

EUROPE.

CONGRES OF SOVEREIGNS.

The allied Sovereigns of the north are about to hold a Congress at Friedland, in Bohemia. The Emperors of Russia and Germany were to have an interview at Friedland on the 5th September. The two monarchs have never yet seen each other. A Vienna article of Sept. 3d, says:—

"The meeting excites much attention, and people anticipated much good from it. The conference of the Sovereigns will doubtless contribute to consolidate peace. This at least, is the opinion of the most judicious men, and it is wrong to be uneasy respecting a meeting which takes place only in the spirit of peace. The various parties, and especially the violent leaders, will indeed judge according to their wishes and hopes, and we can already fancy the French papers favoring their readers with the most precious revelations respecting the Congress at Toplitz, as they style the meeting of the Sovereigns. All Governments, and in general all persons in Europe who have any thing to lose, are so deeply interested in the preservation of peace, that it cannot be believed that after so many efforts to avoid a general rupture, it will be allowed to take place without serious cause."

SCOTLAND.

The accounts of the harvest in Scotland are most satisfactory. The grain has been housed, stacked in great abundance, and in excellent condition.

IRELAND.

THE HARVEST.—All accounts from the country speak of the harvest as having been generally plentiful. The wheat crop has not, in some districts, been as abundant as had been anticipated, but the return will still be above an average. The favourable change in the weather within the last two days has been extremely favourable to the laborers incident to this season. The harvest is completely over in England, and the numerous swarms of Irish labourers who had emigrated to England a few days since are returning daily.—*Dublin Times.*

FRANCE.

The Moniteur announces officially in the following terms, the recognitions of the Government of Donna Maria.

"The Government of the King, in consequence of the re-establishment of its political relations with the Government of her Majesty, Queen Donna Maria, has officially recognized the Chevalier D'Almeida as Charge d'Affaires of Portugal at Paris. Some time ago the Government of the King had sent to M. de Lourde credentials destined to credit him as Charge d'Affaires of France to the Cabinet of Lisbon."

The Royal progress through France was ended on the 15th, by the return of the King and Queen and Madame Adelaide to the Tuilleries.

The Gazette de France has the following, dated Rome, August 22:—"The Pope would not allow the Duchess of Berry to maintain her incognito, but received her in state with all the Sacred College."

The French Ministerial Papers, in continuing their accounts of the Royal progress of Louis Philippe in the Western departments, announce an excess of enthusiasm, and a degree of loyal satisfaction which may of may not be exaggerated in their columns.

The authorities in some places seem to have been very frank with their new made instrument of royalty, and His Majesty appears to have been equally frank with them. Thus, at Lisieux the King was reminded of his promises at the Revolution of 1830, and a hope was expressed that he would never allow the flattery of his courtiers to overpower his engagements to his people.—His Majesty replied, that the people had their flatterers as well as princes, "flatterers who overpowered the truth by 'intimidating, or perverted it by calumny.'" The speech and reply show at least that the intercourse of the citizen King with his western subjects has not always been marked by a rivalry in fulsome compliments.—But there is one fact in which they all agree—that the country is flourishing,—that the laws are strictly executed,—that industry is encouraged,—that trade has resumed more than its wonted activity, and that general prosperity prevails.

SPAIN.

The reported entrance of the cholera into the kingdom of Spain is confirmed. It has broken out at Huelva, Ayamonte and Seville.

A letter from Madrid, dated the 6th of Sept. gives the following view of the political position of M. Bernardez Zea. He is an able and enlightened Royalist; but being placed between all parties, he is, to a certain degree, opposed by them all. The threats of Lord Palmerston and of Marshal Soult have made an impression on the Spanish Government, which M. Zea endeavours, so far as he can, to counteract, as he does all other foreign dictation and diplomacy.

The king continues his rides, though always ill, and during the last week his situation has been much less promising.

