GREECE.

Mr. Tuckerman to Mr. Seward.

[Extract.]

No. 3.] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Athens, June 18, 1868.

SIR: On the 13th inst., as per copy herewith, I had the honor to report my arrival at this capital, making mention, at the same time, of the fact that the King and court were sojourning at Cephissia. On being informed of my arrival, his Majesty appointed Tuesday, the 16th inst., at the palace at Athens, for my official reception. At noon on that day, I presented my letter of credence to the King, who received me with marked cordiality, in manner and speech. In handing the letter of the President to the King, I employed the following language:

I have the distinguished honor of presenting to your Majesty a letter from the President of the United States of America, whereby I am accredited as minister resident near the government of your Majesty. In performing this agreeable duty, it is unnecessary for me to remind you of the friendship and sympathy so long subsisting between the two nations. These sentiments were expressed in more fitting terms than any that I can employ, on the occasion of the reception of your Majesty's representative at Washington, and they now, in virtue of a recent act of Congress, take visible form in the establishment of this mission. The people of the United States sincerely desire the prosperity and happiness of all peoples, under whatever forms of government their laws may be administered; yet, from the very nature of our own political institutions, we cannot but regard with peculiar satisfaction every successful result of self-government in Europe. In this view I may be permitted to consider as auspicious the period of my arrival in Greece. The supremacy of law and order during the excitement of the recent popular elections throughout this kingdom, and the submission of the whole to the voice of the majority, are, as regarded by the light of our own political experience, a test of free institutions. It is our abiding hope, that Greece, drawing from her imperishable past the principles of public liberty, and rejecting those conflicting elements which caused her decline, by a well-developed system of political economy and internal improvements, may, through patient peace, realize the just expectations of her patriotic and persevering people. Should my official residence near your Majesty's government serve in any degree to strengthen the friendship and give direction to the mutual interests of the two countries, my ambition will be more than gratified.

To which his Majesty responded as follows:

[Translation.]

Mr. MINISTER: I thank you for the words which you have just pronounced. It is with a lively pleasure that I see a minister from the United States accredited near to me. The sympathies which unite the Greek people to those of the United States, date from the very period of the war which the former sustained to conquer her independence. Fully sharing in these sentiments of my people, I decided last year to send an envoy extraordinary to express them to the President of the United States. The reception of Mr. Rangabé by the Chief Magistrate of the republic, and by the American people in general; the mission with which you are at present charged; the hopes and sentiments which you have just expressed, are so many proofs of the feeling which animates the government and people of the United States in our behalf. My people and myself place a very high value upon the friendship of the United States. There is more than one point of resemblance between the two nations. With one, as with the other, the love of order and of liberty form the basis of their character. Both conquered their independence by a long struggle, and passed through many trials to sustain these two principles. Having heard of your antecedents, and of your talents, I am gratified, Mr. Minister, that the choice of your government for its representative near me has fallen upon yourself. I shall always receive you with pleasure, and I am sure that my government will hasten to establish intimate and cordial relations with you.

At the conclusion of this address, his Majesty entered into general conversation with me, and expressed much interest in the growth and prosperity of the United States. Referring to the remarks in my address upon the tranquillity of the late elections in Greece, he attributed the general good order which prevails with *us* during the period of elections, to the fact that labor and occupation engross the attention of the people; thus, by inference, intimating what indeed cannot fail to be perceived by the most casual observer in this capital, that the undue proportion of citizens who make a business of political agitation, is an element of great danger in this kingdom. Thus, at the present moment, although the results of the late elections have been known for weeks, the excitement of parties continues simply because there appears to be no wholesome practical occupations to engage the general mind. It is well known that the better classes do not pursue agricultural employments. Thus, an immense floating population, dependent upon government offices for support, is continually ebbing and flowing, as this party or that is in or out of political power. I refrain from further observation on this and kindred subjects, until more thorough examination ripens my judgment.

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I may also mention, that to-day I was asked if I had any objection to receive a visit from certain Cretans, who, having come to Athens seeking admission to the Greek national chamber as "deputies," were, partly at the instance of the representatives of Great Britain and France, refused admission. Although informed that the proposed visit to me was not intended to be considered as official on their part, I thought proper to discourage the proceeding, expressing at the same time my readiness and pleasure to receive any and all who desired to see me in their individual capacity. I find it necessary to be cautious and circumspect, in my personal relations, with a community where party capital is manufactured out of very insignificant materials.

The affairs of Crete continue to be in *statu quo*. The Sultan's troops appear to be acting at present on the defensive, and blockade-running from this and other Greek ports goes on without molestation. According to the estimate of the prime minister, M. Bulgaris, with whom I had, to-day, a long and agreeable interview, the Cretans "under arms" in the island number about 12,000, and their opponents 20,000. M. Bulgaris states that the amount paid monthly for the support of the "refugee" Cretans now in Greece, and amounting to over 50,000 souls, exceeds the sum of 5,000 drachmas. This drain upon the treasury is very serious, and, in the present condition of the finances, cannot fail to excite apprehension for the future. There seem to be no signs of falling off in the determination of the government and people to sustain the cause of Crete—within the restraints imposed by the other powers. The present inactivity of Russia in the affairs of Crete serves to restrain the movements of those here who desire open interference, *coûte que coûte*.

The "verification" of the electoral votes—a long and tedious process, owing to the singular mode of casting the ballot at elections—still occupies the attention of the chamber. Much intemperate discussion has ensued, which yesterday, I regret to say, led to a personal *rencontre* in the chamber.

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I have the honor to be, sir, your very obedient servant,

CHARLES K. TUCKERMAN.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Tuckerman to Mr. Seward.

[Extract.]

No. 4.] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Athens, June 25, 1868.

SIR: Two demonstrations of sympathy with the people of the United States, on the part of Cretan refugees in Greece, seem worthy of official mention.

A few evenings since a procession, consisting of about 900 orderly and well-dressed children, of both sexes, halted in front of the hotel where I am lodged. They were accompanied by their teachers, certain American missionaries, who have devoted much time and attention to the education of these refugees since their arrival, in a destitute condition, on the shores of Greece. After singing a hymn, they saluted the American minister with cheers. On being apprised that the object of this demonstration was to express to the people of the United States, through me, their heartfelt gratitude for the charitable aid which they had received from my countrymen at home, I addressed them briefly from the balcony. I commended their appearance and the means which they were pursuing to become intelligent and useful citizens, and expressed the opinion that if their benefactors in America could but witness the spectacle which they then presented, they would feel abundantly recompensed for such assistance as—amid great domestic suffering existing in a portion of our own country—they had been able to extend to the refugees in Greece. With a hearty cheer the assemblage retired in the same becoming order in which it had approached. A few days subsequently I was waited upon by a deputation of Cretans accompanied by the Bishop of Kissamos and two priests. With great simplicity and feeling these people expressed their gratitude to their friends in the United States for the sympathy and aid extended by the latter to the suffering women and children refugees in Greece, and invoked a blessing upon the government and people of the United States.

In addition to these manifestations, the local newspapers have teemed with kindly sentiments towards me as the representative of a people whom they have for a long period regarded, and now more than ever regard, as friendly to the aspirations of Greece. Since my arrival I have been visited by large numbers of representative men, inspired by the same friendly sentiments and anxious to express them. In many instances I have felt it necessary to check on their part a tendency to political discussion, which, if encouraged by me, would do no practical good and might lead to political misapprehensions. The numerous attempts on the part of others to introduce through me to the United States government "petitions" of Greeks, not subjects of this kingdom, indicate the extremity to which they are driven in the present position of affairs. Although not openly admitted, it is evident that the feeling of discouragement in Crete is very great. * * * *

