

THE CASE
FOR
THE ARMENIANS

WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY

FRANCIS SEYMOUR STEVENSON, M.P.

(PRESIDENT OF THE ANGLO-ARMENIAN ASSOCIATION),

*And a Full Report of the Speeches delivered at the Banquet in
honour of the Right Hon. JAMES BREYCE, M.P., D.C.L., on
Friday, May 12th, 1893.*

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THE CASE

THE ARMY

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ANGLO-ARMENIAN ASSOCIATION.

In consequence of the reiterated official statements recently made at Constantinople by the Grand Vizier and Said Pasha, alleging that the Anglo-Armenian Association is a revolutionary society, the committee has republished a formal declaration issued by it two years ago, stating in explicit terms that its members are solely desirous of securing the protection of Oriental Christians and the execution of the administrative and judicial reforms which, in 1878, the Sublime Porte undertook to carry out in the Armenian Provinces of Asiatic Turkey, and which are expressly guaranteed by the 61st Article of the Treaty of Berlin.

The committee has repeatedly declared, both publicly and in correspondence, that attacks upon the throne and person of the Sultan, and the destruction of life and property by explosives, or in any other manner, are not only highly reprehensible and diabolical, but tend to alienate the sympathies of the British Government and people from the cause of the innocent and suffering prisoners in Asia Minor.—(*Daily News*, May 5th, 1893.)

Déclaration du Comité Anglo-Arménien.

Attendu que la bureaucratie ottomane ne cesse d'attribuer au Comité Anglo-Arménien des visées anticonstitutionnelles pour la subversion du trône ottoman, le comité précité déclare que sa campagne, puisant sa raison d'être dans l'inexécution des pactes internationaux, a pour but principal de dévoiler et de dénoncer les abus, les irrégularités et les cas d'oppression commis par les fonctionnaires turcs. Ces abus, dont les récits sont été confirmés par les consuls, par les voyageurs, et par des témoins irréprochables, sont en pleine vigueur aujourd'hui même, et constituent un danger réel non-seulement pour l'empire ottoman, mais, ce qui est plus grave, pour la paix internationale.

Ainsi que le fait ressortir le Hatt de S. M. Impériale le Sultan actuel, du 19 Décembre 1876, les embarras de la Turquie ne sont nullement causés par des questions du dehors, mais par le fait qu'on s'est écarté du droit chemin dans l'administration des affaires intérieures. Donc la bureaucratie ottomane au lieu de considérer le comité en question comme hostile à l'empire ottoman, doit lui savoir gré de la collaboration active qu'il lui offre en aidant à accompli l'œuvre réformatrice proclamée par le Hatt en question dont l'esprit est confirmé par le traité de Berlin et la convention de Chypre de 1878.

Le comité Anglo-Arménien s'engage à faire connaître dans l'empire britannique les griefs et les justes demandes du peuple Arménien et il ne cessera de réclamer du gouvernement britannique à ce qu'il prenne, ainsi que le devoir le lui dicte, les mesures propres à l'amélioration des populations chrétiennes de l'empire ottoman.

Par ordre du Comité Anglo-Arménien,

Les Secrétaires honoraires,

EDWARD ATKIN.
G. B. M. COORE.

LONDRES,

le 29 Avril, 1893.

I.—INTRODUCTION.

THE banquet to be held on the 12th of May in honour of the pre-eminent services which Mr. Bryce has rendered to the Armenian cause, affords an opportunity for stating briefly some of the grounds on which that cause claims the sympathy and support of Europe, and, in a special degree, of Great Britain.

By the Sixty-first Article of the Treaty of Berlin the Sublime Porte undertook, in language taken from the Sixteenth Article of the Treaty of San Stefano, "to carry out, without further delay, the improvements and reforms demanded by local requirements in the provinces inhabited by the Armenians, and to guarantee their security against the Circassians and Kurds," as well as "to periodically make known the steps taken to this effect to the Powers, who will superintend their application."

In addition to the duty thus imposed upon this country, in common with all the signatory Powers, by the stipulations of the Treaty of Berlin, Great Britain incurred a moral obligation of a peculiar character under the Cyprus Convention of the same year, by which, in return for certain advantages, "the Sultan promised to England to introduce necessary reforms to be agreed upon later between the two Powers into the government, and for the protection of the Christian and other subjects of the Porte," in the Asiatic territories.

From that day to this no attempt has been made by the Porte to redeem its pledges, or by the Powers to enforce the fulfilment of the contract. The remonstrances which have been addressed from time to time by the British Ambassador have been of no avail. Indeed, in some respects, matters have gone from bad to worse. The immigration of a large number of Circassians has added to the terrors of the situation; and the Kurds, against whose depredations protection should have been afforded to the peaceful Armenian cultivators of the soil, have themselves been armed by the guardians of public order.

One traveller after another has borne witness to the ravages of the Kurds, and to the want of protection given by the Turkish Government to the Christians in the vilayets of Van, Bitlis, and Erzeroum. In the published Blue Books, few as they are, ample confirmation of those statements may be found. In October, 1890, for example, Mr. Clifford Lloyd called attention, in an official despatch, to: "(1) the insecurity of the lives

and properties of the Armenians, (2) the insecurity of their persons, and the absence of all liberty of thought and action, and (3) the unequal status held by the Christian as compared with the Mussulman in the eyes of the Government." The trial of Moussa Bey, and the reports connected with the Erzeroum disturbances, threw a lurid light on the condition of affairs prevailing in that part of Asia Minor. Nor is it only in those vilayets that grievances require to be removed. The recent occurrences at Cæsarea, Marsovan, and Yozgat, afford indications of the existence of serious mis-government further west, and the trials of prisoners at Angora are at the present time exciting the careful attention of all who are interested in the welfare of the Armenian people. In many a Turkish fortress—at Aleppo, St. Jean d'Acree, Tripoli in Barbary, and elsewhere—Armenians are living a lingering death.

The persecution of the Armenian Church is a cause for the gravest regrets, apart from the political and social grievances of the people. The Archbishops of Marash and Zeitoun are in prison, after a mock trial. The Bishop of Moush shares the same fate. The recently elected Catholicos Khrimian is forbidden by the authorities to leave St. James's Monastery, Jerusalem, for the purpose of taking up his abode at Etchmiadzin, the Armenian Lambeth, now in Russian territory. Teachers are thrown into prison and subjected to the severest ill-treatment. The National Church of Armenia, one of the most ancient forms of Christianity, with a continuous history of its own, arouses a peculiar degree of interest. The National Church, however, is not the only sufferer. Roman Catholics, too, have been subjected to persecutions, and the treatment of the Protestant missionaries, and the burning of the American College at Marsovan, are among the most recent instances of the prevalence of lawlessness and misrule, and constitute a violation not only of the Sixty-first Article, but also of the Sixty-second Article of the Treaty of Berlin.

That the Armenians should be adequately protected, not only against the raids of the Kurds but against the exactions and oppressions of the Turkish officials, is a demand consonant with the provisions of the Berlin Treaty, and with the engagements upon which Europe and this country have entered. It is strange that in their own country alone Armenians should be precluded from any share in the duties and responsibilities of government. Their administrative capacity has been put to the test elsewhere. Many of the Sultan's most able advisers have been Armenians. Loris Melikoff in Russia, Nubar Pasha and Tigrane Pasha in Egypt belong to the same race. Their commercial aptitude is known in every quarter of the globe. In America, in India, in the Dutch Colonies, Armenian communities flourish. In England the Armenians of Manchester play an important part in the life of Lancashire.

Yet, when they ask that some recognition of their administrative capacity should be accorded to them in their own country, and that some measure of local liberty, similar to that which has been tried successfully in the Lebanon, should be granted to them, they are met with blank refusal and renewed persecutions. The Armenians form the most law-abiding population in the Eastern part of Asia Minor, and are entitled to protection, not to persecution. If the Turkish Government continue to neglect their manifest duty in the matter, and if the Powers of Western Europe fail to fulfil their obligations, the effect will be to afford a pretext and a justification for Russian intervention. In the interest of the Government of the Sultan, as well as in the interest of humanity and justice, the reforms demanded by the Sixty-first Article of the Berlin Treaty are urgently required.

FRANCIS SEYMOUR STEVENSON,

President of the Anglo-Armenian Association.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

May 10th, 1893.

II.—TO THE BRITISH NATION—AN APPEAL.

DEAR FRIENDS,

Aware of the interest you take in the cause of progress and good government, we venture, on behalf of the oppressed Armenians in Asia Minor, to enlist your sympathies and influence to aid them at this critical period, when their liberty and lives are being sworn away by false witnesses, forged documents, and the evidence of totally unreliable persons.

We disclaim all political bias. Our object is solely to bring the case of the Armenians before you; to secure the blessings of peace, freedom of conscience, and just government for our unhappy brethren.

We base our plea on the following considerations:—

1. It is a historical fact that the Armenians are the type of an ancient race co-existent with the Assyrians, Medes, &c., and worthy of the goodwill of Europe.

2. Their mental calibre and martial valour the researches of such men as Dr. Mortman, Sir Henry Layard, and others, has sufficiently demonstrated in the entombed treasures of the fallen cities of Armenia, Ani, Dickranaguerd, &c.

3. Since the third century of the present era the Armenians, having, through the exertions of St. Gregory, the Illuminator, embraced Christianity, have, in spite of all vicissitudes, clung to the ancient faith.

4. The Armenian nation—regardless of contingent risks, which ultimately entailed upon them the loss of their kingdom—accorded active and material aid in the wars of the Crusaders against the Saracens. In fact it may be asserted that the Christianity of Armenia proved a vantage ground for Europe to recruit from, and, under Richard Cœur de Lion, to sally forth against the advancing tide of Islamism.

5. Armenia being situated between the two great continents of Europe and Asia, its Christianity formed a wedge between the two antagonistic faiths; the country thus became so obnoxious that it was invaded successively by the Caliphs of Bagdad, the Sultans of Egypt, the Khans of Tartary, the Shahs of Persia, and lastly by the Ottomans. Throughout all these troubles and vicissitudes nothing has shaken the Armenians' devotion to the truths of Christianity, and they have borne everything for the cause of Christ. Some years ago the Bulgarian atrocities called forth the emotion of Europe; yet what occurred there was as nothing in comparison to the scenes which were enacted on the banks of the Araxes in 1604, under

Shah Abbas, when more than 20,000 souls perished at the hands of his General, Amirgoun; and even now, year after year, innocent men die in gaols because their cry for help is not heard in Europe. Armenia at the commencement of Mohammedan occupation boasted a population as large as that of Great Britain. It has since dwindled to its present proportions, namely 3,000,000, many having, for the sake of peace, left their country, and some have embraced the religion forced upon them by an alien race.

6. Our plea is for the remnant of this once great nation, whose condition under the Rule of the Crescent is such as the united representatives of Europe have unanimously pronounced to be unbearable. It is, therefore, we think a fitting moment, in view of the recent persecutions, to seek for some recognition at the hands of Europe, to enable them to gain for their country some settled form of government under which they may heal their shattered frame and aching sores.

7. Of all Europe, England has a debt of gratitude to discharge for the beneficent intercession of King Lyon VI, in 1382-93, to put a stop to the devastating work of France and England during the reigns of Charles VI and Richard II. Equally efficient service has been rendered quite recently. It was the Armenians who fought many of the battles in the Councils of the Great Mogul. Witness can be borne by many of the valiant army who fought in Armenia in 1853—when the clergy and nation were most forward in affording all the solace in their power.

8. That the Armenians have become a commercial race is matter of history. We need not remind you that throughout the British Empire Armenian colonies thrive under the beneficent rule of your beloved Queen-Empress.

9. As Turkey has always disregarded its solemnly contracted international engagements, and as its inherent incapacity for equitable government is a matter beyond dispute, it is our firm belief that a conference of the Signatory Powers of the Berlin Treaty is urgently called for in the interests of humanity.

Looking at the services and sacrifices for the cause of Christianity which Armenia has at all times gladly made and at the sufferings of her children at the present time, we implore the British Government to take the initiative in requiring the introduction of the administrative and judicial reforms promised by the Sixty-first Article of the Treaty of Berlin, which cancelled the Sixteenth Article of the Treaty of San Stefano, under which substantial guarantees for our protection were secured to us by His late Imperial Majesty the Czar Alexander II.

G. HAGOPIAN,
 PETRUS AGANOR,
 And others.

LONDON, *May 1st*, 1893.

III.—NUBAR PASHA ON THE ARMENIAN QUESTION.

PREFATORY NOTE.

PRIOR to the Berlin Congress, Nubar Pasha, himself an Armenian, and a statesman, thoroughly well conversant with Turkish politics, character, and manners, was requested to draw up a practical scheme of reforms for the better government of Armenia, which afterwards appeared in Mr. Edward Dicey's article in the *Nineteenth Century Review*, of September, 1878, under the heading of "Nubar Pasha and our Asian Protectorate."

