

preferred to accept the demands of the three Ambassadors, and therefore my alternative proposal fell to the ground, as a matter of course. Now, the reason why I preferred to get rid of the proposal that we should substitute Christian for Moslem officers, is that I have a great horror of the Powers of Europe appearing in those countries as the partisans of one religion rather than the other. It is exceedingly dangerous. Of course we all of us have our own beliefs, but governing a vast Empire like that which exists under the Queen, we have no other duty than that of absolute impartiality. (Hear, hear.) The Queen is the mistress of more Mohammedans than the Sultan of Turkey, and we should have been neglecting our duty if we had allowed ourselves to appear as the partisans of one religion against the other. (Hear, hear.) What we desired was absolute justice as between man and man for both religions—(cheers)—so that both Mussulmans and Christians, observing each other's rights, might pursue their own industry and follow their own path of prosperity in confidence and in peace. That was the object we had in view, and therefore I should have been glad if the proposals that were made could have divested these negotiations of any appearance of such partiality, and could have assured our Mussulman fellow subjects, who are among the most loyal and orderly of the subjects of the Queen, that they may look to the Imperial Government with as certain a conviction of its impartiality as they have been accustomed to do now for much more than a century to the Indian Government under which they have lived. (Cheers.)

WILL THE REFORMS DO ANY GOOD?

But, you will ask, will these reforms do any good? If the reforms are carried out they will give to the Armenians every prospect which any nation can desire of prosperity and peace and quietude, of justice between man and man, of safety for life and property. But will they be carried out? (Hear, hear.) And that is why there has always been something of unreality to me in the conflict that has waged on the platform and in the Press in favour of this or that alteration of the law. If you can persuade—I use the verb in its largest acceptance—if you can persuade the Sultan to give justice to the Armenians, you need not trouble yourself upon what paper the promise is written or in what character it is couched. If the Sultan does not give justice, will not heartily resolve to give justice, to the Armenians, the most ingenious constitution that you can weave together, will not avail to protect or to assist them. (Cheers.) While the Ottoman Empire stands upright your only power of action, the only power of action for all the Powers of Europe put together, is the action that they can have upon the mind of the Sultan. It is not a question of expediency or of opinion, it is a matter of bare fact, that so long as the Ottoman Empire stands upright, it is only through the Sultan that any of the blessings which you seek to confer upon any portion of his subjects can be made to them a reality and a permanent blessing.

IF THE SULTAN WILL NOT GIVE REFORMS,

Well, that of course will suggest to your mind—Supposing the Sultan is not persuaded; and I am bound to say that the news which reaches us from Constantinople does not give to us much cheerfulness in that respect. You will readily understand that I can only speak briefly on such a matter, and that it is dangerous that I should express opinions which are on my lips lest they should injure that cause of peace and good order which, above all things, I have at heart. (Hear, hear.) But supposing the Sultan will not give these reforms, what is to follow? Well, the first answer that I should give is that beyond all treaties, and above all combinations of external Powers, the nature of things, if you please, or the Providence of God, if you please to put it so, has determined that persistent and constant mis-government must lead the Government which follows it to its doom—(hear, hear)—and while I readily admit that it is quite possible for the Sultan of Turkey, if he will, to govern all his subjects with justice and in peace, he is not exempt more than any other potentate from the law that injustice will bring the highest on earth to ruin. (Cheers.) Well, it is not only the necessary action of the law—the law of which I have spoken—there is the authority of the Great Powers. Turkey is in that remarkable position that it has now stood in for half a century mainly because the Great Powers of the world have resolved that for the peace of Christendom it is necessary that the Ottoman empire should stand. They came to that conclusion nearly half a century ago. I do not think they have altered it now. The danger if the Ottoman empire fell would not merely be the danger that would threaten the territories of which that empire consists. It would be the danger that the fire there lit should spread to other nations, and should involve all that is most powerful and civilized in Europe in a dangerous and calamitous contest. That was the danger that was present to the minds of our fathers when they resolved to make the integrity and independence of the Ottoman empire a matter of European treaty, and that is a danger which has not passed away.

UNITY OF THE POWERS.