From conversations with observing men, Americans, English and Greek, as well as Cretans, who have recently arrived from the island, it appears that the insurgents were never in a more hopeless condition. They have heretofore been regularly in the receipt of supplies and ammunition from their sympathizers in Greece and elsewhere. Now the shipments of supplies are less frequent and the want of ammunition is becoming very serious. The policy of the foreign powers in this juncture adds to the general discouragement. By Greeks and Cretans the United States is regarded as the only disinterested and reliable

friend of Crete. The common people in Crete call "America" their "guardian angel who will eventually lead them to felicity." In what way this dream of the sufferers is to become a reality, or what may be the nature of the felicity hoped for, does not appear. I have, however, every reason to believe that the people of Crete would place themselves and their beautiful island under our flag, if means were open for the accomplishment of such an object. Those who are better acquainted with international law earnestly trust that before all hope is lost to them our government will address a remonstrance to the Porte, or an appeal to the three powers, whereby the independence of Crete may be hastened or assured. It is difficult for them to understand why, in perfect accordance with the spirit of our institutions and the policy of our government, we cannot, as a powerful and independent nation, use the force of argumentative appeal in behalf of a valiant and long suffering people whose sole desire is to govern themselves by right of nationality, religion, language, and liberty. I have very pleasantly discussed the "Cretan question," which is, in fact, the Greek question at present, with Photiades Bey, the Turkish minister, a very intelligent and agreeable gentleman. While his remarks did not materially confirm, they did not disturb an impression which I entertain, that the Sultan's principal objection to the relinquishment of Crete is the apprehension that the precedent would lead to insurrections in his northern provinces, and that, if he felt secure against what we must admit is a not unlikely consequence, he would, under moderate pressure, rid himself of a costly and annoying appendage. It is not difficult to imagine that the debt which Great Britain is permitting Turkey to accumulate may be extinguished by the peaceable cession of Crete to the former; a solution of the question which France, in view of her own possessions further east, might not consider it prudent to oppose.

As Greece is unquestionably the fountain-head of the insurrection in Crete, and from which its sustenance has been drawn throughout the struggle, there is not much probability that the people of this kingdom will abandon the cause which they have so long and ardently espoused.

I have the honor to be, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

CHARLES K. TUCKERMAN.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Tuckerman to Mr. Seward.

[Extract.]

No. 6.] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Athens, July 4, 1868.

SIR: I have received from our consuls at Canea, in Crete, and at Syra, confirmatory reports of a recent act of atrocity on the part of the Ottoman soldiers in Crete, of which the French consul is said to have been an eye-witness, the details of which have been furnished me, as per copy herewith, by the Greek minister for foreign affairs.

I receive with very great caution many of the reports in circulation from that distracted region, and I certainly shall not bring any to your notice which do not appear to be supported by corroborative evidence. Such enormities as are here said to have been committed on defenceless old men, women and children, be the number of victims small or great,

do not come within the "horrors of war," but seem to be the result of fanatical passions which the Turkish authorities, however much disposed to do so, cannot control. If, for want of means to continue the struggle, the Cretan insurgents are finally compelled to lay down their arms, I confess I do not see what protection to life and honor will be afforded them in the midst of a Turko-Cretan population who will be masters of the situation, and without moral restraints. Fortunately, or unfortunately for the people of Crete, the olive crop promises to be abundant, and in a few weeks will be ready to be gathered in. It is not however probable that the Turks will permit this harvesting on the part of their enemies. In such case will the temptation of oil and food be too strong to be resisted by the impoverished and half-fed Christians? If they continue the struggle in the face of such discouragements as are now gathering thickly around them, it will be an appeal for European intervention which the neutral powers can hardly withstand. A Greek gentleman called upon me yesterday with a letter from a member of the so-called provisional government of Crete, in which he is requested to ask me what would be the probable success of an appeal from the people of Crete for "protection from the United States." I reminded him that matters pertaining to the subjects of the Sultan do not fall within the province of this legation.

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I have the honor to be, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

CHARLES K. TUCKERMAN.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

OFFICIAL ACCOUNT OF THE MASSACRE IN CRETE.

[Translation.]

News has been received from Heraclea (Candia) bearing date June 10-22.

The 3d-15th of that month the native Ottomans, numbering about 2,000, formed themselves under the eyes of the local authority, and even with its approval, into a corps denominated *Zourida, i. e.*, free corps, with the well-understood intention of making an incursion into the province of Pediade. They wished to avenge themselves for their late defeats, and they thought that, by the pillage and massacre of those Cretans who had already made their submission, they might accelerate the termination of the insurrection.

In fact, these bandits fell upon the villages of Embaro, Panagis, Sgouro, Kephali, Kassano, Martha, Karavádis, Meliarades, and Kassems, and after completely sacking them, carrying off all kinds of animals and property, they put to death more than one hundred persons of both sexes, and returned in triumph, the 5-17th of that month, to the city of Heraclea, where they sold their booty without molestation.

The 4-16th of the same month, a detached party of the same corps put to death, in the village of Bedia, seven other villagers. The number of victims sacrificed in this manner between May 31st-June 12th and June 12-24th.

P. S.—Recent intelligence from Heraclea informs us that after this massacre the general government of Candia proceeded to Heraclea, under pretext of making an investigation and of punishing the guilty parties, but really in order to attenuate the atrocities committed. But the French consul in Candia had also gone in person to the places, the 14-26, and after obtaining authentic information on their acts of vandalism, he was convinced that they were in fact perpetrated by Ottomans.

Mr. Tuckerman to Mr. Seward.

[Extracts.]

No. 7.] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Athens, July 10, 1868.

SIR: I have had occasion to bring to your notice the flattering reception which I have met with in my official capacity at the hands of this government and people. These manifestations of sympathy with the United States continue. Monseigneur Théophile, the metropolitan archbishop, the head of the synod, and the highest ecclesiastical authority in Greece, called officially upon me a few days since. He wore the robe and insignia of his office, and the visit was intended to be marked and significant. I inclose a newspaper report, which appears to be substantially correct, of the remarks of his Holiness on the occasion.

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Within a few days the Chamber has completed the much-prolonged and disputed "verification" of the recent popular elections. The result is that out of the one hundred and eighty deputies, twenty-seven have been excluded from the national parliament. Of these, fourteen were of the ministerial party, and thirteen of the opposition. It remains to be seen what will be the result of the re-election which will now be ordered to take place in the disputed districts. The well-established popularity of several of the rejected deputies cannot fail to cause them to be returned by their constituents in spite of the efforts of the ministerial party to keep them out of the Chamber.

* * * * * * * * *

Mr. Erskine, the British minister, informs me that the reported massacre in Crete, which I brought to your notice in my last dispatch, is fully confirmed by subsequent investigation, although the number of victims, as usual in such reports, is exaggerated. The Turkish authorities on the island are said to have been "highly incensed" at the barbarous acts of their soldiers, and to have caused many of the troops to be imprisoned. The governor general has also issued orders of a pacific character, but the insurgents have no faith whatever in Turkish statements or promises of reform.

I have the honor to be, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,
CHARLES K. TUCKERMAN.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

[From the Athens Courier, of July 3, 1868.]

[Translation.]

On the 27th of July, about noon, his Holiness the metropolitan bishop of Athens, accompanied by Dr. Gondas, as his interpreter, called upon his excellency Mr. Tuckerman, the United States minister. The customary compliments having passed, the bishop addressed Mr. Tuckerman as follows:

"YOUR EXCELLENCY: As a man who participated in our great struggle, which commenced in 1821 and which still continues, and as the head of the Greek clergy, I come to express to you, the representative of the great American nation, the gratitude of my companions in arms, not only those belonging to the orthodox clergy, but those of the entire Greek nation, for the many benefits of every kind which, not only during the old war, but during the present struggle in Crete, your countrymen have conferred upon the Christians of the east, who are fighting for religion, country, and liberty.

"I pray your excellency to transmit this expression of our deep thankfulness to your whole nation, and if it be possible, to every American citizen. Tell them what they have done for Greece is written in indelible characters on the Hellenic heart, and will be transmitted from generation to generation. The clergy of Greece will ever pray for the peace and prosperity of the world, but above all for these two nations, so closely bound together by the ties of friendship and of sympathy. Without the beneficence of America, the difficulties of our great struggle would have been much greater, and but for her generous aid many Cretan widows and orphans would have perished of hunger and of cold. May God bless the American benefactors of the Christians in the east!"

His excellency the minister resident of the United States thanked the bishop for his kind words, and expressed his sense of the honor conferred upon him by this visit. "The people of the United States," he remarked, "are well aware of the religious element in Greece, and how signally it was illustrated at the earliest period of her war of independence, when the patriotic archbishop of old Patras lifted the standard of the cross in the Peloponnesus, and inspired his countrymen with courageous determination. In the United States," his excellency continued, "although every form of religious worship is tolerated, perfect harmony exists; and although church has no connection with state, yet the safety of the state is based upon the religious and intellectual education of the people. It must be always so in Greece, and if ever peace and concord shall reign in the four corners of the earth, the result will be owing to the efforts of Christian teachers in spreading the influences of the gospel." The minister thought that perhaps an exaggerated importance is given to the sympathy of his countrymen for Greece. It is but the natural expression of the Christian mind, to conceal which would be an affectation.