It is now 15 years since the famous Berlin Treaty, with its Sixty-first Article specially introduced on behalf of reforms in Armenia (afterwards supplemented by the Cyprus Treaty between this country and the Porte), was signed and sealed by the Six Great Powers and by Turkey. Not only has there not been the slightest attempt on the part of the Porte to introduce any of the reforms that she engaged herself to introduce into Armenia, but on the contrary, every imaginable means have been adopted to make the already sad condition of Armenia ten times worse. That oppression, persecution, and anarchy is supreme in the country, and that the Sultan's Government, either by its incapacity, or complacency, or by wilful negligence, or all combined, is directly responsible for the present deplorable state of the country, is at once evident to all candid and impartial observers.

That a deliberate plan is laid against the Armenians, first to exasperate and then exterminate, purposely and persistently connived at by the Sultan and his fanatical surroundings, there is not the slightest doubt. The ex-Grand Vizier, Said Pasha, the most inveterate foe of Christendom and everything Armenian, has said that he would settle the Armenian question by exterminating the Armenians, and making the country of Armenia but a geographical expression. This man, although nominally out of office, is yet a great favourite at the Palace, and we witness daily how truly his words are being verified by deeds.

Everyday facts convince us more than ever that if the country and the people of Armenia are to be saved from total destruction, nothing but some such scheme as the fol-

lowing will achieve it: its practicability, moderation, reasonableness, and justness are at once apparent. By virtue of the obligations of the Berlin and Cyprus Treaties, the people of this country are largely responsible to Armenia; and in the hope that this great and philanthropic nation will not abandon and forget its duty to the people of Armenia, on whose behalf their Government, both exclusively and collectively, is under engagements, rests our present reason for bringing this excellent scheme once more under the notice of the British public.

MEMORANDUM BY HIS EXCELLENCY NUBAR PASHA.

The European Powers being desirous of establishing an order of things in the East which may contain the elements of stability, have turned their attention towards that portion of Asia Minor which forms the cradle of the Armenian race. The Sublime Porte itself has recognised the necessity of not leaving this industrious, energetic, and intelligent nationality in its present wretched condition—a condition which is rendered the more grievous by the distance which separates Armenia from Europe and its representatives. It is needless to dwell here on the lot of the Armenian populations which have not quitted their native land, and even more needless to compare this lot with that of their fellow-countrymen, some millions in number, who inhabit Trans-Caucasia. The mere fact that the Porte has bound itself by the Treaty of San Stefano to introduce reforms into the administration of Armenia, and has recognised the duty of protecting the Armenians against the Kurds, shows clearly enough the extent of the misgovernment under which the Armenians suffer at present, and the degree to which they have been abandoned to the exactions of the savage Kurd tribes.

The Armenians do not aim at independence, or at a distinct political existence. All they ask for are civil liberties and the establishment of institutions calculated to guarantee their personal safety, the security of their property, the honour of their wives and daughters—their rights, in fact, as men and civilised beings.

If the civil liberties proclaimed in 1840 by the Hatt Cherif of Gulhaine, and confirmed by subsequent decrees, had ever been applied in earnest, the industrious Armenian race would long ere this have transformed the face of their country. The population of the Russo-Armenian province of Erivan has doubled within the space of 30 years. The Armenian nation does full justice to the generous intentions of the Sultan and his illustrious predecessors. If these intentions have hitherto remained null and void of effect, if the reforms decreed have remained a dead letter, it is because the application of these

reforms has been entrusted to a class of functionaries who were not able to comprehend the spirit of these reforms, who did not appreciate their necessity, and who were opposed to them either from religious conviction or from personal interest.

Whatever, then, may be the character of the reforms which the Powers shall see fit to accord to the Armenians—who, by reason of the intelligence of their race, are the natural interpreters between the ideas of the East and the West—the first consideration to be borne in mind as the *sine quâ non* of any sound improvement, is the choice of the officials destined to carry these reforms into practice. Now, as the Turkish functionaries have always hitherto been selected from one particular and privileged class, the essential condition for the success of any organisation which may be introduced is the appointment of a Governor-General, chosen from another class of functionaries, viz., from the Christian officials of the Porte. In the particular case of Armenia, the Governor-General should be an Armenian by birth. Whatever may be the nationality or the individual character of this important functionary, it would be absurd to suppose that he could devote himself seriously to a very arduous task if he felt that he was exposed, at any moment, to the possibility of being dismissed without notice. When the Sultan ascended the throne, His Majesty, in the course of his inaugural address, specified as one of the chief causes of the calamities of the Empire, the fatal facility with which the servants of the State were appointed to and dismissed from their posts. The Sultan, therefore, in the interests of his subjects, might be induced to grant his Armenian provinces the boon of a Governor-General whose tenure of office was guaranteed for six or seven years. As the selection of this Governor-General must be the primary condition of any reform or permanent improvement, the Powers, in virtue of the Sixteenth Article of the Treaty of San Stefano (and in consequence, without interfering in any way with the sovereign authority of the Sultan), might insist upon this selection being made subject to their sanction, as is done already in the case of the governorship of the Lebanon, and might thus invest their appointment with all the guarantees which are desirable.

The Governor-General has been appointed under the conditions above-named, and having been entrusted by the Sultan with the duty of carrying into effect, and watching over the execution of, the necessary forms and improvements which His Majesty may have determined upon, he must be invested with the authority required to discharge the functions under his own responsibility.

What are the reforms and improvements which are necessary for the re-organisation of Armenia? In the opinion of the Armenian population this question can be answered very easily, if the causes of the evils under which they suffer are specifically enumerated.

The first of these evils is obviously the extent to which the inhabitants are exposed to the raids and exactions of the Kurds. These wild tribes must be coerced into good behaviour. This has not been done hitherto. Though nothing would have been easier than for the commanders of the Turkish garrisons to have maintained order within Armenia, they have been wanting either in the means or the will to do so. In order, therefore, to place the internal security of the province beyond the reach of danger, the wisest course would be to entrust the population of the province with the duty of protecting itself. For Christian and Mussulman alike, the first necessity is security for life and property.

The Governor-General, then, should have the power to organise a corps of *gendarmes*, who would not only be entrusted with the duty of policemen, but would be employed to protect the country against any disturbers of the public peace. This corps should be composed indifferently of Mussulmans and Christians, who should be recruited in accordance with a system which might be determined beforehand. The appointment of the commanding officers of this corps should rest with the Governor-General, for he is the person responsible to the Sultan for the order and tranquillity of the province. The union of the Moslem and Christian elements in a corps so constituted as to discharge the onerous duty of protecting order and security is calculated to create a feeling of harmony between these two elements. This result is all the more to be expected in Armenia from the accident that the rural population, whether from their common origin, or from the misery they have shared in common, has, irrespective of creed, the same wants, and consequently the same aspirations. Moreover, the commanders of the Imperial forces in Armenia should, with respect to all measures concerning the public safety, be instructed to obey the orders of the Governor-General, and to assist the *gendarmerie* in the execution of their duty.

When once the material security of the province is thus guaranteed, the next object should be to provide for the safety of business transactions and the security of the relations between the public functionaries and the population subject to them—in other words, to provide for the due administration of justice. In fact, unless we have a duly organised system of justice, there is no possible security for commerce, no security against arbitrary proceedings on the part of the public functionaries, and, in consequence, no security for the duration and genuineness of the reforms which it is proposed to introduce. At the present moment, such justice as exists in Armenia is supplied by administrative councils which bear the name of *Medjliss*, and whose members, whether tax-farmers or others, are connected, either directly or indirectly, with the business of the administration, and are, moreover, ignorant of the first elements of law and legal procedure. In consequence the code

becomes in their hands a mere instrument of arbitrary exaction, applied under the semblance of legality, to a population which is even more ignorant of the code in question than the judges by whom it is administered. It would hardly be expedient to profess any positive opinion as to the judicial organisation which ought to be introduced in order to regulate the civil and commercial relations of the population. This organisation cannot be surrounded with too many guarantees, for it ought to form the controlling power of the whole administration of the province. But it may be stated with confidence beforehand that the new tribunals ought not, as in the case of the existing *Medjliss*, to have any share in the conduct of the administration. The Governor-General should study the subject himself, and have it studied by a competent commission, and then submit the result of his studies to the Powers authorised to decree the execution of the project. By proceeding in this manner there is a reasonable prospect that the organisation of justice will ultimately prove in harmony with the social and intellectual requirements of the community. As the courts are to serve as a means of correcting and controlling the administration, the Commission will have to determine what limits should be assigned to the jurisdiction of the courts of law, and especially to what extent the public officials are to be responsible to these courts for any abuses committed in the discharge of these functions.

The Governor-General should be authorised to call in the assistance of foreigners to aid him in this all-important task of organising a judicial system. It would be his duty to decide how largely the foreign element can be introduced with advantage. The Armenians are of opinion that if this foreign element, which represents in their eyes independence of character, as well as legal attainments, forms a substantial part in the composition of the Supreme Court, there would be nothing in the social condition of the country inconsistent with extending the jurisdiction of the tribunal over public functionaries in the case of any abuse of their powers. On the contrary, the social condition of the country would be improved and developed by the control of courts in which the foreign element was appreciably represented. The Armenians believe, moreover, that in a system of justice developed in the mode indicated, the realisation of the various reforms required would find its true foundation and support.

These three reforms, if they were seriously undertaken and carried out, would be sufficient to develop the country and to transform it completely from its present condition. But in order to insure their application and their execution, the Governor-General must be placed in a position to dispose of the funds required for the purpose.

The Armenians, as has been already stated, do not aspire to political independence, or to any kind of separation from the

Ottoman Empire. What they desire is the exact opposite of this. They assert no claim to dispose of the resources of their country according to their own freewill, or for their own requirements. All they ask is the right, after they have defrayed the general taxes of the Imperial Treasury, to tax themselves further, and thus to obtain funds of their own for the special expenses of the province, such as are requisite for the *gendarmerie*, the courts of justice, schools, places of religious worship, public works, and so forth.

At the same time, the Armenians consider that this right of taxing themselves for special and local objects will facilitate the effectuation of the reforms which may be decreed by the Porte, as these local taxes will guarantee the due payment of the different branches of the administration, whose duty it will be to introduce the reforms in question, and watch over their execution. In this way, too, the officials by whom the local administration is to be conducted, will not be at the mercy of any authority whose interest in local requirements, and in the realisation of local reforms, might not be equal to their own. Again, the interest of the Imperial Government being identical with the collective interests of the subjects of the Sultan, the Porte will act in conformity with the principles of sound administration in only raising from the several provinces the amount required for the general expenditure of the Empire, and in leaving the local administration sufficient resources to provide for special and local objects.

The system under which each province should raise the funds required for its own local government might be of the following kind: The Governor-General, and, under his orders, the Governors of the different districts, should be empowered to convoke an Assembly of Notables, in the chief town of each district. It would be better, at present, not to lay down any definite rule as to the mode in which these different Assemblies should be composed. At the commencement the Governor-General and the District Governors should themselves nominate the members of these Councils, who, it is needless to say, should be chosen on account of their position, and the confidence entertained in them by their fellow-citizens. The General Assembly, whose sittings should be held in the capital of the province, should in its turn be composed of delegates, nominated by the District Assemblies.

The sole function of the General Assembly should be to apportion amidst the different districts the amount to be raised in each district, in order to provide the sums required for the local administration. A similar function would be discharged by the District Assemblies with regard to the apportionment of the taxes to the various localities of the district. These Councils, however, should for the time being have no power of interference, either in the administration of justice, or in the general government of the province. At a future date,

fuller experience and the gradual development of the social condition of the province will furnish data for establishing some definite system for the election of these Councils, as well as for the extension of the functions entrusted to them. But at the outset, with the view of avoiding the confusion which must inevitably be caused by any attempt to introduce self-government into a population entirely unaccustomed to the management of its own affairs, it would be prudent to restrain the functions of the local and general assemblies, within the limits indicated above.

The organisation of the province of Armenia upon such a basis as that of which the general outline has been given in the foregoing lines, would be calculated to insure the welfare of all the inhabitants of the province, whether Mussulmans or Christians, all being alike subjects of the Sultan, and all having an equal interest in a sound administration of their own affairs. The object of this organisation is to insure the common welfare of the whole population. In consequence, the question of the respective proportions of the Mussulman and Christian populations becomes a matter of secondary importance. According to this scheme there would be no change whatever in the political situation of the province. The only difference would be that the administration of the province would be conducted by a new class of functionaries, who, being supported by the institutions to which reference has been made above, and notably by the re-organisation of the judicial system, will be in a position to carry out the reforms which His Majesty the Sultan may think fit to enact, and not to allow them to remain a dead letter, as has been the case with all the reforms which have hitherto been promised by the Porte.

NUBAR.

IV.—MR. GLADSTONE, MR. BRYCE, SIR J. KENNAWAY, AND SIR J. FERGUSSON ON THE ARMENIAN QUESTION.