Out of that state of things I think there are two illusions that we must avoid. One of these illusions is that this treaty which binds the concert of Europe together will lose its force, and that some one Power—no matter what—that some one Power will escape from the treaty and try to settle the matter in its own manner. I am glad to say that I see no prospect of such an issue as that. (Cheers.) I believe the Powers will stand together, and that they were never more disposed than they are now to stand together, by the European system which their joint wisdom has devised. (Hear, hear.) The other danger is that those who advise the Sultan to his hurt should imagine that the pressure of this necessity is so great that no abuse, be it what it may, that finds its place in the Ottoman empire can ever receive the natural punishment that in the ordinary course of the world's affairs comes upon gross misgovernment. That, I think, would be a grave delusion. I believe the Powers are thoroughly resolved to act together upon everything that concerns the Ottoman empire. (Cheers.) How they will act it is not for me to prophesy; I do not know the contingencies that may arise. But no man will say that it is impossible that they may be weary of the cry of suffering that comes up in their ears, and may find some other arrangement that is a substitute for that which does not fulfil the hopes that were entertained forty years ago. There is, therefore, in the concert of the Powers, which I put forward as the marked phenomenon of the present time—and the most cheering phenomenon—there is nothing in that to console those who would perpetuate misgovernment, or to silence the voice of those who would impress upon the rulers of the Ottoman empire, as the one burning necessity of the hour, that they should give the common blessings of good government to those who are under their rule. (Cheers.) I will say no more. It is difficult to say more without being misunderstood. I will only say, in conclusion, that throughout those negotiations nothing has impressed it self more strongly on my mind than the disposition of the great Powers to act together, and their profound sense

of the appalling dangers which any separation of their action might produce. (Cheers.) Even those among them who, in popular report, have the reputation of being restless, have vied with the others in anxiety to conduct this great difficulty to a favourable issue, and to conduct it in a manner which shall keep all the Powers together in line, moved by a common motive, and with the common aim, the noble aim, of the peace of Christendom as the one spirit which actuates their action. (Cheers.) This is, my Lord Mayor, to me a very cheering symptom. I hope it may be the foundation of a system of action that may last, on this and many other subjects, for many years to come—(cheers)—that in this sense of international co-operation, of co-operation imposed by the dangers and exigencies of our time, we shall find the solution of some of the most formidable problems that oppress us, and, above all, we shall in due time be able to put a stop to that condition of armed peace which presses now on the industry of the world. (Loud cheers.)

The Anjuman-i-Islam, London, a body representing the Queen's Mohammedan subjects in India and elsewhere, held a meeting yesterday afternoon, and unanimously passed the following resolution: "That the Anjuman-i-Islam, London, which has for several months past urged upon the British public and her Majesty's Government the importance of taking into consideration the religious feelings and sentiments of the Muslim of India, in their dealings with Turkey, has learned with considerable satisfaction that the Marquis of Salisbury in his speech at the Guildhall has called attention to the loyalty of her Majesty's Muslim subjects, numbering over fifty millions, and the necessity of respecting their feelings; and takes this opportunity of tendering its heartfelt thanks to the noble Marquis, and strongly hopes that in any future development of the Turkish question the British Government, following the traditional policy of England, will maintain the integrity and independence of the dominions of his Imperial Majesty the Sultan, the commander of the faithful, and the guardian of Kaalia."

FOREIGN OPINION ON THE PREMIER'S SPEECH.

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENTS.)

PARIS, Sunday Night.

The "Temps," in a long, drawn-out article, deals with Lord Salisbury's speech in relation to his career. In regard to the future, it draws these conclusions from the Guildhall speech—the three intervening and the three other Powers are in perfect agreement. Their union is the key to the situation. It is the only sure means for weighing on Turkey, and for holding down the ambition of individual States. Thus in collective harmony lie safety and success. This opinion, coming from Lord Salisbury, is thought satisfactory, and "sets at rest the reports touching the intended separate action of Great Britain." The "Temps" thinks that part of the speech on the necessity of reform in Turkey also satisfactory. The best friends of the Sultan are not his flatterers, but those who through harsh truths bring him to see that he can only keep on the throne by leading a peaceful revolution.

The "Liberté" remarks that Lord Salisbury has disappointed those who fancied he was going to threaten by intoning a hymn to peace. Of course there was no home complication to speak of. The noble lord sometimes was almost a humourist when, on this subject, he brought a verse of "Rule Britannia" into his hymn. Finally, he celebrated the agreement of the six Powers, and expressed the hope that it might lead to another more general agreement for (as the "Liberté" puts it) the interests of humanity and the extension of British commerce.

The "Débats" marks the emphatic assurance given by Lord Salisbury of the concord and pacific objects of the Powers which have taken up the Armenian question. "Amid the rumours," it says, "of squadrons being sent to Constantinople and of European Conferences, Lord Salisbury's words were needed to calm the fears of a conflict between the Powers."

ROME, Sunday Night.

