

NO MEDDLING IN ARMENIA.

The Investigation of the Massacres
the Duty of the European Powers,
Not of the United States.

THEIRS THE RESPONSIBILITY.

Our Intervention Morally Releases the
Great Powers from Their
Obligations.

ARE WIREPULLERS AT WORK?

The Alleged Outrages Recall the Inside
Story of the Famous Bul-
garian Atrocities.

[BY THE COMMERCIAL CABLE TO THE HERALD.]

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The European edition of the HERALD publishes the following leader in reference to an article that appeared in the Temps, criticising President Cleveland in these terms:—

The same President Cleveland who a short time ago maintained the Monroe doctrine now suddenly and without any warning violates it, and throws himself into the conflicts of interest in another hemisphere. The devouring activity which American diplomacy displays in the Far East is perhaps explicable. The China-Japanese war touches many interests of the great Republic, and the Cabinet at Washington in addition pretends to take no part in the action of European Powers, but is acting strictly on its own account. It is none the less the first step on the road to the end of which one sees, eventually, strange complications.

But what can we say of the sending of an American Commissioner to undertake an inquiry in Armenia? No doubt American missionaries were mixed up in the deplorable affair in its first phases. But is this a reason for the United States to fling themselves headlong into the Eastern question, to which up to the present the federal government has seemed indifferent? The step is a small one, but it is a grave symptom, big with consequences. America has become the Seventh Power in Europe.

The HERALD quite agrees with the Temps and cannot but suppose that some of those busybodies like Gresham who hum about Mr. Cleveland like a swarm of bumble bees are responsible for this departure from the national tradition of the United States, which has always been to keep free from all entangling European alliances. The Armenian question directly concerns the Powers that signed the Treaty of Berlin, by which the status of affairs in Armenia, together with those of all other integral portions of the Ottoman Empire, are regulated.

The Treaty of Berlin stipulated for certain reforms in Armenia, which the Turkish government promised to make. And if the signatory powers categorically pledged—viz., England, France, Russia, Germany, Austria, Italy—cannot secure those reforms and protect the lives and property of Armenians, then why should the United States come forward and interfere and morally release all the great Powers of Europe from their present direct responsibility for what may be going on in Armenia by attempting to supplant them and gratuitously assume their task?

If some of the American missionaries have been molested, or if the rights of any American citizens have been violated, the American Minister at Constantinople is fully competent to obtain proper redress and satisfaction without resorting to the extraordinary measure of despatching a special commissioner who, to make his mission of any real practical value, even supposing the sensational reports of wholesale massacres be true, should have at his back not only a strong fleet of ironclads, but also transports conveying a fully equipped army of at least a hundred thousand men, which at the lowest estimate would be required to overcome the Turkish forces and liberate the Armenians. This, to use an American expression, would be a pretty tall contract.

But, looking at the matter seriously, does it not seem as if these Armenian massacres were to some extent invented by designing wire-pullers in order to attain their own ends, just as was the case in the famous Bulgarian atrocities that preceded the Russo-Turkish war?

THE TREATY OF BERLIN.

Obligations Assumed by Turkey Toward Armenia After the Last War with Russia.

The treaty of San Stefano between Russia and Turkey, which closed the war that secured the semi-independence of Bulgaria, contained the

following clause:—

Article 15.—Since the retreat of the Russian troops from territories now occupied by them in Armenia, but which are to be restored to Turkey, may give rise to disturbances and complications that may affect the friendly relations of the two Powers, the Porte assumes the obligation 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.

The European Powers refused to recognize the San Stefano treaty, and, after long negotiations at the Congress of Berlin, a treaty was concluded, in which the Armenia question was dealt with as follows:—

Article 91.—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.

While the negotiations at Berlin were in progress a convention was signed between England and Turkey by which the former Power was allowed to occupy the Island of Cyprus, and which contained the following stipulations concerning Armenia:—

Article 1.—If Batoum, Ardahan, Kars, or any of them shall be retaken by Russia, and if any attempt shall be made at any future time by Russia to take possession of any further territory of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan in Asia, as fixed by the Definitive Treaty of Peace, England engages to join His Imperial Majesty the Sultan in defending them by force of arms.

In return His Imperial Majesty the Sultan promises 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 these territories; and in order to enable England to make necessary provision for executing her engagement, His Imperial Majesty the Sultan further consents to assign the Island of Cyprus to be occupied and administered by England.

Annex. Art. 6.—If Russia restores to Turkey Kars and the other conquests made by her in Armenia during the last war, the Island of Cyprus will be evacuated by England, and the convention of the 4th of June, 1878, will be at an end.

TO EXPRESS SYMPATHY FOR ARMENIANS.

A public meeting to protest against the treatment of Armenian Christians by Turkey will be held at Chickering Hall next Tuesday. A committee has been appointed to secure speak-

ers and a large attendance. Prominent speakers are to address the meeting. Those who have already agreed to speak include the Rev. Dr. Lyman Abbott and the Rev. Dr. Josiah Strong. The churches and many charitable organizations have been asked to co-operate in the movement. A sort of association has existed in New York for more than a year to render assistance to distressed or persecuted Armenians, and it is possible that at Tuesday's meeting this association may become more definite.