The Right Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P.*

“PUBLIC opinion must be brought to bear upon this case. It is a great power, and I am afraid that public opinion and that other power of threat of force which we are not in a condition to appeal to, are the only powers likely to produce any sensible improvement in the condition of the people of Armenia. But there is one thing not without importance. In the Cyprus Convention we have an instrument of some force in our dealings with the Government of Turkey. On the one hand the Sultan is bound to introduce reforms into Armenia, and if he does the British Government are bound to assist him in maintaining his sovereignty over that country. It is in our power to warn the Sultan that the non-introduction of reforms will utterly destroy his title to British aid. A warning has been given many years ago, it ought to be repeated. The Sultan should be given plainly to understand that under no circumstances will misdeeds in Armenia be tolerated.”

The Right Hon. J. BRYCE, M.P.,*

Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; Sometime Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

“FOR a long time before the war of 1877 there had been great oppression practised by the Turks, and great suffering among the Christian population of Asiatic Turkey. The Treaty of San Stefano contained a promise of reform made by the Porte to Russia, and when the Treaty of San Stefano was superseded by the Treaty of Berlin, Article Sixty-one was inserted in the latter instrument, by which Turkey became bound to the six signatory Powers to protect the Armenian population against the Kurds and Circassians, and to carry out reforms in its Asiatic provinces. The same obligation, in a slightly different

* Speech in House of Commons, May 28th, 1889.

form, was undertaken by the Porte to this country in the so-called Anglo-Turkish Convention of 1878, whereby a separate promise was made to Great Britain, in return for which we undertook to protect the Asiatic frontier of Turkey. We have thus a double right, and a double moral obligation to the Christians of the East.

“In 1880 efforts were made to induce the Porte to undertake reform, and these efforts were renewed by Lord Dufferin down to 1882. Everybody knows that nothing has been done by the Turkish Government to carry out any of the promised reforms. The present condition of the country is quite as bad as it has ever been at any time within living memory. Numbers of persons have been thrown into prison, and some of these subjected to torture by the Turkish officials. Others have been sent to languish in exile. These things are done, sometimes at the caprice of a tyrannical governor, or as a means of extortion; sometimes on groundless suspicions of conspiracies, and the victims have not even the consolation of knowing that an account of their sufferings had reached the ears of Western Europe. I might recount hundreds of cases in which innocent people have been murdered; in which Christian girls have been carried off by force from their parents and consigned to a harem, on the pretext that they had embraced Mohammedanism; in which churches have been despoiled or defiled, and all without any effort, or apparently any wish, on the part of the Government to punish the guilty persons.

“Not only has the Turkish Government made no efforts to put down the evils which exist, or to check the proceedings of the Kurds, it aggravates the disorders by depriving the Armenian people of weapons, while their persecutors are well armed. Colonies of Circassians are brought into the country, and the whole policy of the Turkish Government would make one believe that they were following out the principle laid down by a Turkish Prime Minister some years ago, when he said that the way to get rid of the Armenian question was to get rid of the Armenians.

“It is urged by some persons that to address remonstrances to the Turkish Government will only have the effect of further irritating the Turks, and aggravating the sufferings of the Eastern Christians. I entirely dissent from this view. There is not the slightest evidence that the Turks have ever behaved the least bit better when we have abstained from remonstrating, or that they have ever behaved substantially worse when we have remonstrated. I believe, on the contrary, that the best chance—it is, perhaps, a slight one—of procuring some amelioration in the condition of the Christian people of Asiatic Turkey is to endeavour to convey to the Turkish Government the sense of shame and indignation which we feel when we read of the occurrences in Armenia.

“The Turkish Government is repeating in Asia the self-

destructive course of policy which it pursued long ago in Europe. It lost Herzegovina, Bosnia and Bulgaria because it refused to reform the administration of those regions. It created disaffection, justified insurrection, and made foreign intervention necessary. The same train of events seems likely to occur in Asia; and nothing but a change of policy can save the Sultanate from extinction."

Sir JOHN KENNAWAY, Bart., M.P.*

"THIS is a question which ought to be removed from party politics, and one on which both sides of the House could unite. I desire to particularly point out that, being responsible as we are for the Treaty of Berlin, we have very great obligations, as a nation, in regard to the Armenian people. It was owing to our action that Turkey was able to escape from the grip of Russia at a time when she was practically at the mercy of that Power. Russia has always been ready to come forward as the friend of the Armenians, and they have had great temptations to throw themselves into the arms of Russia. It was considered very desirable that that should be checked. They were checked by us, and therefore Great Britain has incurred great responsibilities. The English people are bound to show their sympathy with the Armenians in every way."

Sir JAMES FERGUSSON, Bart., M.P.,*

Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

"It has been admitted by officials of all parties that there is in Asia Minor a state of things exceedingly lamentable—a weakness of government, a want of authority, a recurrence of outrages, and consequent severe suffering to innocent people, as well as the fertile dangers arising from religious jealousies."

* Speech in House of Commons, May 28th, 1889.

V.—THE DUKE OF ARGYLL AND THE BISHOP
OF MANCHESTER ON TURKISH MISRULE.

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL, K.G., &c.

Inverary, *November 8, 1890.*

Sir,

I have a sincere sympathy with oppressed peoples—although I have no authentic or detailed information as to the state of the Christian population in Armenia. But I have a profound conviction of the hopelessness of ever getting the Porte to discharge the duties of a civilised Government in those parts of the Turkish Empire. The Turkish administration is both corrupt and weak, and will be so till the end comes.

Yours obediently,

ARGYLL.

THE BISHOP OF MANCHESTER.*

It is sometimes said, when meetings of this character are called, that the time has gone by when England, as the Don Quixote of the nations, can ride about tilting at all the great iniquities of the world—I suppose, forsooth, that we shall be cowed at the sight of the great armies of Continental countries. Well, if that be so, I can only say that I am glad that I am an old man, and that I shall not have to live long in such a changed England. I believe the most glorious memory of our country in the days to come will be, not her military and naval successes, but the fact that without any interested reason, and sometimes at very great expenditure of money and men, she has struck with all her power in defence of the slave who, though he be an ignorant savage, is still a man, and we would not stand by and see him tortured and oppressed by the strong bullies of the world. I think the brightest page upon the bright story of the English Commonwealth is that upon which it is written that the great and glorious Oliver Cromwell, who, by his thunderous threat alone, rescued the bleeding Waldenses from the ban-dogs of superstition that were hunting them to death. I hope the England of the present day—surely I may

* Speech at Manchester, November 25th, 1890, at a public meeting of citizens, convened by the Mayor "to consider the present state of affairs in Armenia."

say the England of the present day—has as much pity and courage as the England of Oliver or the England of Wilberforce. Surely we shall not turn a deaf ear to the cry of fellow-men and fellow-Christians who are being outraged, and murdered, and dishonoured for no other reason than that they are Christians and unarmed. But the question that is brought before us to-day is not one that rests on the mere ground of sentiment. It rests upon the ground which hitherto has been held in England to constitute an irresistible claim — on the ground of the pledged national faith and covenant. At Berlin, in the Congress that was held there, we, in common with other great Powers of Europe, interfered to prevent the apparently impending dissolution of the Turkish Empire. There were high political reasons for that. We thought we could see no Power, other than Turkey, which could safely hold the keys of the Hellespont, and prevent a serious, and, it might be, a fatal disturbance of the political equilibrium of Europe. But we also felt, as did the other great Powers, that it was totally impossible to defend Turkey if she remained the Turkey she had been. To bolster up a Power which made the profession of Christianity a reason for insult and outrage, and was prepared to use the dagger of the religious fanatic as the instrument of government, was too great a scandal to be borne. Therefore, solemn notice was given to Turkey that if she was to be defended by the public force of Europe, she must govern her Christian subjects in a different way in the time to come. Three pledges were taken—three conditions were made, and were embodied in the Sixty-first Article of the Berlin Congress. The first was that, in the time to come, and quickly, Turkey should initiate such measures of improvement in government as the local needs might require in all the provinces inhabited by the Armenians; secondly, that she should afford protection to the Armenians from the Kurds and Circassians; and thirdly, that she was to inform the Powers of Europe periodically of the measures she was taking, that they might superintend their application. Now, there we solemnly pledge ourselves to superintend the application of measures for the better government and the adequate protection of the Armenians. We called upon Turkey to put such measures into operation at once, and we required her to tell us from time to time how she was doing it. So, you see, we shared with the rest of the great Powers of Europe in assuring, as far as we could, to the Armenians better government and adequate protection. But that was not all we did; in the convention of 1878 we made an agreement with Turkey on our own part alone, distinct from the other great Powers of Europe. We undertook to defend by arms the territory of Turkey if Russia attempted to annex any part thereof; and in order that we might carry out our engagement, we demanded, and we obtained, possession of the Island of Cyprus. But it

was felt that we could not possibly protect a Turkey which acted in the future as it had acted in the past, and, therefore, we made it a condition of our assistance that considerable changes of government should be made, and adequate protection be given to the Christian and other subjects of the Porte—not only the Christians, but the Moslems too, such as might be agreed upon by the two contracting Powers. Now, you see, there we pledged ourselves to be parties to the initiation of better government, to the provision of adequate protection, for if we did not stir up Turkey to do these things, she might reasonably turn round upon us and say, “We cannot initiate any improvements by ourselves, for the Convention says that they shall be such as are agreed upon by the two Powers. Until, therefore, you have agreed with us what the improvements are to be, we cannot introduce any.” Now, I say that pledges England as deeply as a nation can be possibly pledged to be a party to the introduction of better government, and the provision of adequate protection for the Armenian subjects of the Sublime Porte. That is not a question, my friends, of sentiment; it is a question of obligation. We have pledged our national honour, and we are bound to redeem that pledge. Well, I ask you, have we done it? (Cries of “No.”) Of course, I am not desirous of saying any harsh words either of a Liberal or a Conservative Government. I believe that the able and illustrious statesmen whom we have set over our affairs have earnestly endeavoured to press upon the Porte the necessity for improvements in arrangements for public protection and public government; but, I am bound to say, though I do it with diffidence, that I cannot think that our Government have made that pressure sufficiently urgent and sufficiently persistent. I have in my possession a number of facts which prove that from that time down to the present there have been a series of outrages upon life, upon property, and upon what men prize and feel more keenly than either, upon the honour of their women, that would drive a flock of sheep into open rebellion. I am not going to defend all the acts that have been committed by Armenians of late. They have, I think, done many foolish acts, and they may have done some criminal acts; but, I ask you, where are we to look for the cause, the moving, the ultimate cause of these acts of folly and criminality? Is it a fact that the Christian subjects of the Porte have been thought to be unworthy to take part in their own government? Is it a fact that their churches have been desecrated, their clergy and teachers imprisoned and tortured and their schoolhouses shut up on the most arbitrary prettexts? (Cries of “Yes.”) Is it a fact that there have been mean and foul outrages upon property; that business property has been plundered; that men have been murdered; and that women have been subjected to most atrocious barbarities by the wild allies of the Sublime Porte? Now, if that be true, and no redress has been ob-

tained, then, I say, England, who has undertaken to secure better protection for the Christians, is bound to make that state of things cease. If any cynic says to me that statesmen cannot have anything to do with sickly-sentimentalism, I answer, "This is not a question of sentiment; it is a question of redeeming a pledge, a national promise, publicly made, and taking care that the national honour does not suffer by the want of redeeming that pledge." I know that some people have said that Turkey is such a "ricketty" Power, that if you interfere with its government you will risk its dissolution. Well, my friends, if that be so, are we, because this Power is ricketty, to preserve its existence while it perpetrates outrages and massacres? (Cries of "No") Let us put the question in a pictorial way, as *Punch* sometimes puts it. What would be the fit cartoon to represent the state of things under consideration? In the foreground Russia, with sword in hand, advancing to the relief of Armenia, but stopped by England, in arms, refusing to allow her to pass. In the background Turks and Kurds committing outrages and murders, and the Turks saying, with savage glee, "Nobody can interfere with my little amusements, because England protects me." What a state of things for the mother of freedom—the shelterer of the oppressed; the friend of the slave—that she shall stand as protector of a Power which has committed murders and atrocities upon those whom she has solemnly pledged herself to protect. But, my friends, the objection I have stated is absolutely vain and groundless. If you carry out such measures as are to-day demanded by the reasonable representatives of the Armenians you will not weaken Turkey—you will strengthen her. (Applause.) The Armenians do not desire to break up the community of the Turkish Empire. They desire to continue to be loyal Turkish subjects. They saw over the border what a million and a half of their countrymen have suffered by becoming Russian subjects. They saw that their language, their literature, and their religious belief have been Russianised, and they do not want to be themselves Russianised. They want to maintain their own ancient language and literature, and their own national beloved Apostolic Church. (Cheers.) But what they do require in return is that Turkey shall guarantee to them the elementary rights of all civilized men—security of life, and property, and honour. They require that Turkey shall not make the plunder of the Armenian peasantry to pay all her Kurdish troops. And if any man says, "Oh! the Turk is poor and cannot afford to pay;" they answer, "Paying your troops by the plunder of your subjects will but make you poorer; and more, if you will entrust to the strong arms of the Armenians the power to do it, they will protect your frontiers better than all your wild Kurds; and if you are too poor, besides contributing their quota to the Imperial revenue, they will pay the expenses of their own military contingent out of

their own resources." I have but another word to say. I believe that this policy of murder and outrage is as stupid as it is criminal. If Turkey will only grant to the Armenians an independent Governor-General, who shall have the power of full and final administration—a Governor-General appointed like the Governor-General of the Lebanon, where such an appointment has produced universal peace; a Government appointed with the approbation of all the great Powers of Europe—then poverty and discontent will disappear with murder and outrage, and Turkey will find her best defence in the able, intelligent, and energetic inhabitants of her Armenian province. I have now great pleasure in moving the following resolution:—

“That this meeting of the people of Manchester expresses its deep grief and indignation at the systematic persecution and cruel atrocities to which the Armenians are subjected at the hands of official, non-official, Turks, Kurds, and others; condemns the retrograde policy of the Sublime Porte in regard to the ancient rights and immunities of the Church of Armenia, and its neglect to introduce the reforms and ameliorations which it has pledged itself by the Berlin Treaty to realise without further delay; thanks Her Majesty’s Government for its past endeavours in favour of Armenian interests, and calls upon it to take a more decided attitude upon the Armenian question.” (Loud applause.)