In conclusion, his excellency the minister assured the metropolitan bishop that it would be his pleasure as well as his duty to transmit to the American people the words of sympathy and good will which had just been so feelingly uttered.

Mr. Tuckerman to Mr. Seward.

[Extract.]

No. 8.] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Athens, July 18, 1868.

SIR: After an active debate, the Chamber, on Tuesday last, accepted the "Address to the King," as prepared and approved by the majority of the committee. * * * * * * *

Within a few days the Greek government has come to an understanding with the Belgian company, Langrand-Dumonceau, whereby the latter agrees to construct three connecting lines of railroad within the limits of Greece proper, without expense to this government; the latter conceding the necessary land required therefor, and certain mining and other privileges, and participating in the profits of the enterprise with the ultimate right of purchase. The estimated cost of construction is 140,000,000 of drachmas, say $23,000,000, and the time seven years. These lines are to traverse the kingdom from Cape Sunium to the frontiers of Turkey, connecting the principal ports of the Peloponnesus with the isthmus of Corinth and with Athens, forming rapid communication with Brindisi, in southern Italy, and with the Austrian lines leading to middle Europe, and ultimately furnishing "the most direct and rapid route of travel between Europe and India." It would be interesting to dwell upon the details of this important enterprise, had not experience shown that "agreements" of such a nature, in Greece, are by no means guarantees of their accomplishment. This remark is no reflection upon the Greek character, since this enterprise, like that of the still uncompleted road between Athens and the Piræus, is exclusively in the hands of foreigners.

Mr. Stillman, in a recent dispatch from Canea, reports several conflicts between the insurgents and the soldiers of the Sultan, with results not

wholly in favor of the former. The small steamer Enosis has again successfully run the blockade, delivering a cargo of food, clothing, and ammunition. A considerable portion of the first two articles was shipped by the "American relief committee." In the regularity and number of her trips the Enosis is likely to equal the famous Arkadi. While this pendulum swings between Greece and Crete the movements of the insurgents will not be suspended. It is estimated here that the Cretan insurrection has cost the Porte upwards of $70,000,000. A Turkish authority recently admitted to me that it had cost not less than $15,000,000. The revenue of the island of Crete, in time of peace, is stated at 10,000,000 of francs, or about $2,000,000. The conflict is disastrous to Turkey, Candia, and Greece beyond any calculation in figures, and humiliating as it must be to the Ottoman government to admit that the two years' waste of men and money is not likely to be compensated by the *voluntary* return of the Cretans to their allegiance, it is equally unfortunate for the people of Greece that this disturbing question is no nearer a settlement. It absorbs the popular mind, interferes with the circulation of national industry, and is productive of internal dissension.

I have the honor to be, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

CHARLES K. TUCKERMAN.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Tuckerman to Mr. Seward.

No. 9.] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Athens, August 1, 1868.

SIR: The budget for 1868 has just been presented to the national chamber. The revenue is estimated at 33,508,000 drachmas—say $5,500,000—being an excess of 1,215,665 over that of last year, owing to the prospect of abundant crops and increased revenue from imports. The public expenditure is estimated at 34,047,986, being in excess of the expenditure of last year 3,410,516. It is not improbable, in view of additional appropriations for extraordinary purposes, that the public expenditure will fully reach, if indeed it does not exceed, 39,000,000 drachmas. I shall on a future occasion endeavor to give you a comprehensive statement of the financial condition of this kingdom; as no recent official statements have been made, I must await the promised report of the minister of finance.

The Grand Duchess Alexandra Joséfoona, the mother of the Queen of Greece, accompanied by her son, the Grand Duke Nicholas, are at present the guests of her Majesty. The imperial party was joined for a few days by the Grand Duke Alexis, third son of the Emperor of Russia. A series of fêtes has been given to the duchess and her family since their arrival, and the diplomatic corps has been formally presented to the distinguished visitors. On this occasion the grand duchess expressed to me her strong feelings of interest in the United States, and, adverting to the reception of our naval officers at St. Petersburg, hoped that we were satisfied with the hospitalities which had been extended by the government of Russia to these officials; to which I suitably responded.

In a previous dispatch I called your attention to the promising condition of the olive crop in the island of Candia, and suggested that it

might affect the duration of the struggle for nationality. An end, however, has been put to any questions of this nature, by the acts of the Turkish soldiers, who, according to a report from Mr. Stillman, recently received by me, "have ventured on a course of devastation, which since Omer Pasha's time has been disavowed. Olive trees are destroyed by wholesale, and the loss is not that of the insurgents only, but of the island and the rich proprietors, who, as a general thing, have been averse to the movement." The Turkish government in Crete have ordered all Cretans who have families in Greece to bring them back, under pain of confiscation. I am not of opinion that this measure will have much effect upon the refugees here, who are disposed to remain while the government and relief committees continue to support them. A few families have, however, within a fortnight returned to Crete under the auspices, as he himself informs me, of Photiades Bey, the Turkish minister at Athens. A good deal of disease exists at present among the insurgents in Crete which relaxes the strength of the warfare. I append the copy of a petition which a portion of the insurgent military chiefs have recently addressed to Queen Victoria, but which others of the "general assembly of Cretans" are said to have disapproved of, as being a confession of weakness "unworthy a valiant people struggling for the right of self-government," and which virtually places them "at the mercy of Great Britain."

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

CHARLES K. TUCKERMAN.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

[Translation.]

The undersigned, military chieftains of the Christian people of Crete, having assembled to-day, July 2, 1868, at Asomaton, in the province of Amari, and having taken into consideration the decree which has been submitted to us as a project, and which is conceived in the following terms:

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE CRETANS,

Confiding in the noble and liberal sentiments of the great English nation, and the Cretan people relying upon it, decrees:

The Christian people of Crete founds its entire hopes upon the noble and humane solicitude of her Majesty Queen Victoria, begs her to take into consideration the holiness and justness of its cause and the great sacrifices which it has always made for its triumph, and to give her immediate succor for the speedy realization of the national aspirations, and by putting an end to a struggle so sanguinary and so unequal, add another noble and generous act to those which grace her crown and the glorious history of the great English nation.

The provisional government of Crete is charged to transmit the present decree.

Having taken into consideration this decree and having fully examined it, we favor and demand its textual adoption by the general assembly of the Cretans, and its transmission without loss of time by the provisional government of Crete to its destination.

CRETE, *July* 14, 1868.

The military chieftains.

[Here follow the signatures.]

Mr. Tuckerman to Mr. Seward.

[Extract.]

No. 11.] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Athens, August 6, 1868.

SIR: At a late hour last evening, I received a dispatch from Admiral Farragut, dated on yesterday, "off Syra," informing me that he was on

his way to Constantinople with the United States steamers Franklin and Frolic, and requesting me to telegraph for a *firman* for the latter vessel to pass the Dardanelles, with himself and staff; which I accordingly did. The admiral also informed me that he arrived off Syra "in time to join in the congratulations of the people of Greece to their sovereign, upon the safe delivery of her Majesty of her first-born." The birth of an hereditary heir to the crown of Greece, which formed the subject of my last dispatch, continues to elicit from the people and the press expressions of unaffected satisfaction. * * * A *native-born* prince, who indeed, if he reigns, will be in fact the first Greek King recorded in history; who, in conformity with the Hellenic constitution, must profess the tenets of the orthodox or "Greek" church, will do more to fix the wavering mind upon the inevitability of monarchism in Greece, than could any event or circumstance at the present time. Whatever dreams of republicanism may have at times disturbed the popular mind here, the true friends of the Hellenic race cannot but perceive that such ideas are incompatible with the character of the people and the political surroundings of the kingdom.