MADRID, Sept. 12.—All the Ambassadors here, it is said, received instructions from their courts, on the subject of the line of conduct they are to adopt in the case of the death of the king. In consequence of these despatches, the Ministers of Russia, Austria and Prussia, have had interviews with M. Zea Bernardez, and the Minister of Naples has been called to these conferences, no doubt to agree on the course to follow, for the king of Naples, who, as a Bourbon, has protested against the anti-dynastic law, is to take the first steps to oppose the proclamation of the

Princess Elizabeth, as queen of Spain. On the other hand, it is asserted that the Ambassadors of France and England, have communicated to the queen the orders they have received on this question, which are entirely favourable to the rights of the infant heiress; they have, it is said, remarked that a body of troops on this side of the Pyrenees would be very useful in restraining the intrigues of the Carlists, in the outset—particularly if Don Carlos should still be in Portugal. The sending of a naval force and English troops to Cadiz has also been spoken of, and the conclusion arrived at, that considering the state of the king's health, some measures ought to be taken to counterbalance the intrigues of the absolute powers.

PORTUGAL.

LISBON, Sept. 6.

Marshal Bourmont made a smart attack on the lines yesterday, but he was repulsed with considerable loss.

SEPTEMBER 10.—"Last evening and during the night we had much firing on each side,—that from our lines was to prevent the Miguelites erecting batteries so as to fire on them. It is supposed they have 1200 cavalry, and some 12000 infantry around the city. Our forces may be 700 cavalry, 10,000 regulars, and 12 to 15,000 national volunteers, &c. all well disposed to fight and support the cause of Donna Maria. Admiral Napier's squadron is stationed at various points to protect the water side communication with the city. It is impossible to form an opinion how this country may be situated the next six months, but unless the intercourse with the provinces be free, very little fish will be consumed."

MADRID, Sept. 12.—Since yesterday an account has been put in circulation of the entrance of the troops of Don Miguel in Lisbon, as stated in a note addressed by the Minister M. Zea, to the Ambassador of France and others, his colleagues.

The Carlists were in a great hurry to celebrate this news, but shortly after, they began to doubt its authenticity, as the letters received by M. Cordova announced that the two armies had had an engagement; without saying any thing more.

At last, yesterday morning, we learned from the English embassy, that the Pedroites had gained a victory on the 5th, after having allowed the troops of Bourmont to approach the fortifications, near the suburbs of Lisbon, from which they were vigorously repulsed.

From the want of direct information, as the Government attaches the greatest interest to preventing private letters from reaching us, we are compelled to content ourselves with the avowal of the Gazette which gives the news in its own way; however, it is generally admitted that the Miguelites have lost in the attack of the 5th about 2500 men, prisoners or deserters to Don Pedro.—The inhabitants of Lisbon have displayed the greatest enthusiasm, and Gen. Villa Flor has shown the greatest courage and military talents. The 6th he re-entered the city with the trophies of the previous day.

Extracts from the Constitutional Chronicle of Lisbon, up to the 7th Sept.

By a decree of the Duke of Braganza, those which he issued at Angre are declared in force. The troops of Don Miguel having diverted the course of the water which supplies Lisbon, a number of vessels have been ordered by decree, to obtain supplies from the other side of the Tagus.

The arrest of the Marquis and Marchioness de Bellune, having been admitted to be illegal, they have by a decree been set at liberty.

The Chronicle of the 7th, in the non-official part, gives an account of the affair of the 5th. It says—"At half-past five in the morning the troops of Don Miguel, to the number of 11 or 12,000 men, advanced in six columns towards the centre of the line of fortifications.—Two of these columns marched on P. Arco de Cego.—The fire of Don Pedro's batteries endangered this disposition, and obliged these two columns to make a movement towards the right. The six columns then attacked the positions of *Saint Sebastian de Pedreira*, and of *Compedide*—but they were repulsed in two attempts."

No other action has taken place; but the Miguelites occupy a wall in front of the *Quinta de la Seabra*, from which they kept up brisk fire until the 7th, in the evening, when they retreated to the distance of a quarter of a league. The Chronicle says that the Miguelites have left four hundred dead on the field of battle—amongst whom is a French General, commanding the cavalry;—and some deserters have assured us that their loss is 1,400 men.