That part of Lord Salisbury's speech in which he expresses the opinion that the accord of the Powers will be sufficient to coerce Turkey is considered here to be rather optimistic. It is, moreover, taken as indicating a tendency to postpone a definite solution of the question.

(THROUGH REUTER'S AGENCY.)

PARIS, Nov. 10.

The opinion here upon Lord Salisbury's speech at the Guildhall as reflected by the leading journals is very favourable. The "Journal des Débats" says:

In view of the reports current regarding the despatch of squadrons to the Levant and respecting a European Conference, the British Premier's declarations are just what were most wanted to calm public opinion and to give the assurance that no conflict was to be feared between the interests of the Powers. As far as the French Republic is concerned they are noble words, which contrast strongly with those which Lord Salisbury uttered not so long ago. There is a great difference between them and references hastily made to Agincourt and Trafalgar. The Premier's straightforward language will find here and throughout Europe a profound echo.

The "Temps" remarks that Lord Salisbury has spoken with a vigour which leaves nothing to be desired.

A correspondent in Turkey, in a letter we published this day week, made the following forecast, which strikingly anticipates some parts of Lord Salisbury's speech at the Guildhall. He wrote: "I have no hesitation in stating that if the Sultan has sown the wind, he must inevitably reap the whirlwind eventually, and

ARMENIA AND THE NEGOTIATIONS.

There is another part of the world where matters are not so peaceful or so hopeful to look upon as I hope they are in the Far East. The word Armenia has occupied all your minds for many months past. You know that in May last, under the instruction of their Governments, three of the principal Ambassadors proposed certain alterations of law and constitution, which were designed to protect the Armenians against terrible and deplorable sufferings which had moved the feelings of this nation to their base. (Hear, hear.) Those proposals were made by the three Ambassadors in May last—in the time, I need not say, of our predecessors. They were conducted with great skill by those Ambassadors, and among them I must mention him who was their leader, Sir Philip Currie—(hear, hear)—the English Ambassador at Constantinople, whose judgment and skill and tenacious labour have done much to avoid the most formidable dangers and to bring matters, at all events for a time, to a pacific and salutary issue. We owe him a great debt for what he has done. The demands of the three Ambassadors in May last have been substantially accepted by the Sultan. (Hear, hear.) I saw somewhere over a great name the assertion that the Sultan had had a great victory over us. It was a very odd victory, because he gave us all we wanted, and I was much puzzled by that opinion. There was an impression abroad that I had added to the demands of the three Ambassadors in May, and had required something in addition in the nature of an international commission. That is a great mistake. I never added to the demands of the three Ambassadors. I did offer in conversation, as a substitute for the demands of the three Ambassadors, as a simple way of attaining the same end, if it was preferred, that the present Mohammedan machinery should go on and should be supervised by a mixed commission. The demands of the three Ambassadors were substantially this—that a proportional number of Christian employes should be added to the administration in all the provinces where large numbers of Armenians were. I do not say that my proposal was better than the other, but I thought it might possibly be more acceptable. But the Sultan

this country is bound to become the scene of events within a measurable distance of time which will bring the Eastern question to the fore in such a form as will force Europe to unite and intervene effectively for its final settlement. I foresee scenes of distress and carnage in which Europeans as well as native Christians will be the victims—anarchy pervading the whole country—race fighting against race, religion against religion, until Europe, wearied of horrors and realising the iniquity of disunion under such scenes in this nineteenth century, shall unite and probably proclaim an International Government for the country. Europeans, and Englishmen especially, do not realise the crisis we are passing through, and I only venture to hope that these words of a humble individual like myself will at all events induce thoughtful minds to study the position carefully, so that when this crisis does come in its acute form England may be prepared for taking her proper part in it."

THE DISTURBANCES IN TURKEY.

THEIR SUPPRESSION ORDERED.

A DISMISSED GOVERNOR REWARDED.

THE MASSACRE AT ERZINGHIAN.

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT.)

CONSTANTINOPLE, Saturday.

A meeting of Ministers is now taking place at the Palace. A circular has been sent to all the Governors ordering measures to be taken for the suppression of disorder, whether arising from the action of Armenians or of Mohammedans. The Governors are informed that the perpetrators must be arrested, and that failing to carry out these orders, the Governors will be held responsible.

The French Consul, with other foreigners from Erzeroum, describe the whole district between that city and Trebizond as desolate. They saw many dead bodies, and fugitive women and children begged their protection. Kiamil Pacha has not left Constantinople. His house is guarded, and he is reported to be seriously ill with influenza.