The ministerial counsel is, I think, more a unit than it has been, upon the necessity for providing funds for the support of the Cretan refugees, and thus indirectly supporting the insurgent movement in Candia. Some differences have heretofore existed on this head, not from want of interest in the struggling Cretans, but solely from financial considerations. The outside pressure has, however, overruled these objections and the refugees will continue to be sustained at the public charge. The opposition has pressed the government for an explanation of the apparent apathy on its part with regard to the affairs of Crete. The answer has been, that at a proper time the correspondence will show that no apathy exists; and that the present government has done more for Crete than the preceding ministry. With this answer the interrogators profess to be content. I have reason to believe that remonstrances to this government on the part of France have been of so unequivocal a character as to account in a measure for the seeming inactivity of the ministry in Cretan affairs.

I have the honor to be, sir, respectfully, your obedient servant,

CHARLES K. TUCKERMAN.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Tuckerman to Mr. Seward.

[Extract.]

No. 13.] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Athens, August 20, 1868.

SIR: * * * * * *

The joint resolution of Congress in behalf of Cretan autonomy, which passed July 20, two days after your acknowledgment of my dispatch containing a suggestion of a similar character, has been received here with unqualified satisfaction, and great interest is expressed in the forthcoming letter of the Secretary of State to our minister at Constantinople, in pursuance of said resolution. This resolution of Congress, passed by a unanimous vote, was declared by Mr. Myers, representative from Pennsylvania, "to be responsive to the wishes of the American

people." It is so regarded here, and hopes are being built upon it by the sanguine people of Greece, which I fear will not be fully realized. This expression, however, on the part of the United States, comes at an opportune moment. The apathy of Europe, as regards the Cretan question, the inability of the Greek government and people to offer material aid to the insurgents in Candia, and the wretched physical condition of those people, have of late driven them to a condition of almost hopelessness. In their despair they cry aloud for help and look towards the United States with an earnestness which inspires sympathy in the beholder. Indeed, it is impossible to hear, as I do almost daily, the passionate appeals of the representatives of these valiant and suffering people, without emotion. The political solution of the Cretan question becomes of far less importance than the immediate question of relief to these sufferers—sufferers whose cause, even if it were a bad one, has been upheld with such confidence, patience, and heroism, as to entitle it to the earnest consideration and decisive action of the neutral powers. As a citizen and public servant of the United States, I fervently hope that the appeal of our government to the Porte in behalf of the people of Crete will result in *positive* reforms, which sooner or later may lead to the entire independence of the island of Candia.

Referring to the enclosures herewith, I have the honor to be, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

CHARLES. K. TUCKERMAN.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

NOTE.

The national assembly of the Cretans and the provisional government of Crete have issued the following decrees:

Considering the continual demonstrations in the United States in behalf of our sacred struggle, and the aid of various kinds that continues to be sent from America in support of our war of independence and for the relief of the victims of Turkish ferocity, the national assembly of the Cretans decrees:

1st. The deep gratitude of the people of Crete to the people of the United States of America shall be made known to our American benefactors.

2d. The provisional government shall carry into effect the present decree.

BRYSAI OF AMARION, CRETE, *August* 1–13, 1868.

A. PAPPAYANNAKES,
President.

[Here follow the names of the members.]

The provisional government of Crete to the people of the United States of America:

The general assembly of the Cretans has charged us by its decree of the 1-13th instant to communicate to you, in the name of the people of Crete, an expression of our deep gratitude for the aid of every kind sent by you in support of our sacred struggle, as well as for the relief of the victims of Turkish ferocity. We thank you also for the boundless sympathy you evince in behalf of a people fighting for the recovery of their freedom.

The philhellenism now manifested in America reminds us of what was done in your glorious country during the panhellenic war of independence which commenced in 1821; and we perceive with the greatest pleasure that the children of the American philhellenes of that period have proved worthy of their parents.

With heartfelt gratitude to the American people for their generous contributions to Crete, we feel assured that you will continue to accord your material and moral support to the most sacred and ligitimate of causes, a cause which, from its special character and the unprecedented sufferings attending it, has become worthy of the sympathies of every civilized nation.

BRYSAI OF AMARION IN CRETE, *August*, 1868.

I. IAMLAKES,
General Secretary.

[Here follow the names of the members.]

Mr. Tuckerman to Mr. Seward.

No. 14.] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Athens, September 10, 1868.

SIR: The United States flag-ship Franklin, under command of Admiral David G. Farragut, accompanied by the United States steamer Frolic, Captain Harmony, arrived at the Piræus, port of Athens, from Constantinople, on the afternoon of Monday, 31st of August. The acting United States consul immediately proceeded on board and was received with the customary salute. On the following day the admiral and suite visited Athens and at once called at this legation, where it afforded me the highest gratification to receive them. We soon after proceeded to pay the customary official visits, and the admiral and suite were presented by me to the prime minister, the ministers of foreign affairs, of justice, of religion, and education, and subsequently to the ministers of marine and of war. We also called upon all the members of the diplomatic corps resident at Athens. The admiral was received with great cordiality by all these officials, each of whom alluded to his illustrious career and expressed much pleasure at being brought in contact with him. On the following day the admiral and his family were visited by many of the residents of Athens.

Thursday, September 3d, being the day appointed for the public baptism of the prince royal, was observed with much pomp and ceremony; the buildings were decorated with flags and devices; business was suspended, and the people gave themselves up to general rejoicings. The ceremony at the cathedral was in the highest degree imposing. The edifice was crowded with the chief representatives of church and state, and presented a magnificent spectacle. Prominent places were reserved in the cathedral for the diplomatic corps and for the admirals and commanders of ships-of-war, all of which bodies were present.

The god-parents of Prince Constantine are the Queen and Prince Royal of Denmark, the Princess of Wales, the Grand Duchess Alexandra Josephovna of Russia, who held the child during the ceremony; the Duke Joseph, of Saxe-Altenburg, and the Grand Duke Nicholas. On the same day the King and Queen received the diplomatic corps at the palace, on which occasion, by previous arrangement, I had the honor to present Admiral Farragut and the officers of the Franklin to their Majesties. The King received each with a cordial grasp of the hand, and an expression of hearty good will. On approaching the Grand Duchess Alexandra, her Highness advanced from her position to take the hand of the admiral and to repeat the assurances of Russian sympathy with the United States, which have been so emphatically expressed to the officers of the United States navy whenever circumstances have brought them in contact with any of the members of the imperial household. On the same evening, the admiral and suite met the American residents of Athens at the house of the United States minister. On Friday, the 4th, Mrs. Farragut was presented to the Queen by the wife of the minister, and on that evening the admiral and suite were present, by invitation of the King, at a grand banquet given at the palace to the diplomatic corps, government officials, and other distinguished guests, on the occasion of the baptismal fête. The seats assigned at table to the officers of the Franklin were directly in front of the King. His Majesty, in compliment to these guests, wore the naval uniform. During the dinner he pledged their healths, which was the only toast drunk by him on the occasion. On Saturday, the 5th, I made my official call

on board the Franklin, and received the usual salute. Later in the day, the Greek officials and diplomatic corps visited the ship and were saluted. The King having expressed his desire, and that of the Grand Duchess Alexandra Josephovna, to visit the Franklin, Monday, the 7th of September, at 1½ o'clock, was named by him for the visit. At the appointed hour, his Majesty, accompanied by the Grand Duchess and the Grand Duke Constantine of Russia, the mother and the brother of the Queen of Greece, went on board with their respective suites. I was present with the admiral and officers to receive the distinguished guests. The King was in the naval uniform. The Grand Duchess wore a necklace of precious stones, and upon her breast a ribbon, both decorations representing the emblematic colors of the United States. After the royal salute, the visitors were conducted over the ship, which they examined with interest, expressing admiration at the condition and appointments of the Franklin, which indeed reflect great credit upon the commanding officer, Commodore Pennock, as well as upon the admiral and the Navy Department. The royal and imperial party were then received in the admiral's cabin by Mrs. Farragut, and partook of a collation. The most significant point in this visit was its duration, the Grand Duchess intentionally prolonging her stay on board to nearly three hours, a circumstance which emphasized the national compliment, and which did not fail to cause comment in official circles here. This account would fail to be complete did I omit to mention that during the repast on board the Franklin his Majesty the King was pleased to drink my health with this sentiment: "To our perpetual friendship, and to the perpetual friendship of the two nations." On the same evening, Admiral Farragut honored me with his presence at dinner. Besides the members of his staff, there were present the ministers of foreign affairs and of marine, and the Turkish, British, and Russian ambassadors, with their wives. On the day of her arrival, and during the stay of the Franklin in these waters, she excited great interest among the Cretan refugees. Thousands of these poor sufferers lined the shore or gathered around the vessel in boats. Several petitions and addresses were presented to the admiral on their behalf, which were kindly received, and before sailing the admiral and officers made a liberal contribution in money and clothing, for the relief of the refugee women and children of Crete. On the 7th instant, in consequence of a telegram received from our minister at Constantinople, the admiral dispatched the Frolic, Captain D. B. Harmony, to the Turkish island of Scio, to investigate the circumstances of the arrest of a Greek, said to be a harbor-master, in the employ of the United States consular agent at that place. Captain Harmony returned yesterday from this expedition, and has reported the result of his investigations to Mr. Morris by letter. He is not of opinion that any further action on his part is called for in the premises. The admiral, with the vessels under his command, left the port of Athens this morning at an early hour for Trieste. I visited the flag-ship last evening, and expressed to the admiral and officers the great satisfaction which their visit has afforded to the government and people of Greece, the evidence of which is everywhere manifested. "Tell them," said an intelligent Greek publicist to me, "that Greece has to-day but one *sincere* friend, and that is the United States."