VI.—THE ANGLO-ARMENIAN ASSOCIATION.

Founded by PROFESSOR JAMES BRYCE, M.P., *and other friends of Armenia desirous of securing the execution of the Sixty-first Article of the Treaty of Berlin.*

President—FRANCIS S. STEVENSON, Esq., M.P.

Vice-Presidents { SIR GEORGE R. SITWELL, BART., M.P.
A. GRIFFITH-BOSCAWEN, Esq., M.P.
G. HAGOPIAN, Esq.
J. A. CALANTARIENTS, Esq., M.D.

Committee for 1893—

THE LORD NORTHBOURNE.	W. RATHBONE, Esq., M.P.
RT. HON. A. J. MUNDELLA, M.P., F.R.S.	R. JASPER MORE, Esq., M.P.
SIR EDWARD GREY, BART., M.P.	SAMUEL SMITH, Esq., M.P.
CHARLES E. SCHWANN, Esq., M.P.	REV. H. F. TOZER.
F. A. CHANNING, Esq., M.P.	REV. CANON MACCOLL.
G. LEVESON-GOWER, Esq., M.P.	CHARLES HANCOCK, Esq.
J. M. PAULTON, Esq., M.P.	J. FREDERICK GREEN, Esq.
D. NAOROJI, Esq., M.P.	*F. W. SHERWOOD, Esq.
*MICHEL G. PAUL, Esq.	J. H. LEVY, Esq.
J. ARTHUR PRICE, Esq.	*EDWARD T. SLATER, Esq.
*PETRUS AGANOOB, Esq.	*THEOBALD MATHEW, Esq.
	T. MAYILL, Esq.

* Member of Executive Council.

Hon. Treasurers—

C. E. SCHWANN, Esq., M.P., House of Commons, London, S.W.
PETRUS AGANOOB, Esq., 5, St. Peter's Alley, Cornhill, London, E.C.

Hon. Secretaries—

EDWARD ATKIN, Esq., National Liberal Club, London, S.W.
G. B. M. COORE, Esq., Reform Club, London, S.W.

THE ANGLO-ARMENIAN ASSOCIATION.

Reprinted from the "Daily News," January 7th, 1893.

THE annual meeting of this Association was held at the Middle Temple yesterday, Mr. Francis S. Stevenson, M.P., president, in the chair. Amongst those present were Mr. G. Hagopian, Mr. Petrus Aganoor, Mr. F. W. Sherwood, and the hon. secretary.

Representatives from Constantinople, Batavia, and other centres attended. The annual report paid a graceful tribute to the eminent services of Professor Bryce, M.P., whose willing co-operation and ever ready help the Executive Committee thankfully acknowledged. Although his inclusion in the Cabinet had caused his withdrawal from the Association as president, it was felt that the work still had his warm sympathy as a lover of justice and of humanity. During the past year the efforts of the Association have been directed to Continental organization. In Paris, St. Petersburg, Vienna, and Marseilles, patriotic Armenian communities existed, who were desirous of being in touch with the London Committee, and progress was being made in the collection of material and statistics from Asiatic Turkey with a view of taking energetic action in the House of Commons. Private and confidential communications had been invited from the Armenian Episcopate in order that reliable information might reach Her Majesty's Government through other than consular sources. The reports so received had been laid before Lord Rosebery. Heavy taxes continued to be wrung out of the Armenians of Turkey by private speculators to whom they were farmed by the Government. Kurdish chiefs continued to be on terms of suspicious amity with the local representatives of the Sultan. The severity of the present winter had caused the small stocks of grain husbanded by the peasants to be robbed by the Kurds, who preferred loot to labour. Against systematic corruption in the courts as well as in the executive department, the scared agriculturist and small traders appealed in vain. Petitions from the Archbishops of Marash and Zeitoun had been forwarded to Mr. Gladstone, and were now with the British Ambassador at Constantinople for inquiry and report. One bright spot on the otherwise cheerless record from Armenia was the election of Monsignor Khrimian to the highest position in the gift of the people. The new Catholicos had been congratulated by the Czar in a manner marked by extreme cordiality, and the committee are of opinion that several signs point to the possible intervention of Russia on behalf of the Christian subjects of the Porte.

The Chairman, in welcoming the members and delegates, said that once a year the Executive Committee was glad to meet its colleagues and to render an account of its stewardship. On this occasion they desired to record with satisfaction that all the members of the Association in the House of Commons had been returned to serve in the present Parliament, and no less than three of them—Mr. Bryce, Sir Edward Grey, and Mr. Leveson-Gower—were members of the present Ministry. It was well that the Association should meet from time to time for the purpose of awakening public opinion to the obligations incurred by Great Britain in common with other powers under the 61st Article of the Berlin Treaty, and to the special obligation incumbent upon England by the Cyprus Convention, with

a view to the removal as far as possible of the causes which led to the oppressions in Armenia. The Association had lost a most valued officer and Armenia a tried friend in the person of Mr. Summers, the hon. treasurer, whose sudden death in India was a matter for the deepest regret. His knowledge of the Ottoman Empire and of the sufferings of the people had been gained by travel, and his close observations had been of the utmost value. One of the first results of the action taken by the new Government had been the dispatch of a Mission to Armenia by the Sultan. It was noteworthy that this had taken place a few days after a deputation from the Association had submitted certain facts to Sir E. Grey at the Foreign Office last November, and after some correspondence had been sent to Lord Rosebery by M. Tcheraz. At present it was impossible to judge of the nature and effects of that Mission. Both the Foreign Office and Parliament itself required to be backed up by public opinion in regard to any action they took. During the last few years Mrs. Bishop's book had called attention in a marked manner to the acts of cruelty and oppression carried out by the Kurds and not suppressed by the Turks. The feeling on the subject should not be allowed to subside, especially as there had been signs of retrogression since the time when that book appeared. Now that a Government in greater sympathy with the Armenian cause were in power, it was to be hoped that more pressure would be brought to bear—and in a more effective manner—than had hitherto been the case. (Applause.)—The report having been adopted unanimously, with the addition that very warm thanks are due to the *Daily News* for its consistent advocacy of the cause of Armenia, Mr. G. Hagopian moved that “The President and members of the Anglo-Armenian Association have heard with profound regret of the death, at Allahabad, of Mr. William Summers, M.P., who has been the honorary treasurer of the Association since its formation, and they desire to express their sincere and respectful sympathy with the members of his family in their great bereavement. The willing service rendered by Mr. Summers, both in the House of Commons and privately, to the cause of the Armenians of Turkey, and his strenuous efforts to secure for them the administrative reforms promised by the 61st Article of the Treaty of Berlin, no less than his unfailing courtesy and obliging kindness, had endeared him to many co-workers on their behalf. Especially does the Executive Committee deplore the loss of a valued colleague who had proved himself a true friend of the oppressed Christians in Asia Minor.”—The resolution was seconded by Mr. Sherwood, and carried unanimously.—Mr. C. E. Schwann, M.P., was elected hon. treasurer. The hearty congratulations of the Association were ordered to be sent to the Catholicos-elect. A vote of thanks to the Chairman and to the Executive concluded the proceedings.

VII.—THE RT. HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P.,
ON CONSULAR REPORTS.*

“I AM at a loss to know why the Reports of Consuls ceased to be furnished in or about the year 1881. Consuls are supposed to keep their eyes open and to report facts regarding the people among whom they live, and it is altogether a new idea that their reports are to be regarded as confidential documents. If they are to be so, that is simply condemning the Consuls' Reports to perpetual barrenness and absolute inutility. Why are not consular reports to be made, and being made, why are they not to be printed? If in this respect I am personally, or anyone associated with me, is open to censure, let the facts be brought out; but do not let a particular act at a particular time be confounded with the adoption of the principle of eternal silence about the horrors that prevail in Armenia.”

* Speech in House of Commons, May 28th, 1889.

VIII.—CIRCULAR LETTER TO ARMENIANS IN EUROPE AND AMERICA.

THE ANGLO-ARMENIAN ASSOCIATION.

Founded by PROFESSOR JAMES BRYCE, M.P., and other friends of Armenia desirous of securing the execution of the Sixty-first Article of the Treaty of Berlin.

President—FRANCIS S. STEVENSON, ESQ., M.P.

Vice-Presidents { SIR GEORGE R. SITWELL, BART., M.P.
A. GRIFFITH-BOSCAWEN, ESQ., M.P.
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Hon. Treasurers { C. E. SCHWANN, ESQ., M.P.
PETRUS AGANOOOR, ESQ.

Hon. Secretaries { EDWARD ATKIN, ESQ., Nat. Lib. Club, London, S.W.
G. B. M. COORE, ESQ., Reform Club, London, S.W.

ARTICLE LXI. BERLIN TREATY.

“The Sublime Porte undertakes to carry out, without further delay, the improvements and reforms demanded by local requirements in the provinces inhabited by the Armenians, and to guarantee their security against the Circassians and Kurds.

“It will periodically make known the steps taken to this effect to the Powers, who will superintend their application.”

DEAR SIR,

You will have gathered from your own private information, as well as from accounts received in Europe from Asia Minor, that from a variety of causes, which it is needless to dwell upon, the condition of the Armenian Christians has become seriously aggravated under the disabilities and oppressions which seem to grow and augment every day.

In presence of a state of things fraught with danger to the very existence of Armenian nationality, Armenian solidarity, and Armenian hopes, we think that it is the solemn and sacred duty, as well as the honourable privilege of all those who have Armenian blood in their veins, and who are attached to their historic nationality and Church, to unite together in a common fraternal bond.

The Committee of the Anglo-Armenian Association feels that patriotic effort has been paralysed in the past by the lack of unity, and that energies which might have been potent for good have been rendered inoperative by division. The aim of the

Committee is to focus and concentrate Armenian patriotic activity by inviting co-operation with the central organisation which has been formed in London. The Committee pledges itself by all the means in its power to secure the ventilation of the Armenian Question on the platform, in the press, and in Parliament, with a view to the execution of the 61st Article of the Berlin Treaty, so long deferred and so anxiously awaited by the suffering people of Armenia.

The Committee confidently hopes that you will, both by your example and means, liberally and effectively assist it in the great work which it has undertaken on behalf of your unhappy countrymen in Armenia. It finds it necessary to make direct appeal to the Armenians themselves in the first instance, in order that by the measure of its success it may be able to show Englishmen of light, leading, and high influence, how thoroughly the Armenians are agreed and united in their great national object of securing peace, public order, and freedom for their country from oppression and persecution.

It is hoped that the Armenians themselves will cordially co-operate with the Anglo-Armenian Association.

Periodical statements to our supporters and subscribers as to the proceedings of the Committee, and the manner of the disposal of the funds entrusted to our care, will be made.

Subscriptions and donations may be paid to Mr. PETRUS AGANOR, 5, St. Peter's Alley, Cornhill, London, E.C.

All cheques should be crossed "Cox & Co."

Yours faithfully,

F. S. STEVENSON, *President.*

G. HAGOPIAN, *Vice-President.*

CHARLES E. SCHWANN, } *Hon. Treasurers.*

PETRUS AGANOR,

EDWARD ATKIN,

G. B. M. COORE, } *Hon. Secretaries.*

LONDON, *May 12th*, 1893.

THE ANGLO-ARMENIAN ASSOCIATION.

THE Committee earnestly appeals for funds to enable it to continue its difficult work on behalf of the oppressed and imprisoned Christians in Asiatic Turkey, whose continued sufferings and failure to obtain protection and justice are an outrage on humanity and a disgrace to civilisation.

CHARLES E. SCHWANN, M.P.,
House of Commons, S.W.

PETRUS AGANOR,
5, St. Peter's Alley,
Cornhill, E.C.

} *Hon.*
} *Treasurers.*

IX.—BANQUET TO MR. BRYCE.—FULL AND SPECIAL REPORT.

