

in Europe for four centuries.) He has hardly any more participation in European manners, knowledge, and arts than when he crossed the Bosphorus. But this is not the worst of it. The power of the empire is fallen into anarchy, and as the principle which belongs to the head belongs also to the parts, there are as many despots as there are pachas, beys, and visiers. Wars are almost perpetual between the Sultan and some rebellious governor of a province; and in the conflict of these despotisms the people are necessarily ground between the upper and the nether millstone. In short, the Christian subjects of the Sublime Porte feel daily all the mis-

eries which flow from despotism, from anarchy, from slavery, and from religious persecution. . . . There exists, and has existed, nothing like it. The world has no such misery to show; there is no case in which Christian communities can be called upon with such emphasis of appeal.»

When it is remembered that this system of barbarism has existed, and still exists, by the sufferance of the European powers, it is an indication of progress that the Christian world has come to the end of its patience, not only with this abomination, but with the way it has been sustained.



OPEN LETTERS

The Eastern Question and Questions.

A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW.

IT is increasingly evident to the Christian world that the Turkish empire is rapidly crumbling, and even the Sultan himself must feel that it will not be long before it has either entirely disappeared, or has shrunk to the dimensions of an Asia Minor kingdom scarcely the size of the Seljuk domain. Certainly at no previous time has there been such a general attack upon the integrity and independence of the Ottoman empire. Whether Lord Salisbury told Rustem Pasha in so many words that further refusal to accept the plan of reforms would involve the dismemberment of the empire is of little importance. The English premier is not given to ill-considered speech, and his words in Parliament, followed by his speech at the Guildhall banquet, could mean nothing less than those plainer expressions attributed to him in private conversation. Not less significant are the indications of a concerted plan on the part of the Mohammedans of India to unite with Arabia in the recognition of a calif who shall restore the true succession, so arrogantly appropriated by the Tatar chieftains from beyond the Caspian. If this culminates, the last prop to Turkish pride as the defender of Islam will be gone, and the Sultan become no more than a sheik.

The world is thus brought face to face with the solution of the famous Eastern Question, a problem which has vexed and perplexed the diplomats of Europe for a full century. Just what that solution is to be is as yet hidden in the counsels of a very few men, if, indeed, it has taken complete shape even with them. There are many elements in its present form which were unknown—perhaps unthought of—a half or even a quarter of a century ago. Some of them simplify it, some render it more complex and difficult.

Up to the Treaty of Paris, and for some years after, the question was chiefly as to the occupancy of Constantinople and the control of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, and there were practically but two sides, the Russian and the European. In the Crimean war France fought cordially with England against Russia, simply because all alike dreaded the appearance of

Russian fleets in the Mediterranean. The unanimous feeling was that no southern European coast would be safe if those straits were once thrown open to the great power of the North. Magenta and Solferino, Gravelotte and Sedan, changed the situation, and France has come to think that Russia may be a positive help rather than a danger. England, too, is apparently giving up the idea that it is necessary for her peace to coop Russia up in the Black Sea, and there seems to be a general consensus that while Russia should not be allowed to make that sea an inland lake, she may claim untrammelled passage to the markets of the world. As to Russia herself, she keeps her own counsel, as she always has done; but it seems probable that she has come to the conviction that this free passage will bring internal development of far greater value than the actual ownership of the straits at the expense of constant political unrest, not to say danger. So far as these three powers and their relation to Constantinople are concerned, the question is undoubtedly simpler. The Turkish capital would be made a free city, and the straits put under international guaranties.

Other elements, however, have come in, and other interests must be considered. There is, first, the Balkan peninsula, with its curious congeries of semi-independent states, each anxious to keep up a national existence with its concomitants of political influence and territorial expansion, and each liable at any moment to fall a prey to any one of the surrounding greater states. For a time it seemed as though Bulgaria was going to develop into the coming southeastern state of the Continent, but her most enthusiastic friends are hiding their heads in shame and discouragement. Greece has long been out of the race. Bosnia and Herzegovina have yielded to Austria, and Serbia would be glad to do so to-morrow if Francis Joseph would but open the door. The sturdy men of Montenegro are trying to flatter themselves with an occasional sop from St. Petersburg, but not even a Kara George can stay the movement when it is once under way. Rumania alone seems to have any staying power, but that is probably due to the innate hostility between her Latins and the surrounding Slavs and Magyars.