Such are the accounts by the way of Spain. Those via France and England may be regarded as still more favorable to the Constitutional cause. On the 14th of September, the Paris Moniteur published officially the annexed note, received from Bayonne, by express, and said to have been forwarded by a courier extraordinary from Lisbon to M. Addington, at Madrid:—

"It appears from despatches transmitted from Madrid to divers consuls, that a serious engagement took place on the 5th September between the troops of Don Miguel and those of Villa Flor. The advantage remained with the latter. The constitutional troops re-entered Lisbon amidst the acclamations of the whole population."

A number of French officers daily pass through Madrid, on their way to join Marshal Bourmont's force in Portugal.

The issue of the affairs in Portugal, which is now nearly at hand, creates much uneasiness at Court. It is reported that Ferdinand, yielding to the influence of the Apostolicals, and to the entreaties of some of the northern Sovereigns, has promised to send 20,000 men to the assistance of Don Miguel, in case England should land troops in Portugal.—This we understand, has been actually determined upon, and orders have been transmitted to the army to hold itself in readiness to cross the frontiers at the first intimation.

Couriers are frequently exchanged between Portugal, the Northern Powers, and the Court of Madrid.

The greatest activity prevailed yesterday in the diplomatic circles. Two King's Messengers left the Foreign Office late last night; and a third was in waiting to leave with despatches early this morning. Considerable importance is attached to these despatches, which are said to relate to the affairs of Holland and Belgium.

Colonel Natchokine, Aid-de-Camp to the Grand Duke Michael of Russia, said to be the bearer of important despatches, arrived at Mivart's Hotel yesterday afternoon, from St. Petersburg.

SWEEDEN.

The Borson Halle states under date of 23d of August, that it was decided in the council of the King at Stockholm, that Donna Maria

should be recognized Queen of Portugal as soon on the recognition should have taken place on the part of England and France.

ASIA.

Concluded from our last.

THE FALL OF TURKEY.

1. The first circumstance which upheld, among its numerous defects, the Ottoman Empire, was the rights conceded on the first conquest of the country by Mahomet to the *dere beys* or ancient nobles of Asia Minor, and which the succeeding Sultans have been careful to keep inviolate. These *dere beys* all capitulated with the conqueror, and obtained the important privileges of retaining their lands in perpetuity for their descendants, and of paying a fixed tribute in money and men to the Sultan. In other words, they were a hereditary noblesse; and as they constituted the great strength of the empire in its Asiatic provinces, they have preserved their privilege through all succeeding reigns. The following is the description given of them by an intelligent traveller:—

"The *dere beys*," says Mr. Slade, "literally lords of the valleys, an expression peculiarly adapted to the country, which presents a series of oval valleys, surrounded by ramparts of hills, were the original possessors of those parts of Asia Minor, which submitted, under feudal conditions, to the Ottomans. Between the conquest of Brussa and the conquest of Constantinople, a lapse of more than a century, chequered by the episode of Tamerlane, their faith was precarious; but after the latter event Mahomet II. bound their submission, and finally settled the terms of their existence. He confirmed them in their lands, subject, however, to tribute, and to quotas of troops in war; and he absolved the head of each family for ever from personal service. The last clause was the most important, as thereby the Sultan had no power over their lives, nor consequently, could he their heirs, that despotic power being lawful over those only in the actual service of the Porte. The families of the *dere beys*, therefore, became neither impoverished nor extinct. It would be dealing in truisms to enumerate the advantages enjoyed by the districts of these noblemen over the rest of the empire; they were cases in the desert: their owners had more than a life interest in the soil, they were born and lived among the people, and being hereditarily rich, had no occasion to create a private fortune, each year, after the tribute due was levied. Whereas, in a pashalik, the people are strained every year, to double or treble the amount of the impost, since the pasha, who pays for his situation, must also be enriched. The devotion of the dependents of the *dere beys* was great: at a whistle, the *Carosman-Oglous*, the *Tehapan Oglous*, the *Ellezar-Oglous*, (the principal Asiatic families that survive,) could raise, each, from ten thousand to twenty thousand horsemen, and equip them. Hence the facility with which the Sultans, up to the present century, drew such large bodies of cavalry into the field. The *dere beys* have always furnished, and maintained, the greatest part; and there is not one instance, since the conquest of Constantinople, of one of these great families raising the standard of revolt. The pashas invariably have. The reasons, respectively, are obvious. The *dere bey* was sure of keeping his possessions by right; the pasha of losing his by custom, unless he had money to bribe the Porte, or force to intimidate it."