At the time of the Franklin's visit, there were lying in the port of Athens the French frigate Thémis, 50 guns, and French brig Rolando, the former having on board the admiral; also the Russian flag-ship Minerva, Admiral Bontakow.

I feel that, for obvious reasons, I need not apologise for having brought to your notice many of the details of Admiral Farragut's reception at Athens.

I have the honor to be, sir, your very obedient servant,

CHARLES K. TUCKERMAN.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Tuckerman to Mr. Seward.

[Extract.]

No. 16.] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Athens, September 19, 1868.

SIR: The reassembling of the Chamber of Deputies, the premature dispersion of which some weeks ago caused much discomfiture to the ministerial party, is now expected to take place during the coming week. The members who are now in Athens are, however, few in number, and it is apprehended that a majority will not be present for some weeks, in which case the vote on the budget will be yet further postponed. The newspaper reports of "conflicts" between the troops sent to the province of Œtylon to preserve order, and the friends of M. Conmoundouro, the opposition candidate, who wished to force an election, are unfounded. The government seems disposed to postpone to an indefinite period the re-elections in the disputed districts, and popular feeling is much excited thereby, but as yet there have been no serious disturbances of the peace.

A few hundred more of Cretan refugees have returned to the island, under the auspices of the Turkish legation at Athens. The embarkation of these people has been seriously opposed by their fellow-countrymen here, and it has been found necessary to employ a guard to protect their departure. From Crete itself I have detailed information, from a reliable witness, who has passed two months with the insurgents, that there is no evidence whatever of a falling off in the enthusiasm of the Cretan chiefs or soldiers. The whole body of the latter actually under arms, or in a position to be so at any moment, numbers but seven thousand. They, however, have possession of the greater portion of the mountain-ranges extending from a point on the southern coast near Sphakia, and extending easterly and northeasterly, including the range of Mount Ida in Central Crete. This shows, nominally, about one-half of the territorial surface of the island in the possession of the insurgents, while the flat country is held by the soldiers of the Sultan, against the cavalry attacks of which it would be impossible for the insurgent troops to stand. The mountain defenses being equally insurmountable by the Turks, it follows that, with a sufficiency of food and ammunition, this "guerilla," but not, as has been stated by the London Times, "thieves'" warfare, may be kept up for an indefinite period. Certainly, we may look for its continuance all the coming winter, should no foreign intervention occur. I think there exists no doubt of the fact that the Greek government and the "central committee" are in accord on the subject of the Cretan struggle, and that the popular pressure will force means of supply, in defiance of attempts on the part of the conservative element to let Crete alone.

The Cretan insurrection has probably cost the Greek government, thus

far, 15,000,000 of drachmas, say $2,500,000, which is a very serious sum in view of the state of the treasury and condition of the finances.

The provisional government of Crete has received, as I am privately informed from an official source, an intimation from Mr. Elliot, her Majesty's representative at Constantinople, that the recent appeal of the Cretans to the British Crown will be ineffective. It is now proposed by the insurgent chiefs to address a joint memorial to the three powers. Much interest continues to be expressed in the note which, it is understood, Mr. Morris expects to receive from the Secretary of State in accordance with the resolution of Congress in behalf of Crete. * *

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

CHARLES K. TUCKERMAN.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Tuckerman to Mr. Seward.

No. 17.] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Athens, October 3, 1868.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your three dispatches of August 31, Nos. 7, 8, and 9.

The national Chamber of Deputies resumed its sittings on Monday last, and with a fair prospect of disposing of various important questions, which the unexpected adjournment of the chamber had left in a very unsatisfactory condition. It was evident at that time that a partial if not an entire change in the ministry must be effected, in order to reconcile parties on pending questions, many of which were to be made the handles for more violent personal attacks upon the ministry by the opposition. It was as evident to the partisans as to the opposers of the prime minister, that no important measure could be carried without more harmony also among the friends of the administration. Under pressure from the latter, Mr. Bulgaris consented to receive the resignations of Mr. Simos, minister of finance, and Mr. Barboglis, minister of justice. The successor of the former, Mr. Balassopoulo, and of the latter, Mr. Antonopoulo, have served in former ministries. Mr. Simos, the retiring minister of finance, is universally recognized as a man of marked ability and integrity, and one not easily replaced in the peculiar department in which he has served. Whether those who demand a more *liberal employment of the public funds* will be gratified in this respect by the new administrator, remains to be seen. An empty treasury, and full appropriations for every drachma of revenue, with a deficit of many millions, if the present "extraordinary" expenses continue, offer little opportunity for either extravagance or economy. One of the motives for the change of ministers—which does not appear publicly—is the necessity which exists for certain changes in the *personnel* of the judges, before the consummation of the act which makes the members of the courts of adjudication, of appeal, and of accounts, *irremovable.* This act goes into effect on the 17th of November next. Mr. Bulgaris is said to have made other concessions to his friends, particularly in respect to the "distinction of the powers," which have tended to strengthen his position. This was shown in the vote upon the question of the royal ordinance, which conferred upon the prince royal the title of the "Duke of Sparta." It was contended that this decree is contrary to that provision of the con-

stitution which forbids titles of nobility in Greece, and that it is likewise "at variance with Hellenic manners and traditions." The president of the council, Mr. Bulgaris, declared that the constitution "opposed all inequalities of condition between Greek citizens; but this did not concern the members of the royal family." The minister was sustained by seventy-eight voices against twenty-six, a majority which, as indicating strength in more important matters, promises a longer continuance of the present ministry than was anticipated at the close of the last session. I think that I perceive in the government, as at present organized, a more independent action with regard to foreign affairs, and, if I mistake not, this will result in open expressions of displeasure on the part of England and France, whose material interest it manifestly is to stop Greek agitation, particularly on the subject of Crete. This seems, however, a hopeless task; both the struggle itself, and the agitation which initiated and keeps it alive, have become chronic. In Athens, the committees of relief have lately received fresh contributions of funds—from what source does not appear—and these seem to be sufficient to sustain the refugees in Greece, and the fighting Greeks in Crete, for several months to come. I am privately informed, and have reason to believe the statement, that a body of "volunteers" is being drilled and armed, with the intention of proceeding to Crete to aid the insurgents. This shows the revival of an element which was prominent at the commencement of the war, but which failed of success. But there is nothing in these circumstances which promises any material supremacy to either combatants. The insurgents in Crete have shown themselves unable to meet the conflict at arms on the open field and in the presence of Turkish cavalry. It is equally certain that the mountain-fastnesses are inaccessible to the Turks in any force likely to be sent to face such perils. The warfare may therefore be prolonged indefinitely. This fact should be considered gravely, in considering the action or rather the non-action of the three powers. As to Prussia, whose present weight in the political scale will force her, some time or other, to join in the European sentiment on Greek affairs, I feel assured that her lately increased commercial interests in Turkey will cause her to be found in accord with Great Britain and France. It is thus evident that the American idea with regard to Greece, to say nothing of Crete, is not that of Europe, and that it will be ineffective against such material interests as I have hinted at, unless pronounced in the most unequivocal terms and with an emphasis which shall command for it attention. The King is about to return from Cephissia, where for some weeks past he has remained in camp, living the life of a soldier, while in command of the regiments which have been encamped there during the summer. The Greek government has just signed a contract for fifteen thousand "Remington" United States rifles, for the use of the army.