HOW TO SETTLE ARMENIA.

Russian Journals Propose the Country Be Detached from Turkey and Made Autonomous.

[BY CABLE TO THE HERALD.]

LONDON, Dec. 12, 1894.—The Odessa correspondent of the Daily News says:—"Several Russian journals urge that the only satisfactory treatment of Armenia will be to detach it from Turkish rule and make it autonomous under the united protection of the signatory Powers of the Berlin treaty. They say that Russia would make short work of the Kurds, who are a horde of human wolves and ought to be exterminated or reduced to absolute subjection."

The Standard's Constantinople correspondent says that the commission appointed to inquire into the Armenian outrages have reached Erzinghan, where they met Zekki Pachá. It is doubtful whether they will proceed much further as the roads are blocked with snow. The correspondent adds:—"Probably months will elapse before the report will be made."

The Journal of St. Petersburg publishes a communication from the Porte, absolutely denying that any unarmed persons were killed in Armenia. On the contrary, it is said, the utmost kindness was shown the revolutionists. It is believed in St. Petersburg that the Armenian complaints probably have been much exaggerated.

IS GRESHAM IN HIS RIGHT MIND?

[From the Tribune of Tuesday, Dec. 11.]

Some kind friend of the President in Congress might do Mr. Cleveland a great service and save his administration from a much future humiliation by instituting an official inquiry as to the sanity of the present head of the State Department. We make the suggestion in all seriousness. In no other way can the amazing and unprecedented antics of Secretary Gresham be accounted for. He had been in office scarcely a day before he began to entangle his too confiding chief in the meshes of what has since been woven into a perfect web of deceit, trickery and double dealing.

When China and Japan got into a dispute over Corea, in the face of his own numerous and solemn warnings against foreign entanglements of any kind he calmly indited a despatch to a friendly nation, striving to protect its citizens from Chinese aggression, admonishing it not to levy unjust war against a weaker nation. Naturally enough, his offensive interference was spurned, as it should have been, and the United States was once more held up as the laughing stock of the nations of the earth. The war did not cease, and, on November 26, the American Minister in Peking sent to the State Department an urgent appeal for protection for the Legation and the American citizens resident in the Chinese capital. Owing to Mr. Gresham's capable mismanagement no marines available for the purpose were within 1,000 miles of the scene of danger; so when knowledge of Minister Denby's despatch finally came to the surface—the truth will out, in spite of all attempts at concealment—our dignified Secretary of State tried, by quibbling which would bring the blush of shame to the cheek of a third rate pettifogging lawyer, to convince the public that he never received it.

Is there any need to speak of the imbecility manifested and the blunders made? * * * Is not the record sufficient as it stands to justify some friend of the President in starting an investigation as to the state of his Secretary's mind? We think it due to the President. It certainly is due to the people.

WHAT NEXT?

[From the Sun of Tuesday, December 11.]

The key to the Cleveland-Gresham foreign policy has yet to be discovered. A meddlesome disposition in matters wherewith we have no business to interfere, a persistent indifference where American interests are really concerned; who can reconcile the crazy inconsistencies of and the guiding principle of action in the performances of the extraordinary two?

Blow hot, blow cold is the story; hot whenever the common sense of the situation requires restraint, and cold whenever the national welfare calls plainly for the generation of a little patriotic caloré.

China and Japan engage in a quarrel with which we have nothing to do. Cleveland and Gresham cannot keep their hands off, inasmuch as no American interest is to be served by interfering. They begin by notifying Japan distinctly that their joint sympathies are with China, and then when China gets the worst of the fight and British interests in Asia are plainly threatened, they step in and volunteer to mediate, a proposition naturally and properly rejected by Japan with such politeness as circumstances permit.

Interference—English diplomacy pushes cautiously but steadily for a commanding position at the Atlantic entrance to the Nicaragua Canal, the waterway of the future between the East and the West of the United States. Never in our history has a greater American interest been at stake, nor has there ever been a more obvious or more imperative demand for vic-

orous assertion of the Monroe doctrine. To all appearances the eyes of Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Gresham are fixed upon Armenia.

Interference—The old Eastern question, around which European diplomacy has revolved for years, is acutely revived by reports of Turkish outrages in the neighborhood of Mount Ararat. Cleveland and Gresham cannot keep their hands off. They promptly join the European governments in an investigation of the crimes of the Kurds and the incompetence of Turkish administration, and send off an agent to Armenia! This sudden departure from American policy and precedent is so startling as to attract the attention even of our friends, the self-centred Frenchmen, and to inspire a Paris newspaper to ask what has become of our Monroe doctrine, and to hail our government as "the seventh European Power."

This is a skeleton sketch of the astounding foreign policy of Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Gresham up to date. Who can understand it? Who can explain it upon any theory that recognizes the entire sanity of the President and his Secretary of State?

Why is the policy of meddlesomeness active whenever we have nothing to gain by interfering?

Why is the policy of apathy manifest whenever we have everything to lose by indifference on the part of the Cleveland administration?

What will come next on the fantastic programme?