These provincial nobles, whose rights had been respected during four centuries, by a series of twenty-four sovereigns, had two enemies in the eyes of Mahomet II.: they held their property from their ancestors, and they had riches. To alter the tenure of the former, the destination of the latter, was his object. The *dere beys*—unlike the seraglio dependents, brought up to distrust their own shadows—had no causes for suspicion, and therefore became easy dupes of the grossest treachery. The unbending spirits were removed to another world, the flexible were despoiled of their wealth.—Some few await their turn, or, their eyes opened, prepare to resist oppression. *Carosman Oglou*, for example, was summoned to Constantinople, where expensive employments, forced on him during several years, reduced his ready cash, while a follower of the seraglio resided at his city of Magnesia, to collect his revenues. His peasants, in consequence, ceased to cultivate their lands, from whence they no longer hoped to reap profit; and his once flourishing possessions soon became as desolate as any which had always been under the grasp of pashas."

This passage throws the strongest light on the former condition of the Turkish Empire.—They possessed an hereditary noblesse in their Asiatic provinces; a body of men whose interests were permanently interested in preserving their possessions from spoliation. It was their feudal tenantry who flocked in such multitudes to the standard of Mahomet when any great crisis occurred, and formed those vast armies who so often astonished the European powers, and struck terror in the boldest hearts in Christendom. These hereditary nobles, however, the bones of the empire, whose estates were exempt from the tyranny of the Pashas, have been destroyed by Mahomet. Hence the disaffection of the Asiatic provinces, and the readiness with which they opened their arms to the liberating standards of Mehmet Ali. It is the nature of innovations whether enforced by the despotism of a sultan or a democracy, to destroy in its fervour the institutions on which public freedom is founded.

2. The next circumstance which contributed to mitigate the severity of Ottoman oppression was the privileges of the provincial cities, chiefly in Europe, which consisted in being governed by magistrates elected by the people themselves, from among their chief citizens.—This privilege, a relic of the rights of the *Municipia* over the whole Roman Empire, was established in all the great towns; and its importance in moderating the otherwise intolerable weight of Ottoman oppression was incalculable. The Pashas or temporary rulers appointed by the Sultan had no authority, or only a partial one in these free cities, and hence they formed nearly as complete an asylum for industry in Europe as the *dere beys* did in Asia. This important right, however, could not escape the reforming passion of Mahomet; and it was accordingly overturned.

"In conjunction with subverting the *dere beys*, Mahomet attacked the privileges of the great provincial cities. (principally in Europe,) which consisted in the election of ayans (magistrates) by the people, from among the nobles. Some cities were solely governed by them, and in those ruled by pashas, they had, in most cases, sufficient influence to restrain somewhat the full career of despotism. They were the protectors of rayas, as well as of Muslims, and, for their own sakes, resisted exorbitant imposts.—The change in the cities where their authority has been abolished (Adrianople, e. g.) is deplorable; trade has

languished, and population has diminished. They were instituted by Solymon (the lawgiver), and the protection which they have invariably afforded the Christian subjects of the Porte, entitles them to a Christian's good word. Their crime, that of the *dere beys*, was being possessed of authority not emanating from the Sultan."

Had Mahomet II. intrusted the government of the provinces to the *dere beys*, and strengthened the authority of the ayans, he would have truly reformed his empire, by restoring it to its brightest state, have gained the love of his subjects, and the applause of humanity. By the contrary proceeding, subverting two bulwarks (through dilapidated national property—a provincial nobility and magistracy—he has shown himself a selfish tyrant."

3. In addition to an hereditary nobility in the *dere beys*, and the privileges of corporations in the right of electing their ayans, the Muslims possessed a powerful hierarchy in the *ulema*; a most important body in the Ottoman dominions, and whose privileges have gone far to limit the extent of its despotic government. This important institution has been little understood hitherto in Europe; but they have contributed in a most important manner to mitigate the severity of the Sultan in those classes who enjoyed no special protection.

