

has been any trade in the empire, it has been among the subject races, especially those whose yoke has been loosened, not among the Turks. Political organization has never got beyond the coarse and barbarous form of military satrapies, whose rule is cruelty, and whose taxation is rapine. Even for military science the Turk has recourse to the foreigner. There being no security for the fruits of labor, production has failed, and the blight of barrenness has spread over some of the fairest regions of the earth. The provinces are heterogeneous, and under such a system of government no progress toward assimilation could be made. A fatalist religion has repressed effort, even the effort necessary to save life from the plague. The same religion, by its political intolerance, has precluded the fusion of the conqueror with the conquered, and kept hostile races facing each other in every part of the empire. The numbers of the dominant race have been always dwindling under the effects of vice and of the military conscription, which, as the slaves cannot be trusted with arms, falls on the masters alone. By the institution of the Janizaries, which constantly infused new blood into the military system, the period of conquest was artificially prolonged, and, in measuring the rapidity of Turkish decay, it should be borne in mind that less than two centuries ago the Turks were still conquerors. But, in the absence of external intervention, a century would probably have sufficed to complete the process of dissolution; the ill-cemented provinces of the empire would have fallen apart, and the satraps would have defied the bow-string, and set up for themselves. The revolt of Egypt was an example which, had things been left to their natural course, other pashas would have followed. Diplomacy intervened, and held together the crumbling mass. When the resources of fiscal robbery were exhausted, and the sheep of the rayah had been sheared in winter to pay his taxes, English coffers, opened by the confident assurances of English ministers, supplied money, of which the greater part was squandered in barbarous and bestial luxury, while the rest provided a standing army, which, by rendering internal insurrection against the tyranny hopeless, compelled the oppressed to stretch their hands for aid to a foreign liberator, and thus embroiled Europe; just as our ancestors under James II., who had a standing army, were compelled to call in a foreign deliverer; whereas, under Charles I., who had no standing army, they were able to redress their wrongs with their own hands. The

present Turkish army may be victorious, but it will be the last, unless, by a miracle, confidence can be planted again in the bosoms of capitalists who have been swindled. Russia would, perhaps, have acted more wisely had she paused awhile, and allowed bankruptcy and repudiation to do their work. The question is one, not of sentiment or religion, but of political science; and it is a thing to be noted that a man so sagacious in a certain sphere as Palmerston, so adroit a manager of party, so clever a diplomatist, with all possible means of information at his command, should have persuaded himself that the Ottoman Empire was in course of rapid regeneration, only needing loans to complete the process, and should have induced his countrymen to lay down their money on the strength of that belief. It shows that in such questions the wisdom which styles itself practical, because it excludes general views and considerations, may lead to conclusions the reverse of wise. An ancient philosopher is said to have convinced his sneering countrymen of the utility of his science by a successful speculation in olives. We should be surprised to find that any one versed in the philosophy of history had been seduced into investing in Turkish bonds.

Fall the Ottoman Empire will, by corruption if not by the sword; and its fall will apparently bring on a crisis in the destinies of England, who will be called on to decide whether, out of the wreck, she will take Egypt. If she does, she will be committed far more deeply than ever to the policy of aggrandizement; foreign dominion sustained by arms will assume a greatly-increased importance with her relatively to domestic objects; and the spirit of her people will undergo a corresponding change. Egypt obviously means Eastern Africa, probably, indeed almost certainly, Syria, from which the fatal canal is commanded almost as much as from Egypt; possibly Crete, or some other convenient island. But it means a good deal more than this. It means that England is to undertake to secure against any possible attack the whole of the overland route to India; for, of course, there is no use in holding the gate when the avenue to it is in other hands, and, if Port Saïd is the gate, the avenue to it is the Mediterranean. To India by the Cape we had, as it were, a private way, not leading by many hostile doors, nor obliging you to appear as dominant under the noses of rival nations; but the overland route runs by the coasts of a whole line of maritime powers, to which will be added Germany, if she ever acquires Trieste, and Russia (exasperated by our demonstrations of enmity),

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