

Balkans - General - 1896-1903.

1. Gladstone's speech on Armenian atrocities - ~~1896~~ 1896
2. "The Offence of the Cross" by Geo. W.E. Russell. ~~1897~~ 1897
3. From Clement Harris's Journal April 5<sup>th</sup> 1897 - on his way to join Greek army.
4. Unsigned article on various Balkan states + rivalries - 1899.
5. Notes on ethnography of Macedonia.
6. small notebook on Bosnia.
7. loose page re. Macedonia and ~~Libs~~ Libs in 1903.
8. Howell notes on "Macedonian outrages" 1903.
9. account of a public meeting to protest the Macedonian massacres by the Turks. ~~Sept~~ Sept 1903 of the fortnight
10. Sermon (?) by Rev. R. Bruce, St. Anne's, Soho. Nov. 1903.  
re. Macedon. Suffering.

Emphasis on our resp?

20-7 1878.

Item 9. see the participants & sympathisers .

N.B. the emphasis on our responsibility under terms of Tr. of Berlin.

The resolutions are on pp.34,42 & 55.

From Clement Harris's Journal - April 5<sup>th</sup>, 1897

"This may be the last notice that I shall ever write in this book, however there is no reason to be sentimental, on the contrary, I feel in a most prosaic frame of mind. I am off this afternoon to Artu to enlist in the Greek Army; and let this be understood by those ~~that~~ who may read this book should I never return) of my own free will entirely, having been persuaded by nobody to risk my life in the service of the Greeks, but rather having been hindered from carrying out my intentions up till now by well-meaning friends. I have not ~~much~~ time to write much this morning, but I only wish it to be clearly understood that no one is responsible in the least degree for the step I have taken, which to many may appear as an act of madness, but to myself (who have given the matter the fullest consideration) the least a man of honour can perform towards a country which, crying for liberty in the name of the Cross, has been insulted and thwarted by each so-called civilized

never successively. Unfortunately, I have <sup>(2)</sup>  
no time to explain myself more clearly—  
but lovers of freedom will recognize a  
deeper motive <sup>than honour, i.e. education</sup> ~~more clearly~~— for my thus  
offering myself to the service of a  
distressed and misunderstood country.

# "THE OFFENCE OF THE CROSS."

BY

GEORGE W. E. RUSSELL.

(1897.)

The Turkish Empire is the foulest tyranny which has ever afflicted the world. Its governing principle is enmity to the religion of JESUS CHRIST. It is founded on Slavery and Polygamy. It operates by massacre and rape. For five centuries it has practised the most atrocious cruelties on its Christian subjects in Eastern Europe and in Asia Minor. The motive of this persecution has been hatred to Christianity: and how has it been borne by its victims? Let Mr. Gladstone answer.

"The score of millions of those Christians who inhabit the Turkish Empire have, for almost a corresponding tale of generations, enjoyed the highest of all honours—they have been sufferers for their faith. They have been its martyrs and its confessors. They alone have continuously filled that character. Many a tender maid, at the threshold of her young life, has gladly met her doom, when the words that accepted Islam, the act that invested her with the *Yashmak*, would have made her in a moment a free and honoured member of a privileged, a dominant community. Ever since the Turkish hoof began to lay waste the Levant, these twenty millions have had before them, on the one side, peace and freedom—on the other side, the Gospel. They have chosen the Gospel; and have paid the forfeit: And whatever be their faults and errors, it is not for us of the West, amidst our ease and prosperity, our abundant sins and scandals, to disparage the most splendid and irrefragable, perhaps, of all the testimonies which man can render to the Religion of the Cross."\*

It is for these our fellow-Christians that we plead; for whether their lot is cast in Armenia, or in Constantinople, or in Crete, or in any other quarter of the Sultan's dominions, they are the objects of the same merciless oppression.

We make a special appeal to all Ministers of the Christian Gospel, and, more particularly, to the Clergy of the Established Church. Will the authorized and endowed teachers of National Religion be content, yet once more, to pass by on the other side, while the work of guiding the national conscience in a great issue between Right and Wrong is performed by the Ministers of the Nonconformist Communions?

Is it possible that the priests of the Church of England know the facts? I can hardly conceive that they do. If they did, the shame and guilt of silence would press on their souls with insupportable weight.

We have been accused of over-stating the case against the Turk. We therefore cite, in confirmation of our words, the official account of the Massacre at Ourfa, December 29th, 1895. The citation is from the report of Vice-Consul Fitzmaurice, made formally to the British Ambassador at Constantinople, and presented by Lord Salisbury to

Parliament. Obviously there is no room for romance, or overstatement, or distortion in a document of this kind: and no one who reads the narrative can have the effrontery to say that our indictment of the Turkish Tyranny is overstrained.