Although Izzet Effendi, the Turkish lawyer, was announced in a local journal to have died, it appears that he is still alive and in prison.

The following details regarding the massacre at Erzinghian come to us from a trustworthy source. Writing on the 26th October, our Correspondent says:

The Kurds had for some time threatened the Armenians with massacre. As there is no Metropolitan in the city the priests addressed themselves twice to Zekki Pacha, imploring him to do his utmost for the safety of unarmed Christians, and Zekki promised in most solemn manner to do so.

On the 21st a mob composed of Turks from the town and neighbouring villages, and well armed, attacked the Armenians in the market, wounding and killing men and pillaging their shops. The pillage was so complete that not a scrap of anything was left. This pillage went on for six hours. Up to the present time eighty bodies have been collected for burial; many persons have been wounded, and many others lost without trace. In the neighbouring villages the situation is equally sad. Metni and Sarbehan were sacked, and then burnt. The village of Pesvan was also sacked, and thirty villagers, among those who had taken refuge in the church, were killed. Many other villages have been attacked, and several persons killed, but the number is unknown.

In Erzinghian itself the killed were stripped naked and their very clothes stolen. The whole massacre was entirely unprovoked. What will be the end of all these terrible murders it is impossible to say. Does Christian Europe, and Russia in particular, who might so easily stop the whole business, intend to let all of us, whether Armenians or not, who live in these parts be massacred simply because we are Christians?

(THROUGH REUTER'S AGENCY.)

CONSTANTINOPLE, Nov. 8.

Bahri Pacha, the ex-Vali of Van, who was dismissed from his post in pursuance of representations of Sir Philip Currie on account of his conduct towards Armenians, has been decorated with the Grand Cordon of the Osmanieh Order. The "Official Gazette," in announcing this distinction states that the Order is bestowed as a reward for his good services.

The newspapers to-day publish a long list of

decorations of officers serving in Armenia. This is regarded as very significant in present circumstances. Since yesterday a hundred Armenians have been arrested at Constantinople for unknown reasons. The immediate circumstances of Kiamil Pacha's fall from power are now gradually becoming known. The ex-Grand Vizier advocated a policy of conciliation as the only means of effecting the pacification of the Asiatic provinces. Last Wednesday a council of Ministers was held at the Palace under the Presidency of Kiamil Pacha to discuss the financial situation and the critical state of affairs in Anatolia. After the council had been deliberating for some hours, Kiamil left the Palace and returned to his house. The Presidency was then assumed by Halil Rifat Pacha, the Minister of the Interior, who since has been made Grand Vizier. Kiamil left the council because his remedial proposals were rejected by the Sultan. On arriving home, he was taken ill, and throughout yesterday was confined to his bed, with four doctors in attendance. The precise nature of his illness is not announced, but it is said that he is suffering from a severe bronchial attack. Immediately after his retirement from the Cabinet Council, Kiamil Pacha received the appointment of Vali of Aleppo, with orders to proceed without delay to his new post. A special boat was got ready to convey him from Constantinople, but Kiamil Pacha refused to start, stating that, in the opinion of his physicians, his condition was such as to render his departure impossible. The commander of the boat threatened to resort to force, but did not put his menace into execution. Kiamil's condition is to-day unchanged, and it is the general opinion that any attempt to remove him by force would, at his advanced age and in his present state of health, have most serious results.

Adverse criticisms of the new Cabinet is heard on all sides. It is regarded as representing a retrograde policy, persistence in which is calculated to lead to grave consequences. In diplomatic circles here the impression prevails that a conference of the Powers will be summoned before long to consider the situation, and to deliberate on the remedies to be applied.

The news from the provinces is unsatisfactory to-day. Advices from Sivas report massacre and the village of Armenian villages in the province. The need of military reinforcements is being strongly felt. Shakir Pacha, the High Commissioner, has gone to Khonnus to arrest the Kurd movement. The news from Syria is alarming, a rising of the Druses being reported from Damascus. All the redifs of the Fourth Army Corps in the Erzinghian district and of the Fifth, which has its headquarters at Damascus, have been called out for service.

It is understood that the Vali of Aleppo has been dismissed in consequence of the strong representations of Mr. Terrell, the United States Minister. The Vali refused to allow an American Consular agent to visit a man named Guendjian, a naturalised American subject, who was in prison. Guendjian is now on his way to Constantinople, where he will be tried before Mr. Terrell.

Eleven Kurds who are charged with the murder of the American cyclist, Lenz, have been arrested and taken to Erzeroum, where they will be tried before the British Consul, who in this matter will represent the United States.