Ox Friday, May 12th, 1893, the members of the Anglo-Armenian Association entertained the Right Hon. James Bryce, M.P., at dinner at the Criterion, Piccadilly, on the occasion of his retirement from the Presidency of the Association. Mr. F. S. Stevenson, M.P., occupied the chair, and Dr. J. A. Calantarients the vice-chair.

Fifty-seven gentlemen assembled to do honour to the guest of the evening, including M. Iskender (President of the Armenian Patriotic Committee of Paris), the Right Hon. J. Stansfeld, M.P., Sir John Kennaway, Bart., M.P., Mr. Woodall, M.P. (Financial Secretary, War Office), Sir Hugh Gilzean Reid, Mr. Schwann, M.P., Mr. F. A. Channing, M.P., Mr. Paulton, M.P., Mr. Griffith-Boscawen, M.P., Mr. Swift MacNeill, M.P., Mr. Alfred Webb, M.P., Mr. O'Driscoll, M.P., Canon MacColl, Mr. Wemyss Reid, of the *Speaker*, Mr. P. W. Clayden, of the *Daily News*, Mr. Barry O'Brien, Mr. G. Hagopian, Prof. Tchéraz, Mr. F. W. Sherwood, Dr. Handl, Mr. Evans Williams, Signor Valera, Dr. Stepanian, Mr. Petrus Aganoor, Rev. Philip Fletcher, Mr. Michel J. Paul, Rev. A. S. Dyer, Rev. Haik Yardoumian, Mr. J. H. Levy, Mr. J. A. Price, Mr. E. Vincent Evans, Rev. G. Hartwell Jones, Mr. Theobald Mathew, Mr. E. T. Slater, and the Honorary Secretaries. Several Armenian gentlemen present desired that their names should not be published.

Letters regretting inability to attend, many of which contained strong expressions of sympathy with the Armenian cause, had been received from the Archbishop of Canterbury, Cardinal Vaughan, the Dukes of Westminster and Argyll, the Marquesses of Bath and Bristol, the late Earl of Derby—written by himself only a fortnight before his death—the Earls of Carlisle and Kimberley, the Bishops of Manchester and Salisbury, Lords Carrington, Compton, and Battersea, the Chargé d'Affaires United States Embassy, Sir Edward Grey, M.P., Mr. Childers, M.P., Mr. Mundella, M.P., Sir Arthur Hayter, M.P., Mr. Herbert Gladstone, M.P., Mr. G. Leveson-Gower, M.P., Mr. Athelstan Riley, Sir J. R. Robinson (*Daily News*), Sir E. R. Russell (*Liverpool Daily Post*), Mr. C. P. Scott (*Manchester Guardian*), the Dean of St. Paul's, Mr. J. G. Talbot, M.P., Sir George Sitwell, M.P., Sir J. Joicey, M.P., Mr. Samuel Smith, M.P., Mr. W. Rathbone, M.P., Mr. D. Naoroji, M.P., Mr. Stuart Rendel, M.P., Mr. G. Armitstead, Mr. C. S. Parker, Rev. H. F. Tozer, Mr. F. C. Conybeare, Mr. Byles, M.P., the Rev. Dr. Stopford Brooke, and Monsignor Nugent.

The dinner tables were tastefully decorated with flowers contributed by the Armenian ladies residing in London, and the musical arrangements, under the direction of Herr Wilhelm Ganz, were admirable, Miss Clara Eissler (solo harp) and Herr Hasselbrink (violin) being loudly applauded.

Immediately after dinner Mrs. Bryce, Lady Stevenson, Mrs. Francis Stevenson, Mrs. Aganoor, Miss Aganoor, Mrs. Coore,

Miss Quilter, and Mrs. J. H. Levy, entered the room and occupied seats near the President, where they remained during the delivery of the speeches. Mrs. Schwann was unavoidably prevented by illness from attending.

A large bouquet of pink and white roses, grown in France, was presented to Mrs. Bryce by M. Iskender, on behalf of the Armenian ladies of Paris. Mrs. Bryce cordially thanked M. Iskender, and begged him to express her best thanks to the Paris ladies for their great kindness and courtesy in sending a bouquet so fragrant and beautiful.

The PRESIDENT, in submitting the first toast, that of "Queen and Empress," reminded those present that there were many Armenian subjects of the Queen. Amongst these were the colony of Armenians in Calcutta and the Armenian colony in Manchester. These were able to appreciate the benefits of the Government of Britain, and they might form a mental contrast with the Government of the country from which they came. (Hear, hear.)

In proposing the toast of the guest of the evening, Mr. STEVENSON said:—The object of the present dinner and meeting of the Association is to celebrate the services that have been rendered to the Armenian cause by Mr. Bryce, who was our first President, but who was obliged, for reasons which we can all understand, to resign the Presidency at a time when he became a member of the present Government as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. His services to the cause are appreciated by all here, but by none are they more appreciated than by the Armenians themselves. (Hear, hear.) Looking back over the history of the last half dozen years, we can see that there has been a growing interest taken in the land of Armenia. I think the first English traveller who mentions Armenia is Mandeville, who lived in the time of Chaucer; he went as far as Mount Ararat; he did not make the ascent himself, but he says he met two Monks who had been up to the top and who were bringing back some of the boards of the Ark. Mr. Bryce was, I think, the first Englishman who really made the ascent of that mountain, and he is certainly, among eminent living Englishmen, the one who has taken the longest continued interest in the welfare of the people of Armenia. (Hear, hear.) At no time has the interest in Armenia been more observable than it has been of late, but we have had occurring during the last few months events which ought to excite a greater amount of attention, not only among the Armenians and their friends, but also among all those Powers which have incurred responsibility under Article 61 of the Treaty of Berlin. Especially ought those events to come closely home to the people of this country because we have entailed upon ourselves further responsibilities under the Cyprus Convention of 1878. The

events to which I refer have formed the subject of very earnest discussions, they are matters which are known to most of us, and, without going into them at present, I think I cannot do better than call your attention to the little pamphlet now before you which shows what has been going on in certain vilayets in Asia Minor, and the representations that have from time to time been made upon the subject. I would also call your special attention to that part of the pamphlet which contains the Memorandum drawn up, a good many years ago, by Nubar Pasha. In that Memorandum he gives an account of the methods by which he thinks the reforms which ought to be carried out may best be effected. You will also see that the objects which the Armenian has most at heart are objects about which the warmest friends of the Sultan himself need have least apprehension, because they are reforms which, if they were carried out in the fulness with which the signatory Powers of the Berlin Treaty desired they should be carried out, would form a very powerful bulwark against foreign enemies. If their just demands were met it would give the Armenian element in the Ottoman Empire a very considerable share, of which they are now deprived, in the management of the destinies of their own country. The Armenians have proved their capacity in the political as well as in the commercial walks of life; they have shown that capacity in Egypt, in India, and even in Constantinople itself; but as far as their own country is concerned their wishes and aspirations have never been taken into account. We in this country, and especially those from Lancashire, know full well that there is no body of men more capable and earnest in their endeavour to advance the cause of civilization in the medium by which they are surrounded in their native land, and which, not to use any offensive term, is certainly not of a civilized character. I now propose the toast of "The ex-President of the Anglo-Armenian Association."

Mr. HAGOPIAN, in seconding the toast, said:—I cordially agree with every word which has fallen from our respected President. The toast is the ex-President; but before he was President he had a long list of services to the cause which, I think, ought to be enumerated, and which will probably occur to his own mind when he goes over what he has done in connection with the Armenian question. Some writers think this question owes its origin to the Berlin Treaty and the Cyprus Convention, but that is not so. Long before the Treaty of Berlin was signed, efforts were made in London to bring the condition of the Armenians before the attention of the Government of this country and to the notice of the public. In our early endeavours in this direction we came into contact with the Eastern Question Association, of which Mr. Bryce was a member, and also a member of the Executive Council. That Association was formed at the National Conference at

St. James's Hall on the 8th of December, 1876, for the purpose of watching events in the East, giving expression to public opinion, and spreading useful information. Among the Hon. Secretaries were the late Mr. F. W. Chesson, a most kind and valued friend of Armenia, and Mr. J. W. Probyn, who wrote an article entitled "Armenia and the Lebanon." Some Armenian political writers suppose that the cause of Armenia, known afterwards as the Armenian Question, was first made known in Europe by the Armenian deputation which visited the Foreign Offices of the great Powers in 1878, and afterwards went to submit certain demands to the Berlin Congress. The facts are otherwise. While the Armenian Question owes its primary origin to the misgovernment of the Sublime Porte, and the desire of the Armenians to escape from Moslem selfishness, bigotry, and corruption, its international character as a question which claims solution at the hands of the foreign Powers, and, above all, by the initiative and wisdom of Her Majesty's Government, is due to the efforts first of the Secretary to the Committee of Armenian residents in London formed in 1876; secondly, to the efforts of the friends and converts which they made mostly from among the members of the Eastern Question Association; and, thirdly, to the illustrious Patriarch Nerses and the leading Armenians of Constantinople and elsewhere acting with him in 1878.

The burning question of the day in 1876 was Bulgaria, and behind Bulgaria, Bosnia and Herzegovina. The condition of the Christians in Asia Minor, it was stated, was not a subject which concerned European politics. Armenia was not in Europe. Those who made this objection forgot the Treaty of Paris of 1856 and the Hatti-Houmayoun. In the meantime the Armenian Patriarchate at Constantinople had been trying very hard to obtain relief from the Sublime Porte, and there was much excitement among my countrymen both at Constantinople and in the provinces. The Porte did not admit their claims, and their voice was not loud enough to reach as far as England, and the Foreign Office of the day was beating time for the Turks. Military and aristocratic prejudice in England was in favour of the Turks, and *against* the Christians. (Hear, hear.) Our first steps had been to translate, print, and circulate the two official reports on Provincial oppressions issued by the Armenian National Assembly in 1872 and 1876, then to print and forward to the Courts of Europe an appeal we received from Constantinople, and to which Mr. S. Apar, the president of the Committee of Armenian residents in London, gave his name. Our next attempt was to circulate at the meeting in St. James's Hall on the 8th of December, 1876, a direct appeal from the Armenians. This appeal, with a memorial from the Committee of Armenian residents in London, which for the first time formulated the demands of the Armenians explicitly, was published along with the proceedings

of the National Conference on the 8th and 9th December, 1876. The appeal itself, of which we had 2,000 copies printed, was distributed separately under the *imprimatur* of the Eastern Question Association. In the drafting of this memorial or address I received the valuable help of our distinguished guest, who was then and still is the Regius Professor of Civil Law in the University of Oxford. From that hour, which I well remember, I have been in friendly relations with our guest. I had no secrets from a man of Mr. Bryce's eminence, great learning, and experience (hear, hear), and he warmly took up our cause by pen, by speech, and by personal work. (Applause.)

If the Armenian cause made progress in circles beyond our immediate reach in England, if it expanded and made progress among the select spirits of this great country, it was in good part due to Mr. Bryce's unwearied efforts. (Hear, hear.) One of his greatest feats was to organise the meeting at the Jerusalem Chamber in Westminster Abbey, under the presidency of Dean Stanley, on July 1st, 1878. We had powerful speeches not only from Dean Stanley, but from Lord Shaftesbury, Lord Carnarvon and Sir John Kennaway, in the presence of the members of the Armenian community in England, all of whom attended and supported our national cry for justice and for protection. I must not forget the conversation Mr. Bryce gave at his house in Norfolk Square in 1877; nor his visit to Armenia and his ascent of Mount Ararat; nor his book on the Caucasus; nor his visit to Constantinople in 1881, when Mr. Goschen was acting as special Ambassador. When he entered Parliament in 1880 we looked upon him in a particular degree as member for Armenia also, for no man need be ashamed in espousing a just cause, and in advocating it by true and honourable methods. (Applause.) Every Armenian of any note who visited London made it a point of waiting upon Mr. Bryce, and often I had to furnish them with his address, such was the gratitude and affection which he evoked in their hearts that they were not satisfied until they saw his face. (Great applause.) Gentlemen, the Armenians are passing through very critical times; the area of the national discontent is extending and assuming great dimensions. The Sublime Porte is taking unjustifiable steps to stem the torrent; it is calling into play very questionable means of suppression; but we are confident of ultimate success, thanks to the justice of our cause and to a better knowledge of the issues of our countrymen, and secondly, thanks to the valuable assistance in Parliament and out of Parliament which the noble imitators of our guest are giving us. Coupling with this toast the name of our honoured guest, I will say, in the words of one of the greatest of England's poets, Tennyson, that—

“Great deeds cannot die;

“They with the sun and moon renew their light

“For ever blessing those that look on them.”

Gentlemen, let us rise and drink Mr. Bryce's health with affection and enthusiasm. May God reward him with every blessing. (Great applause.)

The PRESIDENT, continuing, said:—I have now much pleasure in asking our friends Dr. Calantarients and Mr. Michel Paul to perform, on behalf of all of us, the pleasant duty of making a presentation to Mr. Bryce.

