

The despatch to her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople authorizing him, in certain specified contingencies, to send for the British fleet, was dated the 31st May, and the order sent direct from England to her Majesty's admiral to proceed to the neighborhood of the Dardanelles was dated the 2nd of June.

The determination to occupy the Principalities was, therefore, taken before the orders for the advance of the combined squadrons were given.

The Sultan's Minister was informed that unless he signed within a week, and without the change of a word, the note proposed to the Porte by Prince Menchikoff, on the eve of his departure from Constantinople, the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia would be occupied by Russian troops. The Sultan could not accede to so insulting a demand; but when the actual occupation of the Principalities took place, the Sultan did not, as he might have done in the exercise of his undoubted right, declare war, but addressed a protest to his allies.

Her Majesty, in conjunction with the sovereigns of Austria, France, and Prussia, has made various attempts to meet any just demands of the Emperor of Russia without affecting the dignity and independence of the Sultan; and had it been the sole object of Russia to obtain security for the enjoyment by the Christian subjects of the Porte of their privileges and immunities, she would have found it in the offers that have been made by the Sultan. But as that security was not offered in the shape of a special and separate stipulation with Russia it was rejected. Twice has this offer been made by the Sultan, and recommended by the four Powers, once by a note originally prepared at Vienna, and subsequently modified by the Porte, once by the proposal of bases of negotiation agreed upon at Constantinople, on the 31st December, and approved at Vienna, on the 13th of January, as offering to the two parties the means of arriving at an understanding in a becoming and honorable manner.

It is thus manifest that a right for Russia to interfere in the ordinary relations of Turkish subjects to their sovereign, and not the happiness of Christian communities in Turkey, was the object sought for by the Russian government; to such a demand the Sultan would not submit, and his Highness, in self-defence, declared war upon Russia; but her Majesty, nevertheless, in conjunction with her allies, has not ceased her endeavors to restore peace between the contending parties.

The time has, however, now arrived when the advice and remonstrances of the four Powers having proved wholly ineffectual, and the military preparations of Russia becoming daily more extended, it is but too obvious that the Emperor of Russia has entered upon a course of policy which, if unchecked, must lead to the destruction of the Ottoman empire.

In this conjuncture her Majesty feels called upon by regard for an ally, the integrity and independence of whose empire have been recognised as essential to the peace of Europe, by the sympathies of her people with right against wrong, by a desire to avert from her dominions most injurious consequences, and to save Europe from the preponderance of a Power which has violated the faith of treaties, and defies the opinion of the

civilized world, to take up arms, in conjunction with the Emperor of the French, for the defence of the Sultan.

Her Majesty is persuaded that in so acting she will have the cordial support of her people; and that pretext of zeal for the Christian religion will be used in vain to cover an aggression undertaken in disregard of its holy precepts, and of its pure and beneficent spirit.

Her Majesty humbly trusts that her efforts may be successful, and that, by the blessing of Providence, peace may be re-established on a safe and solid foundation.

WESTMINSTER, March 28, 1854.

#### DECLARATION.

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, having been compelled to take up arms in support of an ally, is desirous of rendering the war as little onerous as possible to the Powers with whom she remains at peace.

To preserve the commerce of neutrals from all unnecessary obstruction, her Majesty is willing, for the present, to waive a part of the belligerent rights appertaining to her by the law of nations.

It is impossible for her Majesty to forego the exercise of her right of seizing articles contraband of war, and of preventing neutrals from bearing the enemy's despatches; and she must maintain the right of a belligerent to prevent neutrals from breaking any effective blockade which may be established with an adequate force against the enemy's forts, harbours, or coasts.

But her Majesty will waive the right of seizing enemy's property laden on board a neutral vessel, unless it be contraband of war.

It is not her Majesty's intention to claim the confiscation of neutrals property not being contraband of war found on board enemy's ships; and her Majesty further declares, that being anxious to lessen as much as possible the evils of war, and to restrict its operations to the regularly organized forces of the country, it is not her present intention to issue letters of marque for the commissioning of privateers.

WESTMINSTER, March 28, 1854.

Independently of the former good feeling existing on the part of Great Britain towards Turkey, the annexed document roused the utmost indignation against the Emperor Nicholas. The proverb, "*Quem Deus vult perdere, prius dementat*," is fully referable to the species of insanity which could have tempted the Russian Emperor had to hazard to the mocking public so signal an instance of his duplicity:—

The "secret and confidential" correspondence on the Eastern question excluded from the Blue-books, has been laid before Parliament, and completes, we imagine, the history of the negotiations that have taken place. The documents in question are chiefly a relation by Sir Hamilton Seymour of various conversations with the Emperor, running over the first four months of the past year, viz., from Jan. 11 to April 23, with the memorandum drawn up by Count Nesselrode in June, 1844. The first conversation commenced