I have the honor to be, sir, respectfully, your obedient servant,

CHARLES K. TUCKERMAN.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Tuckerman to Mr. Seward.

No. 18.] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Athens, October 17, 1868.

SIR: The affairs of Crete have assumed a new phase, which, viewed from this point, is significant. An assembly calling itself "the representa-

tives of the Cretan people," took place recently at Lividia, province of Milopotamo, in Crete, at which an address to the foreign ministers at Constantinople was signed by certain chiefs among the insurgents.

I inclose a translation of this address, or petition, which has not yet appeared in print. The chief point, as you will perceive, is, that these insurrectionary leaders express themselves willing, under certain guarantees, to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Sultan, and to abandon the project of the annexation of Crete to Greece. Although this appeal is signed by a portion only of the Cretan chiefs, while such prominent men as Criari, Koraka, Spakiaraki, and other chiefs of the insurrection, have not signed it, and very likely will publicly repudiate it, it cannot be denied that the moral effect of the measure will seriously prejudice the cause of the insurgents. The division of sentiment among those who direct their military affairs is of itself sufficient to awaken grave doubts as to further important successes in arms. With the great object of ultimate independence removed from before their eyes, it can scarcely be supposed that the vigor and determination which have heretofore characterized the insurrection will be sustained. The public admission on the part of even a small number of the chiefs, that annexation to Greece is no longer to be regarded as a *sine qua non*, will serve to relax the efforts of Greece in behalf of the insurgents, without whose inspiration the insurrection would never have been commenced, and without whose aid it would long since have failed from inanition. This movement in Crete is doubtless the result of English counsel, and shows it to be recognized as the expression of the general desire of the Christian population of the island. An effort will doubtless be made by the powers to effect a compromise with the Porte. It remains to be seen how far the more important leaders in the insurrection will be able to neutralize the effect of this action by a more emphatic declaration of their own intention to prosecute the war until the independence of Crete is acknowledged by Turkey. Meanwhile, notwithstanding an effort which is made here to treat this affair as of no particular significance, it is evident that unusual exertions will be required on the part of the insurgents in Crete, and the friends of "the cause" here, to overcome the public disappointment which the reception of this news has caused. But disappointment is not the word to express the feeling which would be aroused in Greece should the long-cherished idea of Cretan annexation to Greece fall to the ground in consequence of this appeal. Too many millions of drachmas and too much political energy have been expended by Greece, during the last two years, to achieve an object which, if frustrated without some compensating advantage, would lead to internal dissensions threatening the very safety of the state. It is easy to foresee that in the event of the Cretan failure, causes will be assigned not wholly consistent with the facts of the case, and that the shafts of the opposition will be leveled with redoubled power against the Greek government. This party has not hesitated for many months past to attribute the languishing condition of the Cretan warfare to the apathy of the present ministry, if not, indeed, to the premeditated intention of the prime minister to support the British policy. However bitter might be the feeling of the people of Greece towards their fellow-countrymen of Crete for having unnecessarily and ungratefully abandoned the contest, which if persistently pursued might have led to independence and annexation, they would probably refrain from irritating accusations, in the hope of yet attaining the desired object under more favorable circumstances. Certainly Greece will never abandon a claim which her sympathies and material interests have caused her to labor for with such persistent devotion for so long a period, and which her

personal sacrifices have in a manner established as her right. Under these circumstances, I do not believe that any compromising measures can secure to the Cretan question a permanent solution, or that any form of allegiance to a government which these people detest can secure permanent peace to the nation or satisfy the requirements of the protecting powers. As the United States have openly advocated the right and the necessity of Cretan independence, so I believe it will be found that any measures short of this will, in the end, be unsatisfactory to Europe. Great Britain is, from her present position, the most fitting arbiter, so far as her influence upon the Ottoman government is concerned, in the question of Crete. Unfortunately, Great Britain entertains a contrary opinion, believing that her own interests are better conserved by the maintainance of the *status quo*. In this policy she apparently forgets the teaching of one of her own eminent statesmen, and which political experience has most thoroughly exemplified in the case of the Greek and the Turk, viz, that "forms and stipulations can never unite populations which are dissevered by sympathy."

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

CHARLES K. TUCKERMAN.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

[Translation.]

The Christian people of Crete, who took up arms more than two years ago, determined to regain their liberty, and who have carried on an unequal contest against all the forces of the Ottoman empire, have witnessed with fortitude and self-sacrifice their sacred temples profaned and destroyed, their homes and lands pillaged and burnt, their innocent and helpless women and children either insulted and killed, or dying from hunger and cold, and their brethren and relatives falling in various battles, looked upon their national re-establishment and political union with free Greece as the only full compensation for their past and present efforts.

As, however, the Christian powers of Europe have not, up to the present time, agreed to put a stop to the shedding of blood and to carry out the national wishes of the Cretan people, they (the Cretans) have chosen as their representatives the gentlemen whose names are given below, and have authorized them to apply to those Christian powers of Europe who signed the treaty of 1856, at Paris, and to entreat them to negotiate that this people may obtain a form of government recognizing in reality the sovereignty of his Majesty the Sultan over the island, but established on a basis which will secure the equality, prosperity, and progress of both races. In accordance with the wishes of the Cretan people we, the undersigned, met together, and after mature deliberation have decided that the form of government suitable to the necessities and circumstances of the people, guaranteeing their prosperity and progress, and preventing similar misfortunes in future, is the one herewith inclosed, which we submit to your excellency, and through you to the government of the United States. We hope the government of the United States will take into consideration the past and present efforts of the Cretan people, and will act as it thinks best, that they may obtain their just demands and a cessation of hostilities, so that further misery and bloodshed may be prevented.

The Christian people of Crete, recognizing the deep sympathy of the American people towards them, and being deeply grateful to the noble nation for the assistance rendered to their suffering women and children, consider it their duty to communicate to your excellency the petition to the representatives of the six great European powers, and they hope that your excellency will use your influence to bring about a cessation of hostilities and the fulfillment of their just demands. To this end the following gentlemen, Corta, Voludaki, &c., have been instructed to forward this petition, and to continue the negotiations for our demands, and to receive an answer from the ambassador.

Your most obedient and humble servants,

[Here follow the signatures.]

LIVADIA, PROVINCE OF MYLOPOTAMO,
September 24, (*October* 6,) 1868.

Mr. Tuckerman to Mr. Seward.

[Extract.]

No. 20.] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Athens, October 31, 1868.

SIR: * * * * * * * *

The unsatisfactory condition of the Cretan question has embittered the public mind and accounts for much of the acerbity in the discussions of the Chamber. It seems to be the generally received opinion here that the disaffection of the chiefs, as recently reported to you, is a blow from which the insurrection can scarcely recover. Some unexpected political turn in the European combination may impart new vigor, but at the moment it looks as if the affair would dwindle to proportions which will permit a freer exercise of power on the part of the Turkish authorities in Crete than circumstances have for a long time past permitted; it may even go so far as the acknowledged recognition of the Ottoman supremacy; but unless the character of the people of Crete has been totally misrepresented and the aspirations of the Greek nation grossly exaggerated, the spirit of revolution in that island will but slumber, restlessly, until opportunity gives fresh occasion for revolt. This will be the conclusion drawn by the people of this kingdom, even should the war in Crete be officially recognized as being at an end. The independence of Crete and its eventual annexation to Greece is regarded as an absolute political necessity, the progress, and, indeed, the life of the kingdom being dependent upon its territorial enlargement. This may be considered as a tenet of the political faith of Greece, hence any check which the Cretan movement may receive will be a postponement, not an abandonment, of the struggle for independence.

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A report, said to be official, of the actual number of Cretan emigrants in Greece, has been circulated by the French legation here; this shows but 39,269 left from the original number, generally reported at 60,000. It is known that many have died from exposure and want of food before the necessary arrangements could be effected for their well-being. This would account for, say, 5,000, principally children. The Turkish minister informs me that between 4,000 and 5,000 have returned to Crete under his auspices, which leaves some 11,000 unaccounted for. It is important to keep these statistics before the mind, in view of the contributions which America and other nations have made, and are still making, for the relief of these sufferers. * * * *

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

CHARLES K. TUCKERMAN.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Tuckerman to Mr. Seward.