CONSTANTINOPLE, Nov. 9.

The Grand Vizier has addressed a circular letter to all the governors of the provinces of the Turkish Empire, in which he insists on the absolute necessity of preventing the population from interfering in the repression of public disorders, inasmuch as this duty lies solely with the civil and military authorities. The latter, it is added, should act with the utmost energy, but should confine their action to punishing the instigators of the disorders; moreover any public functionary who does not intervene to prevent any interference on the part of the people will be held to be responsible for any disorders, and will be punished with the utmost severity. It will further be the duty of the officials to forward exact reports on the situation in their respective provinces to the Central Government, in order to enable the latter to adopt the necessary measures.

CONSTANTINOPLE, Nov. 10.

It is announced to-day that Kiamil Pacha, the ex-Grand Vizier, has been appointed Vali of Aidin, and started yesterday for Smyrna. Hassan Fehmi Pacha, the present Vali of Aidin, has been transferred to Salonica, while Zihni Pacha, his predecessor in the latter district, has been appointed Vali of Aleppo.

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENTS.)

BERLIN, Sunday Night.

The Berlin "Tageblatt" publishes the following telegram from Constantinople, dated yesterday:

Numerous sensational reports are circulating in the city. To-day panic reigned everywhere. The reason is incomprehensible. It was related that the Italian Consulate had advised all Italian subjects not to leave their dwellings during the next few days, as serious events were expected. The Selamluk was sparsely attended, but the Sultan came as usual in an open carriage, and looked cheerful although somewhat tired. There is not much to say about the new Ministry. The

Ministers appeared on Friday for the first time at the Selamluk. The first unfavourable impression made by them has not been weakened.

VIENNA, Sunday Night.

I am informed that large quantities of provisions and forage are being purchased and stored in Caucasus for the Russian troops concentrated along the Armenian frontier. These comprise in all four brigades, or twenty-eight thousand men. It is reported from Constantinople that at the Yildiz Kiosk the possible entrance of the Russians into Armenia is regarded with terror, because it is known that this will be the signal for all the Christians in Turkey in Asia to revolt against the Turkish yoke, and for the breaking up of the Ottoman Empire.

(THROUGH REUTER'S AGENCY.)

ST. PETERSBURG, Nov. 8.

According to trustworthy information received here, the situation in Armenia has become extremely grave. In several districts the European residents and even the Consuls are stated to be in danger.

PARIS, Nov. 9.

At a Council of Ministers, held at the Elysée to-day, M. Berthelot, Minister of Foreign Affairs, communicated the latest despatches from Constantinople, and stated that the six Great Powers were in complete agreement as to the attitude to be observed in view of recent events in Armenia. It was decided that the annual cruise of a division of the French Mediterranean squadron in the Levant should take place a month earlier than usual in consequence of the situation in Turkey. The division will therefore leave immediately.

Sir Thomas Sanderson has addressed the following letter to the hon. treasurer of the Armenian Relief Fund, Grosvenor House, in reply to inquiries made on behalf of the Duke of Westminster:

"Foreign Office, Nov. 8, 1895.

"Sir,—In reply to your letter of the 6th inst., I am directed by the Marquis of Salisbury to state that on the 29th ult. telegraphic reports were received that the Mussulmans at Mush had declared that the American missionaries must leave Sassun, as an impression prevailed that they were inciting the Armenians to attack the Mussulmans. Her Majesty's Vice-Consul at Mush represented to the Mutessarif (governor) the bad effect it would produce if the missionaries were recalled from their disinterested work on behalf of Turkish subjects; and on the 30th and 31st ult., acting on instructions from Lord Salisbury, her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople made similar representations to the Porte. Meanwhile, her Majesty's Vice-Consul, hearing that the missionaries were unwilling to leave Sassun, notified the Mutessarif that he held him responsible for their safety, and the latter said he saw no necessity for their recall, and guaranteed that there should be no disturbance. On the 1st inst. a consultation was held at Mush, and it was agreed that the Mutessarif should appoint two officials to attend the distribution of relief. Her Majesty's Vice-Consul has further reported that for the last three days there has been an improvement in the situation, and that he hopes all immediate danger has passed. The missionaries state that they consider their presence in Sassun is no longer necessary, and both Dr. Reynolds and Mr. Cole have asked for leave and safe conduct to their homes. The latter wishes to go to Bitlis, but will return shortly to Mush and direct further work from thence.—I am, &c.,

"T. H. SANDERSON."