"On Saturday night, crowds of Armenian men, women, and children took refuge in their fine Cathedral, capable of holding some 8,000 persons, and **the Priest administered the Sacrament, the last Sacrament, as it proved to be, to 1,800 souls**, recording the figure on one of the pillars of the Church. These remained in the cathedral overnight, and were joined on Sunday by several hundreds more, who sought the protection of a building which they considered safe from the mob-violence of the Mussulman, even in his fanaticism. It is computed that at least 3,000 individuals were congregated in the edifice, when the mob attacked it.

"They at first fired in through the windows, then smashed in the iron door, and proceeded to massacre all those, mostly men, who were on the ground floor.

"Having thus disposed of the men, and having removed some of the younger women, they rifled the Church treasure, shrines and ornaments . . . : destroying the pictures and relics, mockingly calling on CHRIST now to prove Himself a greater prophet than Mahomet.

"A huge, partly stone, partly wooden, gallery running round the upper portion of cathedral was packed with a shrieking and terrified mass of women, children, and some men.

"Some of the mob, jumping on the raised Altar platform, began picking off the latter with revolver shots, but **as this process seemed too tedious, they bethought themselves of the more expeditious method** . . . . Having collected a quantity of bedding and the Church matting, they poured some thirty cans of kerosene on it, as also on the dead bodies lying about, and then **set fire to the whole**. The gallery beams and wooden framework soon caught fire, whereupon, blocking up the staircase leading to the gallery with similar inflammable materials **they left the mass of struggling human beings to become the prey of the flames**.

"During several hours the sickening odour of roasted flesh pervaded the town, and even to-day, two months and a-half after the massacre, the smell of putrescent and charred remains in the Church is unbearable."—Turkey No. 5, 1896, page 12.

The Mahomedan Power, which perpetrated this satanic crime, and has sacrificed, amid circumstances of equal horror, one hundred thousand Armenian lives, is the power which the "Concert of Europe" now bids us help to uphold upon its blood-cemented throne. Our answer, as Christians and Freemen is,—by God's help, NEVER!

Last Christmastide, some of us, kneeling in an Anglican Church almost under the shadow of our august Abbey, saw, with wet eyes, the infinite pathos of the Armenian Liturgy. As those poor refugees from Mahomedan persecution bowed before the Sacramental Presence and the Cross of Christ, singing with mournful cadence the Lord's Song in a strange land, there seemed to mingle with their wailing supplication the voices of the martyrs beneath the apocalyptic altar—"How long, O Lord, Holy and Just, dost Thou not judge and avenge our blood?" Then, if never before, we realized that the Offence of the Cross has not ceased; we felt the binding pressure of a common Christianity: we resolved to do something which should prove, in very fact and deed, that each of us was a "brother and companion in tribulation, and in the Kingdom and Patience of Jesus Christ." The political circumstances of the present hour gives us the opportunity of acting on this resolution. In Crete and Thessaly exactly the same principle is involved as last year in Armenia, and twenty years ago in Bulgaria. Our plain duty is, at whatever cost to ourselves, to deliver our fellow-Christians from the infernal rule of the great anti-Christian Power: and the inexorable call of conscience bids us GO FORWARD in the sacred cause of Religion, Humanity, and Freedom.

VERBATIM REPORT

OF THE RT. HON.

W. E. GLADSTONE'S

Great Speech

ON THE

ARMENIAN ATROCITIES,

DELIVERED AT

*Liverpool, September 24th, 1896.*

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WITH FULL-PAGE PORTRAIT. —•••—

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*The Verbatim Report of the momentous Speech delivered by the Rt. Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE, at Liverpool, on Thursday, September 24th, 1896, which we now present to the public in pamphlet form, will be an oration ever to be remembered. The enthusiasm it evoked was absolutely without parallel or precedent in the political life of the present century. The speech will undoubtedly have its effect on the course of events that will follow; and the report of it will be especially prized by our countrymen as the utterance of "the greatest living Englishman" in his eighty-seventh year.*

J. E. S.

# VERBATIM REPORT

OF THE RIGHT

# Hon. W. E. Gladstone's

## GREAT SPEECH

ON

# THE ARMENIAN ATROCITIES.

M<sup>R</sup>. GLADSTONE addressed the meeting as follows:—My Lord Mayor, ladies and gentlemen, I have listened, with the warmest sympathy, to the speeches of those who have gone before me, and I desire to associate myself with them in the closest manner. It is true that I have led a long political life, and that I have borne high and responsible office, but it is not in regard to either of these circumstances that I now come before you. I make no claim whatever to authority in any shape. I come here as a loyal subject of Her Majesty. It has been well said that we stand to-day upon a higher platform than the platform of party. There is no man here, whatever his opinions on ordinary politics may be, who will scruple to own them or will appear as if he were ashamed of them. But the national platform on which we stand gives a higher claim and a greater authority to these sentiments, which are universally entertained from one end of the country to the other; and, will say for myself that as on this occasion it is a duty to renounce all party sympathies and party recollections, so it is a duty most easy to perform. I, for my part, entertain not only a lively hope, but a strong belief, that when, in the course of time, we are made more largely acquainted with the inner relations of Governments in the transactions of the last two years, we shall find that the present deplorable situation, to whomever it may be due, is not due either to the act or to the default of the Government of this great country. There are certain subjects which I wish to clear out of the way. There are most important distinctions to be drawn in this matter, especially on the ground that the sufferers under the present misrule, and the horribly accumulated outrage of the last two years—the sufferers under this misrule and these outrages are our own fellow-Christians. But permit me to say, we do not prosecute the cause we have in hand upon the ground that they are our fellow-Christians. This is no crusade against Mohammedanism. This is no declaration of an altered policy or sentiment as regards our Mohammedan fellow-subjects in India. Nay