Dr. CALANTARIENTS advanced towards the centre of the room and said:—

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—I feel it a great honour that I am called upon by the members of the Anglo-Armenian Association, and the Armenian Patriotic Committee of Paris, to make this presentation to the Right Honourable James Bryce, on the occasion of his retirement from the Presidency of the Anglo-Armenian Association.

As an Armenian I am proud to be on this occasion the exponent of the high esteem and appreciation which the whole Armenian nation feels toward him.

To you, Mr. Bryce, I may at once briefly address myself. I cannot too fully assure you how grateful all Armenians are to you for the great sympathy you have expressed towards them in your book, "Transcaucasia and Ararat," which you published, after making the ascent of Mount Ararat in 1876. Since then you have shown us more and more sympathy by publishing articles favourable to us and our cause, by forming associations with the object of furthering our interests, and after your election to Parliament by making numerous speeches in the House of Commons in our defence.

Now that you have become a Cabinet Minister, we are proud that we have in you a champion so highly placed, and are confident that you will continue to extend to us your sympathy and support.

The members of the Anglo-Armenian Association—a Society which owes its origin to you, sir—and the Armenians of Paris, wishing to mark their appreciation of the great services you have rendered to the cause which they all have at heart, the cause of the oppressed Armenian, as well as other Oriental Christians in Asiatic Turkey, embrace with the greatest pleasure the present opportunity of acknowledging, in a material form, the great kindness you have so long manifested to them, and of which they are warmly sensible.

I would, sir, that it had fallen into abler hands than mine to discharge the duty now devolving upon me, and that is to present to you, on behalf of the Association, this testimonial of their profoundly-grateful esteem and regard.

We trust, sir, that you may live to continue your philanthropic efforts until they result in the fruition that we daily pray for; and that your labours, not only for us but for

all communities with which you are associated, may be blessed with the results of peace and justice, prosperity and happiness.

I now ask you, sir, to accept as our offering this cup, and may it long serve to remind you of the grateful appreciation of the givers, in whose interests you have so nobly and so disinterestedly laboured. (Loud applause.)

Mr. M. J. PAUL also begged Mr. Bryce to accept a silver inkstand as a small token of esteem from the Committee and Officers of the Anglo-Armenian Association.

Mr. TCHÉRAZ here presented to Mr. Bryce an address of congratulation and thanks from the Philharmonic Association in the United States.

The Right Honourable JAMES BRYCE, who was received with loud and prolonged cheers, said:—Mr. Stevenson, ladies and gentlemen, my first duty is to thank you very heartily for the way in which you have received the toast which has been spoken to by the President and Mr. Hagopian. My next duty is to tender to Dr. Calantarients and Mr. Paul my warmest thanks for the very beautiful cup and inkstand which they have presented to me on behalf of their fellow-countrymen and the Officers and members of this Association. I must say that the terms in which you have spoken of what I have been able to do are quite in excess of any credit that can be thought to belong to me. These gifts come to me quite unexpectedly, and I should like to ask you, Dr. Calantarients, and you, Mr. Paul, to convey to all the friends who have joined you in the gift my deep appreciation of the spirit and of the far more than adequate recognition of my efforts which have prompted you in making this presentation. I will also ask Mr. Tchéraz to convey to the Armenian colony in the United States, many of whom I know, my thanks for the address which he has been so good as to present in their behalf. I am so well known to most of the Armenian community present that they will believe me when I say that I feel deeply regretful at not having been able to do far more in behalf of the Armenian cause—a cause which it has been not only a duty but an honour and a privilege to have the charge of. I have often wished that the advocacy of that cause in the House of Commons could have fallen to some one who had been able to give more weight to it, and who would have been better able than myself to make the somewhat listless hearers we have in the House of Commons, who are apt lightly to regard a question which seems to them not at the moment a burning one, to comprehend the gravity of the facts which I had to bring before them, to feel the quantity of human misery which is represented by the telegrams from the Asiatic Provinces we read in the newspapers, and to appreciate the large issues for the future which depend upon the solution of the Eastern Question. I have done much less than I wished

to accomplish, and I can only say in my own behalf that at any rate from the time that I returned from Armenia in 1876, and from the time that I first entered into communications with Mr. Hagopian and Mr. Tchéraz in 1876 and 1877, I have always desired to do the utmost I could, because I felt that every possible effort ought to be exerted in so holy a cause. (Hear, hear.) I greatly regretted the necessity laid upon me when I entered the present Ministry of retiring from the active work of this Association, but that regret was not only diminished but in one sense entirely removed by the feeling that I was leaving the work, and particularly the Parliamentary work, in such competent hands as those of Mr. Stevenson. (Hear, hear). I am sure that he will retain the true and steady policy of the English friends of Armenia, that he will endeavour to interest Englishmen in the cause of this suffering people, and will at the same time seek to deter the younger and more impatient spirits from any revolutionary attempts, warning them that, however warm their patriotic feelings may be, they ought not to engage in attempts which cannot hope for success, and may involve their defenceless fellow-countrymen in terrible dangers.

During the last two or three years the interest in this question has become, partly owing to the atrocities of Moussa Bey, and the behaviour of the Turks in screening him, fresher and stronger than it was; and in that connection I must not omit to mention the efforts of Mrs. Bishop (hear, hear), nor must I overlook the accession of energetic young sympathisers such as those who joined in founding this Association, and particularly the two gentlemen who now give their services to the Association as Secretaries—I mean Mr. Atkin and Mr. Coore. (Hear, hear.) These are signs of the way in which this question is laying hold of the humane and enlightened minds in England. You will doubtless expect me to take this opportunity of saying a few words upon the present position of the Armenian Question, but if I do speak I must speak shortly and guardedly. The moment is one for caution and reserve, because there have been lately some troubles in Asia Minor over and above the perpetual Kurdish depredations and the familiar administrative exactions which make up the dismal record of suffering so long familiar to us all.

In the town of Marsovan a number of persons, most at least whom we believe to be unjustly and groundlessly accused, have been thrown into prison, many of them upon trumped-up charges, and anything said indiscreetly here, and anything capable of being distorted in its passage from here to Constantinople, might be the occasion of doing much to injure innocent men. We have great reserve imposed upon us at this moment because you know what Asiatic tribunals are, and the spirit of vindictiveness which unfortunately reigns amongst those in whose power these unhappy prisoners are placed. I

will, therefore, say only this, that if you are disappointed, and if in any special manner your fellow-countrymen in Armenia are disappointed that more has not been done by Great Britain to ameliorate the condition of the Armenians, and especially to carry out the 61st Article of the Treaty of Berlin, you must remember that our difficulties have been very great. We have never in England made this a question of party politics, and my friend and fellow worker Sir John Kennaway will bear me out in saying that I have never dealt with it in Parliament as a matter of accusation against the party he belongs to when they were in power. British Governments have had two great difficulties to contend with. In the first place the scenes of the outrages and oppressions lie very far removed from the routes of Western travel and commerce and from the field of Western observation. Britain has comparatively few Consuls scattered through those countries, the distances are so great, and the inner territory so difficult of access from the coast that it is not easy for us, as primarily a sea Power, to bring any practical action to bear upon it. But there is another difficulty. The Treaty of Berlin was the joint work of the six great European Powers, and the observance of its provisions was placed under the joint protection of those Powers. If those Powers could be induced to join in addressing stringent notes to the Turks, demanding the execution of those provisions, there can be no doubt that the Turks would give way. But the jealousy of some Powers, what one must call the selfishness of some and the apathy of others, have proved to be obstacles, hitherto practically insurmountable, in the way of obtaining a united representation. You doubtless know that the British Government has more than once done its best in this matter. It has repeatedly called the attention of the Porte to the disasters that must eventually befall the Turkish Government itself through the distracted condition of the country. It has constantly interfered on behalf of persons who were brought to its notice as being sufferers and the victims of oppression. It has again and again interposed in cases of cruelty and the failure of justice, but owing to the fact that our Government has had very partial and very intermittent support, and very often no support at all, from the other Powers of Europe, its efforts have not had the success that could be wished for. Those are the main difficulties we have had to contend with, but I do not think they ought to discourage us, or prevent every British Government from exerting itself to carry out the duties to which we bound ourselves in 1878, both by the Treaty of Berlin and by the Anglo-Turkish Convention. There is little doubt but that the best thing to do would be to form Armenia into an autonomous province, with a Constitution resembling that which has worked well in the Lebanon. (Loud cheers.) Over this province a Governor-General should be appointed, with the consent of the Powers, and under his

control should be placed an efficient gendarmerie. A certain portion of the taxes of this area should be set aside for the purpose of making and keeping up the roads and other necessary public works, as well as for the payment of the police and the judicial staff; and everything that can be done should be done to make secure the life and property of the individual, together with the maintenance of perfect equality and freedom in religious matters. If such a plan were carried out it would enable an industrious population to abound and flourish. But we know, from the failure of repeated representations and attempts, that there is little hope of such a scheme being conceded. The next best thing to do would be to obtain the appointment of a strong and honest Governor, giving him a certain amount of discretion and allowing him to retain his office for a certain fixed number of years. There are some good men in the Turkish service, and when it does happen that a really good Vali is sent to a province the improvement is so marked that we can easily see that if he were allowed to remain there the condition of the vilayet would soon come to be a model to its neighbours. Unfortunately, the traditional rule at Constantinople is to allow Governors only a short term of office in the same province, and sometimes I am afraid the best men are the soonest recalled because they are the very men who screw the least out of the people. (Hear, hear.) It would not be right to present this as a question between Mohammedans and Christians, for although it is only natural that the Christians should be, as they are, the greatest sufferers from misgovernment, because they suffer on account of their religion as well as in all other respects, yet the Mohammedan peasant suffers also, and I should consider any reform introduced and established in which we could not include and improve the condition of the Mohammedan population also, as an imperfect reform. More than this it might not be prudent or right to say now, nor shall I venture to touch upon that burning question of the moment to which Mr. Hagopian made a reference. I will rather ask you for a short time to call your minds away from the political to the historical aspects of the question. In regarding the Armenian people, whose cause brings us here to-night, from the point of view of their great antiquity as a nation, we must feel that they have had a remarkable history. The inhabitants of Western Asia were amongst the first races of the world to acquire civilisation, and we are occupied there to-day in examining the ruins of their ancient cities, and in deciphering the remains of the native inscriptions in tongues long since extinct, which are the only surviving contemporary records of the nations which flourished between the Euxine, the Eastern Mediterranean, and the Persian Gulf. From early times onwards the Armenians were conspicuous among these populations; they showed a marked aptitude for war and for culture, and in the century before the Christian era their King

Tigranes was at the head of a wide and formidable empire. (Hear, hear.) The old kingdoms of Asia Minor became by degrees absorbed in the empire of Rome, the various nations and their languages died out, and at last everybody in Asia Minor called himself a Roman. But in the region further to the north-east, around Mount Ararat or Massis, there remained a people who were never quite absorbed in the Roman Empire. They retained their national character, their language, their literature and, after they had become Christians, their special form of Christianity. Lying on the confines of two great empires, having the Romans on one side of them and the Parthians and, afterwards, the Persians on the other, they inclined sometimes to the one and sometimes to the other side, maintaining a precarious independence between the two, and using each to support them against the other. This people was the Armenian, and one of the causes which enabled them to remain a distinct people was their adoption, in the fourth century of the Christian era under the teaching of St. Gregory the Illuminator, of the Christian faith, which became the national faith of the whole race. Owing to their non-acceptance of the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon, in the fifth century, they, as a Church, became separated from the rest of the Eastern Church, though they have never committed themselves to any heretical doctrine. They remain a peculiar religious community to this day, and in the East, where races are singularly mixed together without being amalgamated, religion binds men together in a nationality even more than blood and language. By this remarkable combination of political and ecclesiastical circumstances, the Armenians continue, scattered as they now are, to form a distinct national type. They are a strong race, not only with vigorous nerves and sinews, physically active and energetic, but also of conspicuous brain power. Thus they have held a very important place among the inhabitants of Western Asia ever since the sixth century, and if you look into the annals of the East Roman or Byzantine Empire, you will find that most of the men who rose to eminence in its service as generals or statesmen during the early middle ages were of Armenian stock. So was it also after the establishment of the Turkish dominion in Europe. Many of the ablest men in the Turkish service have been, many are to-day Armenian by birth or extraction. The same remark is true with regard to the Russian service. No more need be said to show the strength and vitality of a race than that it has thus maintained till now, through so many centuries of oppression, its distinctive features in character and intellect, as well as in physical structure. Nor has it ever lost its culture. It has a literature of considerable extent and merit dating from the fifth and sixth centuries, and within the last few decades there has been a remarkable revival both in the use of the native tongue and in the quantity and quality of the literary composition. Meanwhile, the territories inhabited by

the old neighbouring races of Asia Minor and no small part of Armenia itself have become practically desolate. The ancient cities lie in ruins, the roads are neglected, the aqueducts are broken and useless, comparatively little is raised in the way of agricultural products, the mines are unworked, and little commerce visits the shrunken towns and poverty-stricken villages. Yet it is not to be expected that these countries, naturally fertile, naturally rich in minerals, and naturally capable of sustaining a large and industrious population, will always remain in their present state of melancholy, loneliness, and misery. There can be little doubt that, as the Old World gets to be more crowded, when emigration to the New World has slackened and communications with the interior begin to be opened up by the construction of railways, as capital begins to look for profitable occupation in the East no less than in the West, these countries will be re-peopled and have a chance of recovering their former prosperity. It is only misgovernment and the insecurity which misgovernment produces that now prevent progress; when a better administration has been established, peace will follow with productive industry and commerce in her train. What race will then be called on to diffuse itself over and restore prosperity to these regions of Western Asia? I venture to believe that it will be that one among the native races which is at once the most intelligent and the most industrious, and which has best shown that it possesses the qualities of vitality. This is the Armenian race. They are native to the soil, they are best fitted to thrive upon it, and there can be no doubt that if the Armenians can survive their present sufferings and continue the rapid advance they have made in education and, in a sense, of national unity, then some day, when a better administration is afforded to these regions, the Armenian people will again become the dominant people (hear, hear), because among all those who dwell in Western Asia they stand first, with a capacity for intellectual and moral progress as well as with a natural tenacity of will and purpose beyond that of all their neighbours, not merely of Turks, Tatars, Kurds, Tcherkesses, and Persians, but also of Russians. May not we Englishmen who have exerted so great an influence by conquest, commerce, and diplomacy upon the shaping of the destinies of the world find in this forecast of the future an additional reason why we should take our part in endeavouring to help the Armenian people and save them for their future work to which Providence may eventually call them? And is it too much to say to our Armenian friends themselves that in this prospect of a brighter future and in the sense that they are working towards it, they may find some consolation for the gloom of their present lot? They will, I trust, find consolation not only in the sympathy which all enlightened and humane men in Western Europe extend to them, not only in the affection which binds to their Fatherland the emigrant Armenians scattered through