What is to become of all these? Were it possible to unite them into one coherent mass under a centralized government, England, Germany, and perhaps Russia would be glad, even though it should involve the further postponement of the Pan-Slavic ideal. That, however, is impossible. Shall Austria be allowed to extend herself indefinitely to the southeast? She would be glad to hold Saloniki and the rich valley of the Vardar; but whether her associates in the Triple Alliance would cordially assent may be doubted, although Italy might be appeased by the gift of Trieste—an easy thing for Austria, since she would still hold Fiume. On the other hand, Austria would scarcely care to add the Bulgarians to her already heterogeneous collection of subjects, especially as both Magyars and Germans would object to the possible reinforcement of Czech obstreperousness. Can Bulgaria be bolstered and educated into a kingdom, either alone or welded together with Serbia, by some sort of diplomatic pressure? If so, how much of Macedonia fairly belongs to her? Can Albania, with its sturdy descendants of the Castriots, be safely committed to the rival followers of the Greek leaders, Trikoupis and Delyannis? These are some of the questions that come up the moment any plan for a general division of the Balkan peninsula is up for discussion.

Crossing into Asia Minor, the situation is even more perplexing. Here there is a dominant race, strongest not merely in numbers, but in force—a race, however, which absolutely cannot be entrusted with rule over any other race. There are only two ways in which a country can be governed with any success—by the strongest inhabiting race or by external power. The inhabiting race may be strong either in numbers or in force of character, but strongest it must be in some way. As a matter of fact, there is no race, or possible combination of races, in Asia Minor that is not overbalanced by the Turks both in numbers and in force of character. Were it possible to unite Armenians and Greeks, they might accomplish something; but racial and ecclesiastical jealousies absolutely forbid that. The other Christian populations need not be taken into the account at all. The question, then, lies between the continued rule of the Turk and foreign occupation. For some time it was thought that the Sultan might continue to rule in a contracted territory, with his capital at Brusa or Konieh. The events of the last few months, however, have pretty thoroughly dispelled that idea, and it appears as if the absolute overthrow of the Ottoman government would be necessary. In that case there must be foreign occupation. By whom? The first answer would undoubtedly be, Russia. This, however, would satisfy nobody. It would quench forever any hope of the development of either Armenian or Greek national life, and it would arouse the jealousy of all southern Europe; for the power that holds western Asia Minor and the archipelago dominates the Mediterranean and northern Africa. Greece and Italy would be at her mercy, and the Suez Canal be practically in her hands. Ambitious as Russia is, and attractive as such a position would be, if available, it is scarcely probable that the Czar would undertake it now. The expense of the civil and military administration of a thoroughly and intelligently hostile country of that size would be enormous, and strain her finances to the breaking-point; and the

perplexities introduced would be so burdensome as to hamper, if not absolutely prevent, the development of her internal resources. The suggestion has been made lately that France be the occupying power. This would certainly be more acceptable to the Armenians and probably even to the Greeks, who, however much they may enjoy the Czar's protection against the Turk, have no liking for his autocratic rule. Germany, too, might favor it in the hope that it would help to weaken the French passion for the *revanche*.

