

Poland in chains; but the Polish scandal was inherited, not made, by him; and England believes herself to have been sincere in her professions when she liberated Spain from Napoleon, and when she emancipated the negro, though all the time she was holding down an oppressed and writhing Ireland. If perfect consistency were indispensable to sincerity, few indeed could claim the credit of being sincere. That Alexander deceived England as to his intentions is a calumny; before he passed the Balkans he frankly communicated to the British Government the terms which he intended to enforce, the same substantially which were afterwards embodied in the much-decried Treaty of San Stefano; and the British Government at that time entered no protest, but, on the contrary, thanked him for his communication. No power has accused him of deception but the one which was hostile to him from the beginning.

If, with the desire of the Slav and the Christian to avenge the cause of his kinsmen and co-religionists, there has mingled the desire of a great and rapidly growing inland nation to gain access to an open sea, this may be selfishness in a certain sense, but surely it is not for England to cast the first stone. That the Dardanelles shall be closed in order that England may dominate securely in the Eastern Mediterranean is a claim to which other nations can at all events hardly be expected to defer out of respect for the unselfishness and moderation of the claimant.

When the war began, all the powers of Europe declared their neutrality; all but one honourably observed it. The Tory Government of England had made the Conference of Constantinople miscarry by keeping Sir Henry Eliot, as the organ of the policy advocated in his despatches, at the ear of the Porte; by privately assuring the Turkish Ambassador that it would be no party to coercion; and by allowing,

and, it cannot well be doubted, inciting the whole of the Ministerial press to write against the object of Lord Salisbury's mission and abet the Turk in his resistance. It again displayed its animus when the war broke out by launching, alone of all the powers, a hostile manifesto against Russia, in which it preposterously accused her of creating the difficulty by putting her army or part of it on a war footing, as though there would have been the faintest hope of bringing the Turk to reason if he had not seen that some means of coercion were prepared. Another manifesto took Egypt practically under British protection, while she was allowed to send her forces to fight against the Czar. During the war, the neutrality of Tory England was just what that of the Tory party had been during the civil war in the United States. Moral support of every possible kind was given to the Turk, and Mr. Layard, the British Ambassador, acted openly as the bottle-holder of the Porte. His bottle-holding cost the Porte rather dear, since at the crisis of its fate he persuaded it to decline moderate terms of peace. When the fortune of war brought the Russian army near the enemy's capital, the British fleet was ordered up, in violation of the Treaty of Paris, on the pretext of protecting British life and property, which had never been alleged to be in danger.

All this time the Jingo orators and the Jingo press poured without ceasing upon the Czar, his army, and his people a torrent of slander and insult just like that which had been poured by the same party on the North and its soldiers during the American Civil War. 'Booty and beauty,' the wholesale violations of women, the dreadful massacres, the prison camps full of Confederates starved to death, the stories of cowardice, vileness and infamy of every kind—we had them all over again with immaterial variations. And the hero of these Bayards all the time was Baker Pasha! The very