Bulgaria, Hungary, France, England, India, and the United States, but also in the thought that to them has been committed the sacred flame of national life which, though it has often flickered low and seemed near extinction, has survived until now all the perils that have surrounded it, and is, as we gladly believe, destined some day to shine forth anew with more than its pristine radiance in these now darkly-shadowed lands. (Loud cheers.)

The PRESIDENT, speaking in French, then proposed the toast of "The Paris Committee," coupling with it the name of Monsieur Iskender, who had come over specially from Paris to attend the dinner.

M. ISKENDER replied in the following terms:—

Très honorable M. Bryce. M. le président, Mesdames et Messieurs,—Avant tout, je dois remercier M. le président pour les paroles aimables et bienveillantes qu'il vient de prononcer à l'adresse de l'Association Patriotique Arménienne de Paris et pour moi-même. Il est vrai que le Comité de Paris n'a pas joué jusqu'à présent un rôle bien marqué, et qu'il s'est contenté de rester dans une sphère plutôt modeste et effacée. Mais je dois ajouter que la raison n'en est pas seulement en nous-mêmes, mais parce que nous évoluons sur un terrain actuellement trop ingrat. Je veux dire que, malgré les quelques vraies sympathies que nous rencontrons parfois auprès de beaucoup d'éminents personnages français pour la cause des Arméniens, cependant la tendance politique marquée du gouvernement français étant de rester *quand même* ami avec les Turcs, il nous est presque impossible d'essayer un vrai mouvement politique en faveur de notre cause, et nous sommes certains que toutes les manifestations privées resteront fatalement platoniques pour quelque temps. Je ne veux pas m'appesantir ici davantage sur ce sujet. Je m'empresse cependant de vous assurer que le Comité Patriotique de Paris fera de son côté tout son possible pour augmenter en France le cercle des sympathies à la cause arménienne.

Je dois maintenant remercier M. le président pour une autre raison aussi, pour une raison toute personnelle: C'est d'avoir bien voulu m'adresser la parole en français et d'avoir ainsi un peu facilité ma tâche, car j'allais justement requérir votre indulgence de prendre ici la parole dans une langue étrangère. Malheureusement, je connais très médiocrement l'anglais; je craindrais fort de blesser cruellement, avec mon détestable accent, la délicatesse de vos oreilles, et je m'exposerais en même temps, peut-être, à être moins bien compris qu'en vous parlant en français. Mais même dans cette langue, dont j'ai un peu plus l'habitude, il serait cependant encore bien téméraire pour moi, un inconnu, de vouloir prendre la parole devant une si auguste assemblée, au milieu de tant d'hommes

éminents ; et certes j'aurais décliné cet honneur, s'il n'était de mon devoir, si je n'avais à cœur de vous dire combien cette manifestation en l'honneur de l'hon. James Bryce a trouvé de sympathie et de chaleureux accueil auprès des membres de l'Association Patriotique Arménienne de Paris, dont j'ai l'honneur d'être ici le représentant.

Le nom de M. Bryce est spécialement sympathique et cher aux Arméniens de tous les pays et à ceux de Paris en particulier. En effet, nous nous souvenons avec une grande reconnaissance que l'hon. M. Bryce est un philarmène des plus distingués, des plus sincères et des plus dévoués, et qu'au milieu de ses occupations politiques et de ses travaux littéraires, il a bien voulu consacrer un temps précieux à l'étude approfondie de la question arménienne. Nous n'ignorons pas non plus que les malheurs, qui ont fondu sur la nation arménienne, ont profondément touché son cœur généreux, et qu'une sympathie spontanée en est née chez lui pour notre infortunée nation, en faveur de laquelle il a toujours et depuis longtemps vaillamment combattu, en mettant à contribution son cœur et son talent, sa plume et sa parole autorisées.

Nous aimons à nous rappeler, en outre, que M. Bryce ne s'est pas contenté d'étudier à fond la question arménienne et les moyens les plus pratiques de la résoudre, mais que son élan et sa sympathie pour cette cause l'ont porté à vouloir connaître de plus près les Arméniens, leur pays et leurs mœurs, et qu'à cet effet il a entrepris ce long et pénible voyage en Arménie, dans ces contrées ingrates, que le manque de routes et de communications, la mauvaise volonté des autorités et la présence de hordes nomades et pillardes rendent toujours si difficile, et parfois même périlleux, à parcourir. Et qui de nous pourra jamais oublier cette mémorable ascension, pleine de péripéties, qu'il fit sur le sommet majestueux du légendaire Mont Ararat, qui berça jadis sur ses flancs l'Arche de Nœe, ce vrai berceau de l'humanité renaissante ?

Nous lui sommes encore tout particulièrement reconnaissants d'avoir pris l'initiative et d'avoir créé cette Association Anglo-Arménienne, et d'y avoir groupé une élite de personnages éminents anglais et des membres influents et distingués du Parlement britannique. A nos yeux, c'est donc à l'hon. M. Bryce que revient en grande partie le mérite d'avoir attiré, sur la question arménienne, l'attention et la bienveillante sympathie de l'Angleterre, qui paraît aujourd'hui toute disposée à tendre une main secourable à notre malheureuse nation. Du reste, ce ne serait pas un fait nouveau dans les annales de la puissante et généreuse nation anglaise de mettre son prestige et son autorité au profit d'une petite nation telle que la nôtre. L'histoire moderne des Grecs et des Bulgares en témoigne amplement. Aussi, cette Association Anglo-Arménienne, dont l'hon. M. Bryce a été le promoteur et l'éminent président, nous aimons à la considérer comme devant être un jour la planche

de salut de la malheureuse Arménie, la barrière contre laquelle viendra se briser la fureur déchaînée du fanatisme ottoman.

A cette occasion, qu'il me soit permis d'ajouter ici un humble mot de profonde reconnaissance et de sincère vénération à l'adresse de ce magnanime et auguste vieillard qui dirige aujourd'hui les destinées de l'Angleterre, et qui, malgré un âge avancé, mais plein d'un courage et d'une énergie que les plus jeunes lui envient, malgré ses multiples et hautes occupations politiques, malgré les grands soucis créés par tant de questions, aussi graves que compliquées, afférentes à un aussi vaste gouvernement, trouve cependant, dans son grand cœur et dans sa vaste pensée, un coin à réserver à la cause de l'Arménie, et témoigne d'une sollicitude presque paternelle pour la situation misérable des Arméniens. Et d'ailleurs, comment en aurait-il pu être autrement? Lui qui, pour une nation sœur, même gouvernée par la généreuse Angleterre, même administrée par un gouvernement de justice et de probité, admet cependant son droit à de certaines prérogatives spéciales et à des privilèges nationaux, comment, dis-je, un homme pareil ne nourrirait-il pas des sentiments de sympathie, de pitié et de miséricorde envers une nation cruellement opprimée, persécutée, et tyrannisée par des maîtres aussi farouches qu'hypocrites, administrée en dépit de toute justice, assujettie à toutes sortes de vexations, pressurée et spoliée par des fonctionnaires avides et sans scrupule, volée, pillée et saccagée par des hordes barbares et sanguinaires; envers une nation, enfin, qui est martyrisée comme jamais peuple conquis ne l'a été jusqu'à ce jour? Comment le spectacle désolant et horrible de tant de villages incendiés, de tant d'églises profanées, de tant d'innocents assassinés, de tant de femmes violées, de tant de filles déshonorées, ne soulèverait-il pas de dégoût son cœur magnanime, ne remplirait-il pas d'indignation son âme élevée; et comment résisterait-il au désir de faire mettre un terme à tant d'iniquités et à tant de crimes? Comment hésiterait-il encore plus longtemps à poursuivre plus vigoureusement la cause du droit et de la justice, la cause de l'humanité outragée? Aussi aimons-nous à espérer fermement que la main aussi puissante que bienfaisante qu'il a promis de nous tendre, contribuera à nous relever efficacement de cette triste situation; qu'elle servira bientôt à panser nos plaies et nos blessures, et que grâce à ce grand homme l'Arménie agonisante pourra renaître à la vie. Et son nom restera à jamais béni et vénéré par les Arméniens.

Mesdames et messieurs, je crains d'avoir mis trop longtemps à l'épreuve votre bienveillance et votre indulgence; je me hâte donc de porter mon toast.

Je bois à l'hon. M. Bryce, à l'ex-président de l'Association Anglo-Arménienne, et je lui souhaite longue vie et prospérité. J'accompagne ce toast par ce vœu, que, malgré la haute position à laquelle l'ont appelé sa grande capacité et ses éminentes

qualités, il veuille continuer à garder sa bienveillante et active sympathie envers la cause arménienne, et qu'il lui plaise de guider et d'aider de ses hauts et sages conseils cette Association Anglo-Arménienne, qui est son œuvre, pour le bien et le bonheur de la malheureuse Arménie.

Mr. PETRUS AGANOR, of the Island of Java, in proposing the toast of "The Friends of Armenia," said:—As an Armenian I take this opportunity of thanking publicly the many friends of our cause for all their sympathy and kindness. It has been sometimes said that exaggeration has had a share in the reports which have reached Europe of the atrocities and cruelties our people have been made to suffer, but let me assure you here to-night, as one who has known the facts, that the accounts of violence and bloodshed furnished by the English Press, so far from being overdrawn are sometimes even under-stated, and many of our wrongs have never had an echo here. But, gentlemen, my brethren are cheered with one hope still. They confidently trust that Her Majesty's Government will one day listen to their cries for help—for that help which we believe would have been granted us had our country occupied a place on the map of Europe. Had Armenia been situated in Europe instead of in Western Asia she would not now be pleading for protection and for justice. I pray that you will still continue to extend to us your generous support in Parliament, in the Press, and in literature, and I beg to direct your kind attention to the pamphlet, "The Case for the Armenians," on the table. My countrymen and I are especially grateful to the Members of Parliament who have taken so warm an interest in our cause. We offer our best thanks also to the *Daily News*, the *Speaker*, the *Liverpool Daily Post*, and the *Manchester Guardian*, for their consistent advocacy of our claims. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. SCHWANN, M.P., in replying to the toast said:—I feel great pleasure in being able to reply for the "friends of Armenia," because I have a deep sympathy with the people in the sufferings and oppressions of which they have been the victims, and I am glad to think that that sympathy is shared not only by the limited number of members of the Anglo-Armenian Association residing in London, but by the thousands of hearts which in England and other countries bleed for this suffering people. I have had many opportunities of knowing Armenians; in Manchester they form a very respected and active portion of the community, and in Calcutta, where I had the pleasure and privilege of making the acquaintance of nearly every Armenian, I can say that they occupy as good a position as they do in Manchester, and are as highly esteemed. They are, I think, the oldest colony in India, and their position as enterprising merchants forms a valuable addition to our own population in that part of the world. The Armenians in their own country form also the most industrious and hard-working portion of the