Aside from Asia Minor, there are questions of more or less difficulty concerning Syria, Egypt, Palestine, Arabia, and Mesopotamia. Ever since the Druse massacres France has held Syria as her special field of influence, as England has occupied Egypt; and there would probably be little difficulty in making her virtual protectorate actual but for the fact that naturally Palestine goes with Syria, and it is scarcely probable that the Greek Church would willingly see Jerusalem and the holy places come under Roman Catholic influence. What shall be done with Jerusalem is a problem scarcely less difficult than that presented by Constantinople. The Egyptian question is too well known to need more than the statement that any solution which would guarantee to England the safety of transit through the Suez Canal would probably be acceptable to her. Arabia the powers can well afford to leave alone for the present. There is little probability that the mutually hostile Bedouin tribes will unite in any such way as to endanger their neighbors. Mesopotamia offers certain difficulties. The oppression which has forced the Armenians into such prominence bears with almost equal severity upon the Jacobites, Chaldeans, Yezidis, and other non-Moslem races and sects, and even upon the agricultural Kurds of the regions of Suleimanieh and Kerkuk. At present there is no rule of any kind worth the name from Jezireh to Bassorah. The most important foreign interests are connected with the Catholic missions holding Mosul as their chief center, and under French protection, and the general Russian interest in keeping a way open to the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean. Turkey being eliminated, to which of these shall the rich Tigris and Euphrates valleys belong, with the railways which will surely connect the eastern Mediterranean with the Indian Ocean, and possibly revive the commercial importance of Antioch and Bagdad? Here, however, the suggestion that France occupy Asia Minor comes in as a disturbing factor. To make her mistress of practically the whole, certainly the best part, of the Sultan's dominion, would be to give her at no distant day, if not at present, a power and prestige to which all her neighbors would undoubtedly seriously object.

It becomes, thus, very evident that the Eastern Question, which was originally a simple trial of strength, chiefly diplomatic, between Russia and the rest of Europe, has become a most complicated series of questions, involving racial and commercial as well as political interests. What the solution will be it is premature to say. That the leaders are most seriously considering it is certain, and there are indications of a general agreement along certain lines. These are the entire overthrow of the Ottoman dynasty, and its replacement by some European government or governments. Austrian influence will be predominant in the Balkan

peninsula, though Greece and Bulgaria will be somewhat enlarged and given another opportunity for national development, with the assurance that, unless they improve it better than they have those hitherto given, their ultimate absorption will be inevitable. Constantinople, with the Bosphorus and Dardanelles, and a small territory on each side of the Sea of Marmora, will be made free territory, with some sort of government under international guaranties. Eastern Turkey will be added to Russian territory, and Russia will find a path to the Indian Ocean, though whether through Persia or Mesopotamia will depend very largely upon what terms can be arranged in regard to Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt. It is scarcely possible that any of the rival Christian churches can secure full control of Jerusalem, and we may again see a principality of Judea. The Khalifa may find a potent rival in a new calif with his residence at Mecca, and the famous mosque school of Cairo may find its occupation of railing at English oppression of Islam gone. Of course these are mere surmises, which to some may seem utterly improbable. The cabinets at London, St. Petersburg, and Berlin, however, are dominated by positive, venturesome men—men, too, who are tired of much of the bickering of the last half-century, and would be glad to see the new one come in with a better mutual understanding and larger opportunities for peaceful development. There are many indications of their accomplishing this desire, and some who are in a position to surmise correctly intimate that the agreement will be substantially as outlined above. It may be deferred for a time by yielding on the part of the Sultan; but sooner or later he will find himself in a position where no yielding in form will secure obedience on the part of turbulent Kurds, Circassians, and even Turks. Then stronger hands will be compelled to take hold of the problem, and some solution, prompt as well as complete, will be necessitated.

Edwin Munsell Bliss.

Advice to a Young Lawyer.

WEBSTER, CALHOUN, AND WILLIAM WIRT ON COURSES OF LEGAL STUDY.