[Extract.]

No. 22.] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Athens, November 7, 1868.

SIR: The National Assembly adjourned on the 5th instant, having voted the budget for 1868, amounting to about 34,000,000 drachmas for

the ordinary, and about 12,000,000 drachmas for the "extraordinary" expenses of the kingdom, being greatly in excess of the expenses of any previous year, and leaving a deficit in the treasury of some 10,000,000 or 12,000,000, which can only be provided by a fresh loan. This loan for 25,000,000 of francs has been authorized by the Chambers at five per cent., but with whom can it be negotiated? It is understood that England will take it at the rate of fifty per cent., which would in reality be supplying the amount wanted immediately for current expenses at the annual interest of ten per cent., with an indebtedness added to the nation of twice the sum actually borrowed by it. The efforts of the government to compromise with the holders of the old five per cent. loan of 1824–'25, contracted under circumstances of great national peril at fifty-six and fifty-nine, are impeded by the opposition of the British minister here. It is not improbable that the loan now asked for may be negotiated in England at a better rate than is now offered, if the Greek government will modify its views regarding its ancient indebtedness. Before the adjournment of the Chamber the prime minister proposed a vote of thanks to the United States Congress and people, for their expressions of sympathy in behalf of Crete. The resolution passed unanimously, and the result was received with loud cheers.

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I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

CHARLES K. TUCKERMAN.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Tuckerman to Mr. Seward.

No. 23.] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Athens, November 14, 1868.

SIR: The result of the presidential election was received here by telegraph on the 9th instant. The triumph of the republican party and the election of General Grant are considered by the government and the people of Greece, so far as I can judge by the expressions of individuals and by the spirit of the public journals, as likely to tend to the restoration of public order at home, and the renewal of confidence abroad. The Greeks sincerely desire the perpetuity and grandeur of the United States, and the congratulations offered to me on this occasion by the members of the government and by leading citizens are but the expressions of the honest sentiments of the people. The name and public services of General Grant are familiar in Greece, and his good judgment, moderation, and firmness of character are believed to be ample guarantees for the future peace, unity, and prosperity of the United States. In this sentiment I most thoroughly concur.

The Greek minister of foreign affairs, her British Majesty's representative, and the minister of his Majesty the King of Italy, have called upon me officially to offer their congratulations on this occasion; and last evening, at a dinner at the Turkish embassy, the other members of the diplomatic corps referred to the quiet and successful election with similar sentiments.

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

CHARLES K. TUCKERMAN.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Tuckerman to Mr. Seward.

No. 24.] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Athens, November 21, 1868.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatches of October 24, Nos. 11 and 12, the contents of which are duly noted.

The King has convoked an extraordinary session of Parliament, which commenced its sittings yesterday. During this session the government will endeavor to pass certain measures of relief, necessitated by the present unfortunate condition of the finances. The most important of these is the proposed loan of a million of pounds sterling, upon which no definite action was taken at the last session. Should this fail, and the present unsatisfactory relation continue between the government and the national banks, it is not improbable that the former will carry out its threat to issue a paper currency, in the hopes of "tiding over" the existing deficiency. It is scarcely necessary to say that such a course, without a basis of national wealth to sustain these paper promises, would be suicidal. In imitating the acts of greater nations in their hour of need, the Greeks do not sufficiently investigate the differences of condition on the relations of cause and effect.

The public mind has been much disturbed lately by the increasing numbers of returning emigrants to Crete. The opposition hold the government responsible for the humiliating fact that Greece offers no inducement for these refugees to remain, but virtually plays into the hands of Turkey by favoring their departure. I do not think there is the slightest desire on the part of this government to yield a single point in the principle maintained by the Greek people in the Cretan question; but in view of the absolute necessity for economy, and the restlessness of the emigrants themselves, who are illy provided for, and whose friends at home encourage the idea of their return, the government offers no impediment to this backward movement. That these poor creatures desire any change from their present condition is evident from the fact that many hundreds have applied through this legation for passage to the United States. If transportation were practicable, these people are not of a class to benefit themselves or the country by such removal. The industrious Cretan need never be a beggar; unfortunately, these refugees consist mostly of persons who, by age or infirmities, are unable to help themselves. Within a few days public spirit has revived under the reports that a large army of volunteers are about to proceed from Greece to Crete to infuse new vigor into the insurgent cause. The fact is, that about three hundred armed volunteers have actually left, and this number will probably be increased from other parts of Greece to one thousand, under the leadership of a well-known chief. The new French minister, Baron Bande, has submitted to the Greek government a proposal from a French company to cut a canal through the Isthmus of Corinth. Such a project, as you are aware, has been often mooted, but the present may possess elements which give it probability of fulfillment.

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

CHARLES K. TUCKERMAN.

Hon WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Tuckerman to Mr. Seward.

No. 26.] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Athens, November 25, 1868.

SIR: Referring to my dispatch No. 25, in which I had the honor to hand you, in original, a decree of the Greek Chamber of Deputies, with accompanying documents, I now inclose translations of the same, together with my reply to the minister of foreign affairs.

The documents sent you last mail, were handed me in advance of the copies which I understand the government intends to forward to the Greek legation at Washington, that I might make such disposition of them as appeared to me best, and I was at the time verbally assured that the sentiments therein expressed applied also to myself as the "sincere and avowed friend of Greece." This decree of thanks originates in a deep-seated sense of gratitude in the hearts of the Greek people, and it would avail nothing were I to attempt to conceal the fact that this sympathy with the United States is heightened and intensified by a reverse sentiment towards the great powers of Western Europe.

Since my official residence here it has been my aim to investigate the political and social condition of the people, in the hope of arriving at an unprejudiced judgment. The efforts of interested parties to warp that judgment have been ingenious, and I may say unremitting; but to the frankness and confidence of the Greek people themselves I am chiefly indebted for an exposé of political defects, which their worst enemies could hardly have portrayed as vividly.

In spite of these evils in government and society, the great fact stands boldly forth that here exists, and in perpetual agitation, an original and distinctive people whose vital breath is liberty. This people can neither be crushed by their neighbor, whose principle is absolute monarchism, nor set aside by the great powers of Western Europe, by whom Greece is regarded as little better than a "political nuisance." These powers are at this moment exercising three distinct influences upon the kingdom; yet all unite in repressing the natural aspirations of her people. Russia's interest in Crete doubtless ends there. The possession of Crete by Greece, in other words, the separation of that island from Turkey, would assist the ambitious views of the Russian government, and so far weaken the anti-church influences of the Porte. It is impossible to say whether Great Britain has any ideas of future territorial conquest in the east of Europe; probably this is a matter of indifference so long as France shows no inclinations in that direction. If the assertions to me of their representatives here are of weight, then Great Britain and France are *each* "the only true friend which Greece has." The Greeks, however, do not place unbounded faith in such statements, but, on the other hand, knowing that the United States has no territorial interests in the matter and is simply and sincerely desirous that free institutions should succeed wherever they may be planted, give their unbounded confidence to that distant republic, instead of their nearer and less disinterested neighbors. Of that confidence I have been a recipient, as you are aware, from the throne and from the people; not in the way of self-exaltation on their part or flattery towards myself, but in the way of earnest consultation and appeal. On the other hand, I am forced to admit to you that, in spite of the assertion of friendship on the part of the representatives of England and France, I have never once heard from either, in our conversations on the subject, one single word of approbation for the Greek government or her people. The end and object of these powers seem at

present to be to keep Greece quiet on external questions, which, if agitated, may affect the so-called "equilibrium" of Europe, but which, if not agitated, will, in the Greek point of view, keep her forever hemmed within limits which her natural aspirations compel her to attempt to expand.