community, and I cannot imagine that any other nation would be so blind to its own interests, as the Turks seem to be at the present moment, for they do not know how to appreciate citizens of whom every other government and nation would be proud. The Circassians, who oppress and persecute the Armenians, were themselves betrayed on their entry into Armenia. The Turks promised the Circassian emigrants from Russia that they should have land and horses given them, and the use of agricultural tools, and that funds should be provided to enable them to settle; but when they reached Armenia they found that absolutely no preparations had been made to receive them, and no funds were forthcoming, and this naturally gave rise to many of the scenes of horror which have been described to us by the newspapers and the telegraph. Everything points to the necessity for the nations of Europe to express their sympathy with the Armenians, and to employ their strongest endeavours to promote a better state of things in that country. For my part I do not wonder at the Armenians turning their eyes with envy to the Danubian provinces which, mainly by the efforts of Russia, have developed into autonomous states, and where, in a most marked degree, and in a few years, they have displayed such an advance in education and enjoyed the blessings of good government. I should have thought that Turkey, if she wishes to prevent a similar intervention on the part of Russia in the affairs of Armenia, would see that her first duty is to promote the happiness and contentment of the Armenian people, for in that way she would best erect a strong bulwark against the attacks of Russia. The Porte, it is often said, has not the power to put down the Kurds and Circassians, but we all remember that in the Russo-Turkish War Turkey came within an ace of beating Russia, and there is little doubt that if she had the will to introduce reforms into Armenia she would certainly be able to send troops there to reduce the Kurds and protect the Armenians, and to establish law and order. The Armenians do not ask for heroic measures of reform, nor do they make great demands. They ask only for protection for their lives and their property, and for the honour of their families. It is a great pleasure to us to know that in the British Government of to-day the Armenians have so good a friend as Mr. Bryce. (Hear, hear.) England in the past has not been without authority in Turkey, for Mr. Clifford Lloyd, writing in 1890, said that out of six measures for Armenia which he had demanded through Sir William White, four had been granted. If Sir Clare Ford would show the same energy and spirit which were displayed by our former Ambassadors in the East (the "Great Eltchi," Sir W. White, and others), we might certainly hope to see the dawn of brighter days and of better things for the Armenians in Asia Minor, for I am sure that all who have read the terrible scenes which have taken

place there will join with me in wishing that a happier and brighter era may speedily dawn on distressed Armenia. (Hear, hear.)

Sir JOHN KENNAWAY, M.P., who was most cordially received, said:—I am very proud on this occasion of being able to respond to the toast of the friends of Armenia, and I feel it a privilege to be able to come here and show that in her days of adversity Armenia is not forgotten. A friend is one who standeth by another in adversity. We hope the evil days will not be long, and we hope that the better days will soon dawn when all these troubles and oppressions will pass away. This is one of the occasions on which it is pleasing for men of both parties to be together. (Hear, hear.) However much we may agree to differ on other matters, we are at all events at one in fighting the cause of the persecuted, unprotected, and oppressed, a cause which England has always made her own, whether in behalf of slaves or of oppressed nationalities, and we earnestly hope that the small encouragement which we give by our presence here to-night will enable all Armenians, and the friends of Armenia, to unite together with one mind and one will in the hope of speedily bringing about a better state of things. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. CLAYDEN, of the *Daily News*, also replied. He said:—I feel very proud to be associated with this toast, and to be regarded as one of the many friends of Armenia in England. I thank Mr. Aganoor very much for the kind way in which he has referred to the Journal with which I have the honour to be connected. I have been connected with that Journal for a good many years, and I can truly say that during the whole of that time and during all its previous history, every cry for liberty that has escaped from an oppressed people has been heartily responded to in its columns. I hope and believe that it will always continue to show this active sympathy with freedom and progress. (Cheers.)

The Armenian question is one in which, for the reasons given by Mr. Bryce in his admirable speech, every Englishman, and every Christian, is deeply interested. As a people of our own faith, deeply attached to their native institutions and full of the sense of nationality, the Armenians are sure of the sympathy of this country. The desire for autonomy among the rising peoples of the East has always been responded to here. It will be so in the present case. My own belief is that the clearly expressed opinion of the English people on the subject of the present troubles in Armenia will prevail, as it has always prevailed in such matters.

Every one here is acquainted with the story of the atrocities in Bulgaria and their exposure in the *Daily News*, with the public agitation which followed. The result was the founding of Bulgarian freedom; but had we been together in this hall 20 years ago dealing with the question of Bulgaria we should,

I think, have agreed that there was little chance then of the great results afterwards attained, less, indeed, than I believe there is to-day of the establishment of the liberty and nationality of Armenia. I believe that the interest taken in this question by the English people and the English press will have the same results in Armenia as they had in Bulgaria. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. GRIFFITH-BOSCAWEN, M.P., in rising to propose the toast of "The National Church of Armenia," said:—Before speaking directly to the toast, I should like to say how much I appreciate the fact that you have done me the honour to elect me a Vice-President of the Association, and in accepting that position I shall use my best endeavours to forward the interests of the Association. I may say that among the younger members of the Conservative party there is every wish to raise this question out of the sphere of party politics, and we do hope to see that the liberties of Armenia will be secured and its development made certain, without its being made one of the acrimonious questions of party strife. (Hear, hear.) This meeting is convened to honour Mr. Bryce, and though up to the present I have been able to look at him only from the opposite side of the House, yet I have long since made his acquaintance through his books, and I hope upon this question of Armenia we may find some ground of agreement in the present as we have in his writings in the past. (Hear, hear.)

With regard to the toast I may say that I have always been a strong advocate of national churches, and I do not think you can find anywhere in the world a more typical instance of a truly national church than the Church of Armenia. (Hear, hear.) We have absolute and unimpeachable evidence of the existence of this Church for nearly 16 centuries; we have some evidence of its existence for even a longer period, and we know that very early in its history it resisted foreign dictation, and it refused to accept the decree of the Council of Chalcedon because it was not represented at that Council. It preferred to keep the flame of Christianity burning in Armenia in the manner in which it believed it had been handed to its people in the earliest times. In the middle ages, when the flame of Armenian nationality flickered very low, the Church still retained the ancient faith, and there it stood as one of the outposts of Christianity resisting the inroads of the Tartar and the Persian into Turkey. What is the position of that Church now? I think that if at any time the grievances of Armenia deserved the help of Europe, surely its Church, its clergy, and its people do now. It has been persecuted quite recently, and its beloved Catholicos, Archbishop Khrimian, is at the present moment detained in Jerusalem. I have endeavoured, as Vice-President of this Association, by putting questions in the House of Commons to get the Government to take some steps towards securing the release of the Catholicos, but I regret

to say that nothing has been done by Her Majesty's Government, and he still remains detained in Jerusalem by the Turkish authorities. But I am persuaded that the publicity given to these facts in London will find an echo elsewhere in Europe. If this Association can be instrumental in effecting that release it will make one more great step in addition to what it has already done, thanks to Mr. Bryce and its present President. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. M. J. PAUL, in responding to the toast, said:—I thank you all for the kind expression of sympathy with the Church in Armenia, and I also, on behalf of all Armenians, have to thank those Members of Parliament for the efforts they have made to secure the release of the Archbishop Khrimian, our beloved Catholics, who I sincerely trust will soon be enabled to proceed to Etchmiadzin and take his seat on the throne of St. Gregory the Illuminator. (Hear, hear.)

I am extremely grateful to Mr. Boscawen for bringing to the notice of Europe the cruel treatment and indignities to which the venerable and revered Head of our Church has been subjected by the Porte.

Mr. EDWARD ATKIN, in proposing the health of "The Ladies," said:—I know that you will all join most heartily in this toast, because we owe so much to the energy and sympathy of ladies for such success as the Armenian cause has obtained in England, and in this connection I desire especially to associate the names of Mrs. Bryce, Mrs. Aganoor, Lady Stevenson, the mother of our President, Mrs. Stevenson, and the other ladies who have joined together to honour us with their presence here this evening. Steps are now being taken to found a Women's Auxiliary of the Anglo-Armenian Association. We have an active and eminent member of our own Church here this evening, who is also a very warm friend of Armenia, and I beg to couple with this toast the name of the Rev. Malcolm MacColl, Canon of Ripon. (Applause.)

The Rev. Canon MACCOLL, in returning thanks on behalf of the ladies, said:—It gives me the greatest possible pleasure to be at this banquet to-night; it has for its object a question in which I am much interested, for I have been a member of the Armenian and other committees in connection with the Eastern question, and I have perhaps done some good for the struggling nationalities in the East (hear, hear), whose wants may be best summed up under three heads, safety for property, safety for life, and safety for the honour of their women. Mr. Bryce in his speech made some remarks with which I do not quite agree. I believe that the Armenian prisoners now languishing in Turkish dungeons are likely to be benefited rather than injured by any words of warning to the Porte from this room, and especially from a member of Mr. Gladstone's Government. A celebrated statesman said some years ago that "force is no

remedy." That may be true in ordinary cases, but the only argument which comes home to the Turk is the argument of force; every other sort of argument, despatches, remonstrances, and the like are only so much waste paper when addressed to the authorities in Turkey. Ever since 1876 the Turkish Government has had a wholesome fear of British agitation, and a word of warning from a meeting of Liberals, or from a member of the Liberal Government, will impress the Sultan more than a cartload of polite despatches. For my own part I have a certain amount of sympathy even for the Sultan, because you must remember that he cannot do justice to the Armenians, or to any other of his Christian subjects, unless he is forced to do it. He is bound by the absolutely unchangeable law of his own religion which forbids a non-Mussulman to stand on an equal footing with a Mussulman, no matter what injustice he may do to the non-Mussulman. But if you bring force to bear upon the Sultan, then the same law commands him to yield to the force if any disadvantage in so doing is likely to accrue to his Empire. One of the greatest difficulties in the way of bringing this home to the Turks is their profound ignorance. I will just give you an instance of this. Last year, in Constantinople, a most eminent English barrister told me that one day a Greek called upon him and asked him to take up a brief to defend a fellow-countryman, who was then in one of the Turkish prisons. The Greek in prison was a member of a purely non-political benevolent society. They had a certain set of rules which the Committee thought it necessary to revise and reprint. A proof copy of the reprint was sent to the Greek, and because it was found in his possession the Turks charged him with being a member of a secret society, basing their charge on this motto prefixed to the rules: "Do good unto all men, especially unto them who are of the household of faith. Paulos, Gal. 6, 10." "And," said the Turk to the barrister, "this is undoubtedly a secret society, and this Paulos is the chief of it." "No," said the barrister, "he was a Christian Jew who died 18 centuries ago." "Oh, but," said the Turk, "do not you see he lives in Galata" (he was, of course, looking to the reference to Galatians), and the end of it was that the barrister had to get affidavits from three independent persons to prove that Paul was not the chief of a secret society in Constantinople. (Laughter.) This is an instance of the difficulty that arises in matters connected with strangers in Turkey. In regard to the Armenian Church, it has often struck me that we sometimes forget one very pathetic fact connected not only with the Armenians but with all the struggling nationalities in the Turkish Empire, and that is, that for more than six centuries they have willingly suffered, when by changing their religion to that of Islam they could at once put themselves on an equality with the Mussulman. They have suffered all these centuries in defence of their faith. I hope that we shall, Conservatives and Liberals alike, all find some

more effectual method of dealing with the Turks than despatches and remonstrances, and show them that unless they do something to fulfil the 61st Article of the Treaty of Berlin, they will have no case before the tribunal of Europe. We must bring it home to them that if Russia should make war upon them in Armenia, they will have no case before the European Areopagus, because they stand before that Areopagus as violators of the Treaty of Berlin. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. (now Sir) HUGH GILZEAN REID said:—I should like to say a few words in the place of my brother journalist, Dr. Wemyss Reid, who has had to leave earlier than he anticipated. He and I represent here to-night the Institute of Journalists, which numbers some three or four thousand members, and I hope and believe that this gathering will be a real help to both of us as Journalists. The speeches that have been made this evening have deeply impressed our minds; they will remain with us and help us to better understand your case and to put it before the British public. We shall go away from this gathering with a new interest in the Armenian cause, and with a stronger determination to represent and advocate in the press, and on the platform, the claims for the consolidation and material and political advancement of the Armenian people. (Hear, hear.)

I have been asked to submit the concluding toast, and can say, from long and intimate acquaintance, that if your new President displays in the chair the tact, ability, and persistence that he has brought into other public work, and of which we have had a test this evening, you will not regret the choice that has been made, and that the Secretaries and Committee—whose splendid service has secured for this Association a recognised place in the country—will find in Mr. Stevenson a wise and capable leader. I give for your acceptance “The President and Officers of the Anglo-Armenian Association.” (Applause.)

The PRESIDENT, in thanking Sir Hugh Reid, said:—There will be probably many occasions on which this question will come to the front in Parliament both by means of questions and discussions, and I trust we shall have in the future, as in the past, the support of every one of the four parties in the House. On behalf of myself and my colleagues, especially Mr. Atkin, who has been working so ably in our cause (hear, hear), I have to thank you for your attendance and good wishes this evening, and we are especially thankful to those Armenians who have come from long distances in order to be with us on the occasion of meeting our honoured guest, Mr. Bryce. (Cheers.)

Before the company dispersed, they were received by Mr. and Mrs. Bryce in the Carnarvon Room, and the proceedings terminated shortly after midnight.

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