"In each of the Turkish cities," says Mr. Slade, "reside a muphti and a mollah. A knowledge of Arabic, so as to be able to read the Koran in the original, is considered sufficient for the former, but the latter must have run a legal career in one of the medressehs, (universities of Constantinople.) After thirty years probation in a medresseh, the student becomes of the class of the *muderris*, (doctors at law,) from which are chosen the mollahs, comprehended under the name of *ulema*. Students who accept the inferior judicial appointments can never become of the *ulema*."

The *ulema* is divided into three classes, according to a scale of the cities of the empire. The first class consists of the *caziaskers*, (chief judges of Europe and Asia;) the *Stamboul effendis*, (mayor of Constantinople;) the mollahs qualified to act at Mecca, at Medina, at Jerusalem, at Bagdat, at Salonica, at Aleppo, at Damascus, at Brussa, at Cairo, at Smyrna, at Cogui, at Galata, at Scutari. The second class consists of the mollah qualified to act at the twelve cities of next importance. The third class at the ten inferior cities. The administration of minor towns is intrusted to *cadis*, who are nominated by the *caziaskers* in their respective jurisdictions, a patronage which produces great wealth to these two officers.

In consequence of these powers the mollah of a city may prove as great a pest as a needy pasha; but as the mollahs are hereditarily wealthy, they are generally moderate in their requisitions, and often protect the people against the extortions of the pashas. The *cadis*, however, of the minor towns, who have not the advantage of being privately rich, seldom fail to join with the aga to skin the "serpent that crawls in the dust."

The mollahs, dating from the reign of Solymon—zenith of Ottoman prosperity—were not slow in discovering the value of their situations, or in taking advantage of them; and as their sanctity protected them from spoliation, they were enabled to leave their riches to their children who were brought up to the same career, and were, by privilege, allowed to finish their studies at the medresseh in eight years less time than the prescribed number of years, the private tuition which they were supposed to receive from their fathers making up for the deficiency. Thus, besides the influence of birth and wealth, they had a direct facility in attaining the degree of *muderris*, which their fellow citizens and rivals had not, and who were obliged in consequence to accept inferior judicial appointments. In process of time the whole monopoly of the *ulema* centred in a certain number of families, and their constant residence at the capital, to which they return at the expiration of their term of office, has maintained their power to the present day. Nevertheless, it is true that if a student of a medresseh, not of the privileged order, possess extraordinary merit, the *ulema* has generally the tact to admit him of the body: was to the cities to which he goes as mollah, since he has to create a private fortune for his family. Thus arose that body—the peerage of Turkey—known by the name of *ulema*, a body uniting the high attributes of law and religion; distinct from the clergy, yet enjoying all the advantages connected with a church paramount; free from its shackles, yet retaining the perfect odour of sanctity. Its combination has given it a greater hold in the state than the *dere beys*, who, though possessed individually of more power, founded, too, on original charters, sunk from a want of union."

The great effect of the *ulema* has arisen from this, that its lands are safe from confiscation or arbitrary taxation. To power of every sort, excepting that of a triumphant democracy, there must be some limits; and great as the authority of the Sultan is he is too dependent on the religious feelings of his subjects to be able to overturn the church. The consequence is that the *vacouf* or church lands have been always free both from arbitrary taxation and confiscation; and hence they have formed a species of mortmain or entailed lands in the Ottoman dominions, enjoying privileges to which the other parts of the empire, excepting the estates of the *dere beys*, are entire strangers. Great part of the lands of Turkey, in many places amounting to one third of the whole, were held by this religious tenure; and the device was frequently adopted of leaving property to the *ulema* in trust for particular families, whereby the benefits of secure hereditary descent were obtained. The practical advantages of this ecclesiastical property was thus enumerated by Mr. Slade:—"The *vacouf* (mosque lands) have been among the best cultivated in Turkey, by