What Greece requires, besides economy of political administration, is a friend whose example in good government shall be strengthened by material influences. Greece has not natural strength enough to rid herself of her own burdens. This strength may come to her, but she must be encouraged to seek it in the right way. She does not find this encouragement in Europe, or thinks she does not, and hence she is loth to let go the hold which she has on American sympathies. That the United States may be of essential service to Greece in her present position appears to admit of no dispute. Shall this service be strictly confined to votes of sympathy by Congress? The Greeks hope that, in the affair of Crete, the United States will feel itself justified in *at least* urging upon the Christian powers of Europe such interference as will protect the general interests of humanity where "infringed," as they believe in the present case they have been, "by the excesses of a barbarous and despotic government." (Wheaton.) On the other hand, the British minister, Mr. Erskine, expressed to me the other day his surprise that any such interference in the affairs of Crete should be desired on our part, on the ground that this course would be inconsistent with our emphatic remonstrances against interference with our own domestic affairs during the late rebellion in the States. * * * * *

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

CHAS. K. TUCKERMAN.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

[Translation.]

The minister of foreign affairs to Mr. Tuckerman, minister resident of the United States of North America.

ATHENS, *November* 9–21, 1868.

MR. MINISTER: The Chamber of Deputies, on the last day of its regular session, passed a decree by which it expresses to the Senate, House of Representatives, and people of the United States, the most profound sentiments of acknowledgment for their generous solicitude for the Greek nation.

I have the honor to transmit herewith, in original, the above-mentioned decree; also the translation of the letter in which the president of the legislative body communicates to me the decree in question.

You will notice, Mr. Minister, the unanimous applause with which this decree was greeted by the representatives of the nation. The government of the King, animated by the same sentiments as those of the representatives, esteems itself happy to reiterate this assurance on this occasion.

Accept, Mr. Minister, &c., &c.,

P. DELYANNI.

[Translation.]

The president of the Chamber of Deputies to the minister of foreign affairs.

ATHENS, *October* 25, 1868, (O. S.)

The Chamber of Deputies, inspired by a national duty, voted at its eighty-fourth sitting, on yesterday, a decree by which it expressed, in the midst of the warmest applause, its profound acknowledgments to the Senate, House of Representatives, and people of the United States of America, for the generous and benevolent sentiments which the great

republic has at all times manifested towards the Hellenic nation, and especially in regard to the cause of Candia, and it has requested me to be the interpreter of this national decision.

In fulfilling with pleasure this mission, I have the honor to transmit herewith official copy of the above-mentioned decree, with the request that you will properly commu nicate the same.

T. H. LAZARETOS, *President.*

A. MONASTIRIOTIS,
THEOD. ANASLARSOPORILO,
Secretaries.

Copy of decree.

The Hellenic Parliament, in consideration of the generous sentiments which the republic of the United States of America has always manifested for the Greek nation, and moved by the humane and sympathetic words which have been uttered in behalf of Crete by the two houses of Congress, expresses to these bodies, and through them to the magnanimous people of America, its profound gratitude, and confides to the president of the Hellenic Chamber the duty of transmitting this national resolution.

Mr. Tuckerman to Mr. Delyanni.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Athens, November 13–25, 1868.

MR. MINISTER: I have the honor to acknowledge the reception of your communication of the 9th (21st) instant, in which you inform me that the Chamber of Deputies, on the last day of its regular session, passed unanimously, and with enthusiastic applause, a decree of thanks to the Senate, House of Representatives, and people of the United States, for "their generous solicitude for the Hellenic nation." You also hand me, in original, a copy of this decree, accompanied by a copy of the letter in which the president of the Chamber transmits it to you, and you assure me that the government of his Majesty the King is animated by the same sentiments which are expressed by the national representatives.

I thank you, Mr. Minister, and through you the honorable gentlemen of the Chamber of Deputies, for this renewed assurance of international sympathy, as well as for the complimentary manner in which it is communicated through me to my countrymen.

The expressions of interest on the part of the people of the United States for the struggling Christians of Crete are but the utterances of those who would be faithless to the principles which made and preserve them a nation, did they refuse to extend the right hand of fellowship to others, wherever gathered on the earth's surface, who contend for the inestimable right to choose their own rulers.

The people of the United States will consider it a happy circumstance for all the people of eastern Europe, when the policy adopted towards them shall be in conformity with the sentiments which English statesmen have themselves admitted to be a political axiom, namely: *Treaties can never unite populations which are dissevered by sympathies.* Until this principle is recognized, peace may be maintained by expedients, but can never be secured.

Accept, Mr. Minister, &c., &c.,

CHAS. K. TUCKERMAN.

Mr. P. DELYANNI, *Minister of Foreign Affairs.*

Mr. Tuckerman to Mr. Seward.

[Extract.]

No. 27.] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Athens, December 5, 1868.

SIR: The recent departure of Greek volunteers for Crete, together with the delivery to them of two guns (Armstrong's, 40-pounders) known to have belonged to the national arsenal, threaten for the moment the

peaceful relations of the Porte and the Greek government. I am of opinion that the present views of the Turkish embassador, as expressed by him to me, will be modified. The Greek government denies, of course, any official knowledge of the delivery of these guns to the Cretan agents, and it would be a difficult matter in the present juncture of affairs to fix responsibility upon the authorities. Photiades Bey is apparently waiting to obtain the views of his government in the matter.

This "volunteer movement," be the numbers great or small, has given a less hopeless view to Cretan affairs, although the last news from the island was to the effect that an encounter between the Christians and Turks at Sphakia had resulted disastrously for the insurgents.

After a long reticence on the part of the British ministry with regard to eastern affairs, Lord Stanley, in his recent speech to the electors of Lynn, has broken silence by declaring that "the dangers which menace the Turkish empire to-day are internal," and that neither foreign alliance nor European guarantee can protect a government against financial collapse or rebellion within its own provinces. In those matters every country must be left to work out its own destiny. His lordship goes on to express his "sincere sympathies with the Christians of the East," whose aspirations he admits "may be natural," but he reminds them that "anarchy is not progress, and that it is not wise to pull down that for which they have not provided any substitute." Lord Stanley then addresses himself to Greece in a few phrases, which I imbody in a note to this dispatch, together with the comments of the Greek press thereon, that you may see exactly how the English view of the "hellenic idea" is met and refuted by the Greek people. It is the current topic of the hour. The Chamber, since the opening of the new session, has accomplished nothing but the election of a presiding officer, Mr. Drossor, which, owing to divisions in the opposition, enabled the ministerial party to show a strong vote. The budget for 1869 has been submitted to the Chamber; its estimate is 34,423,973 drachmas expenses, against 37,620,200 receipts.

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I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

CHARLES. K. TUCKERMAN.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

NOTE.

Extract from Lord Stanley's speech at Lynn.

More particularly I would say to Greece—that little state, about which our grandfathers were so enthusiastic, and which we in the present day are inclined, I think, rather unduly to depreciate—you might be the model state of the east; you might exercise over the Christian races there an almost incalculable influence, if, instead of indulging in vague dreams of agrandizement, you would make your internal government more worthy of those destinies which you believe to be yours in the future. [Hear.] And I would also say, if you adopt a policy of fostering disturbance abroad, you are throwing away the substance for the shadow; you are losing that which you might command, and, after all, it is very doubtful whether you will obtain that which you seek. Gentlemen, that is advice which, tendered in a friendly spirit, may not be wholly useless, and we have interests enough in the east to make that advice worth giving.

[Translation.]

Remarks of "La Grèce," (Greek Journal.)

It is easy for the minister of foreign affairs of Great Britain to speak thus, and for the English people to applaud; but these counsels lose much of their force by being addressed by a people whose nationality is respected by the whole world to a people who suffer under outrages of which they themselves are the object. These outrages are the cause of insurrections breaking out at all times in the Greek provinces of the Ottoman empire. The insurrection in Crete is neither the first nor the last example. Lord Stanley has a heart too elevated to counsel the Greeks to plant cabbages, while their brothers are exposed to all the vicissitudes of a barbarous and unequal war. Diplomacy has been able to trace upon a map the arbitrary limits of the kingdom of Greece, but it has not been able to extinguish the national and fraternal sentiment of the Greeks of the kingdom towards those who are excluded. * * * If, instead of a truncated Greece, the kingdom included all the Greek provinces, then would the diplomatists have the right, and then only, to ask her to show herself capable of the art of government. "If you cannot govern what you possess, how can you hope to persuade Europe that you are capable of governing a larger kingdom." This is the *cheval de bataille* of the English diplomats. This reasoning, which is the measure of their intelligence, produces the same effect on us as if they said to a lame man, "Since you cannot walk with the leg which you have still left to you, do not regret the loss of the other. You would not know how to use it, if you had it."

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