international practice an unheard of mode of intervention, complicated by the violation of an effective blockade, and have delayed the immediate return to a normal tranquillity. Russia alone thinks proper to persist. * * * * * * * * * * *

The report ends thus:—My first act on arriving in Crete on the 4th of October, 1867, after confirming the order of your Majesty, the amnesty and truce proclaimed by the Serdar-i-Ekrem Omar Pacha, was an act of justice. I immediately proceeded to release the prisoners, whose detention dated from the reduction of the grottos of Sphakia, to whom the general amnesty was applicable. Besides and notwithstanding the grave results that might arise from such an ill-timed act of humanity, I thought proper to regulate within just limits the interdiction bearing upon the suspected villages to obtain provisions in the cities, in order to relieve inoffensive persons from the rigors of a war measure. Aid in money and provisions was distributed to Mussulman and Christian inhabitants who had been driven from their homes to seek refuge in the fortresses. The public health was subjected to rules necessary to prevent the dangers arising from the packing of the people and troops within a confined space.

After having thus attended to, as far as possible, matters of the most urgent material necessity, as the truce would only expire on the 1st of November