being free from arbitrary taxation. The medresehs (public schools) in all the great cities, where the rudiments of the Turkish language and the Koran are taught, and where poor scholars receive food gratis, are supported by the *ulema*. The medressehs, imarets, (hospitals) fountains, &c. are all maintained by the *ulema*: add to these the magnificence of the mosques, their number, the royal sepulchres, and it will be seen that Turkey owes much of its existence to this body, which has been enabled, by its power and its union, to resist royal cupidity.—Without it, where would be the establishments above mentioned? Religious property has been an object of attack in every country. At one period by the sovereign, to increase his power; at another, by the people, to build fortunes on its downfall. Mahomet IV. at the disastrous retreat of his grand vizier, Kara Mustapha, from before Vienna, 1683, seized on the riches of the principal mosques which arbitrary act led to his deposition. The *ulema* would have shown a noble patriotism in giving its wealth for the service of the state, but it was right in resenting the extortion, which would have served as a precedent for succeeding Sultans. In fine, rapid as has been the decline of the Ottoman empire since victory ceased to attend its arms, I venture to assert, that it would have been tenfold more rapid but for the privileged orders—the *dere beys* and the *ulema*. Without their powerful weight and influence—effect of the hereditary wealth and sagacity—the Janissaries would long since have cut Turkey in pieces, and have ruled it as the Mamelukes ruled Egypt."

Suppose now, the influence of *ulema* to be overturned what would be the consequence? The molla ships, like the pashalicks, would then be sold to the highest bidders, or given to the needy followers of the seraglio. These must borrow money of the bankers for their outfit, which must be repaid, and their own purses lined, by their talents at extortion."

It is one of the most singular proofs of the tendency of innovation to blind its votaries to the effects of the measures it advocates, that the *ulema* has long been sieged out for destruction by the reforming Sultan, and the change is warmly supported by many of the inconsiderate Franks who dwell in the East. Such is the aversion of men of every faith to the vesting of property or influence in the church that they would willingly see this one of the last barriers which exist against arbitrary power, done away. The power of the Sultan great as it is, has not yet ventured on this great innovation; but it is well known that he meditates it, and it is the knowledge of this circumstance which is one great cause of the extreme popularity which has rendered his government unable to obtain any considerable resources from his immense dominions."

4. In every part of the empire, the superior felicity and well being of the peasantry in the mountains is conspicuous, and has long attracted the attention of travellers. Clarke observed it in the mountains of Greece, Mariti, and others in Syria and Asia Minor, and Mr. Slade and Mr. Walsh in the Balkan, and the hilly country of Bulgaria. No peasantry in the world, says the former, are so well off as that of Bulgaria. The lowest of them has abundance of every thing—meat, poultry, eggs, milk, rice, cheese, wine, bread, good clothing, a warm dwelling, and a horse to ride. It is true he has no newspaper to kindle his passions, nor a knife and fork to eat with, nor a bedstead to lie on; but these are the customs of the country, and a pacha is equally unhappy. Where then, is the tyranny under which the Christian Subjects of the Porte are generally supposed to groan? Not among the Bulgarians certainly. I wish that in every country a traveller could pass from one end to the other, and find a good supper and a warm fire in every cottage, as he can in this part of European Turkey. This description applies generally to almost all the mountainous provinces of the Ottoman Empire, and in an especial manner to the peasants of Parassus and Olympia as described by Clarke. As a contrast to this delightful state of society we may quote the same traveller's account of the plains of Rome. Ramelha if cultivated would become the granary of the East; whereas Constantinople depends on Odessa for daily bread. The burial grounds, choked with weeds and underwood, constantly occurring in every traveller's route, far remote from habitations, are eloquent testimonials of continued depopulation. The living too, are far apart; a town every fifty miles, and a village every ten miles, is close, and hermen meeting on the highway regard each other as objects of curiosity. The cause of this depopulation is to be found in the pernicious government of the Ottomans. The cause of this remarkable difference lies in the fact, that the Ottoman oppression has never yet fully extended into the mountainous parts of its dominions; and, consequently, they remained like permanent veins of prosperity, intersecting the country in every direction, amidst the desolation which generally prevailed in the pashalicks of the plain."

WEST INDIES.

SOCIAL CONDITION OF THE WEST INDIES.

By Mrs. Carmichael—five years a resident in St. Vincent and Trinidad.

After describing the wants and woes of the free persons of colour in the lower ranks, Mrs. C. exclaims:—

"How different is this from the coloured domestic slave! he has the same money weekly for his allowance—the same privileges from his master's table—he is furnished with an annual supply of linen, jean and nankeen trowsers, that would rather astound our good English house-