In a valuable package of letters which has just been found in a forgotten desk in a Washington garret, among other literary treasures in the shape of letters from James Madison, Josiah Quincy, Jared Sparks, Jefferson Davis, Chief Justice Taney, and others, are certain letters from Webster, Calhoun, Wirt, and B. W. Leigh which possess a peculiar interest for lawyers and for students of jurisprudence. They were elicited by a member of the family, two generations ago, who requested the views of these eminent men on the best course of study for one who wished to prepare himself for the legal profession. The list of studies referred to in Daniel Webster's reply has disappeared, but the letter contains a thoroughly «Websterian» expression on the relation between the lawyer and the Republic, which deserves to rank with the famous utterances of «the great expounder.» The emphasis which Calhoun lays on the close study of particular cases in actual practice will recommend his letter to thorough lawyers of every age. Mr. Wirt's more detailed suggestions come with the great weight of his authority, and illustrate the profound wis-

dom of their writer. The letters, arranged chronologically, are as follows:

WASHINGTON, July 22, 1822.

SIR: I regret extremely that I have to answer you very polite and obliging letter of the 3d inst. *currente calamo*. It arrived while I was absent on a professional tour, and I have returned only in time to equip myself for an expedition to the Bedford Springs in Pennsylvania, rendered necessary by the state of my health.

It is not entirely certain whether I shall myself be a resident of this place at the close of the next winter, the earliest period at which you speak of being here. I have some thought of moving to Baltimore before that time. In this uncertainty I can only say that if I should be here and your inclination hold, I shall be very willing to receive you as a student and to assist you with my opinion in the direction of your studies.

The plan of study which I have used has depended on the time which the student proposes to devote to it. For every plan, however, Blackstone is the best introductory author, as opening to the student all the original sources of his science, besides giving him a clear and comprehensive view of its present state. In all studies, historical, political, or any other dependent for their perfection on the march of mind, a synopsis like that of Blackstone is of great value. Geography, for example, is best taught by stamping, in the first place, on the mind the great outlines of the different countries and their relative position towards each other. The details are afterwards encountered with more intelligence, and consequently with more enjoyment; for the student at every step knows, afterwards, of his whereabouts with relation to the whole, and is in no danger of being bewildered or confounded by the apprehension of interminable labor or inextricable labyrinths. So it is with the law. Blackstone, therefore, thoroughly understood (the best edition being Judge Maher's, to be used with his notes and appendixes), I direct the attention of the students in the next place to the great sources from which all the laws of civilized countries are derived, and take them through the following course, which is enlarged or contracted in proportion to the time they have to bestow on their preparatory studies: 1. The law of nature and nations—Rutherford; and, if there be time, Grotius and Vattel. 2. The Roman civil law—Brown's lectures; and, if time, the references in the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, as they are made by Brown, and Huber's prelections. 3. The Common Law—Bacon's Abridgment, as the text-book, read with the references. 4. The Statute Law and State Decisions of the residence and contemplated place of practice of the student. This course, particularly the latter part of it, should be combined with a regular attendance on the rules of court in some well-kept clerk's office, with the advantage of drawing declarations and pleadings in the office of some regular and extensive practitioner,—with the study of Chitty's Pleadings—and Espinasse's *Nisi Prius*; which should be familiar to the student.

I have said nothing of historical studies, belles lettres, composition, reciting paragraphs from poets, and debating, though I deem them all essential in the preparation of an accomplished advocate. Regular days should be set for composition, and the compositions should be submitted to the best critic of whom you can make a friend. You should enflame your emulation by the frequent study of Cicero's Orator, and of his Brutus above all, and imagine yourself to belong to that splendid galaxy of Roman orators which he there displays. Quintilian's Institutes, too, should be thoroughly studied, and the dialogue *de causis corrupte eloquentie*, the work, I believe, of the same author, but which has been incorrectly published with the works of Tacitus. The letters of Pliny the younger, especially those to Tacitus, with the orations of Demosthenes, Cicero, Erskine, and Lord Chatham. I do not mean that these should be read merely, but that they should be studied and analyzed according to the model which Mr. Blair has furnished of Cicero's Action for Cluentius. These exercises, with a debating society under the direction of an experienced man of vigorous intellect and correct taste, accompanying your law course, will diversify your employments most agreeably and usefully, and recreate and cheer you on your ascent up