more, I will say it is no declaration of universal condemnation of the Mohammedans of the Turkish Empire. On the contrary, amid the dismal and heartrending reports of which we have had to read and hear so much, one of the rare touches of comfort and relief has been when we have seen that, in spite of the perpetration of massacres by the agents of Government, in spite of the countenance given to massacre by the highest authority, yet there have been good and generous Mohammedans who have resisted these misdeeds to the uttermost of their power, who have established for themselves a claim to our sympathy and our admiration. Although it is true that those persons are Christians on whose behalf we move, I confidently affirm—and you will back me in my affirmation—that if instead of being Christians they were themselves Mohammedans, Hindoos, Buddhists, Confucians—call it what you like—they would have precisely the same claims upon our support; and the motives which have brought us here to-day would be incumbent upon us with the same force, and with the same sacredness that we recognise at the present moment. There is another distinction, less conspicuous, that I would wish to draw your attention to. You have been discouraged by the attitude or by the tone of several of the Continental Governments. Do not too hastily assume that in that attitude and tone they are the faithful representatives of the people whom they rule. The ground on which we stand here is not British, nor European, but it is human. Nothing narrower than humanity could pretend for a moment justly to represent it. Now, it may have occurred to some that the atrocities which it is hardly possible to exaggerate have been boldly denied, and we are told by the Government of Turkey that the destruction of life which has taken place is not the work of either the Sultan or of his agents, but it is the work of revolutionaries and agitators. In answer to this we may say that we do not rely upon the reports of revolutionaries or agitators. We rely upon the responsible reports of our public men. Nay more, while we know that there are those among the Six Powers who have shown every disposition to treat the case of the Sultan with all the leniency, with all the friendship that they could, yet every one of them concurs in the statements upon which we stand, and in giving an entire denial to the counter-statements of the Turkish Government. There is here an illustration that perhaps may be of some value and convenience. This is not the first time we have discussed horrible outrages perpetrated in Turkey, and perpetrated not by Mohammedan fanaticism but by the deliberate policy of a Government.

#### **The Bulgarian Atrocities.**

The very same thing happened in 1876. The first intelligence came from sources not altogether official. By degrees the cloud of testimony swelled, and at length it became such as to carry the most conclusive evidence of the fact; but at that very time, in the summer of 1876, I well recollect receiving through the courtesy of the Turkish Ambassador of that day a lengthy printed statement on the authority of the Sultan's Government, declaring as absolutely as it is now declared that there were no atrocities, no crimes committed by Turks or by the agents of the Government of the Sultan, but that it was to Bulgarian rebels and Bulgarian agitators that the whole of the calamities were due. I apprehend that that question at any rate has passed beyond the region of dispute—that the Bulgarian outrages rank

among the facts of history. And they rank among the facts of history having been crowned by the result, which some of us were disposed at an early date to foresee, in the liberation and freedom of Bulgaria. The very same course of proceeding is now at work, and the guilt of massacre, and not of massacre only, but of every other horror, has been transacted, such as we have heard in the statements read to-day, and to the guilt of massacre is added the impudence of denial. And this process will continue—how long? Just as long as you, as Europe, is contented to bear it. Now this denial, therefore, I for ever entirely put aside—and I wish to ask, what is the general character of the purpose for which we are here assembled? Is it the infliction of revenge? Is it the exaction of compensation?

**Our Purpose Deep and Prospective.**

No, our purpose, if I understand it right, is a purpose deep and prospective. There is no man in this room who can hold out to me a reasonable ground of expectation that these massacres are at an end. They have answered very well, triumphantly well, the purpose of those who made them thus far. And why should they be discontinued? One sentence was spoken to-day that appeared to me pregnant with peculiar truth. It was a sentence in which a speaker ventured to anticipate that words spoken at this meeting might find their way into the Palace at Constantinople. That hits the point. It is not from the genuine sense of the Turkish people, nay, I would even say it is not from the genuine sense even of the wretched tools and servants of the Government, but it is from the highest summit and from the inmost centre those mischiefs have proceeded. It is there mainly—I doubt if it would be any exaggeration to say it is there only—that the inspiration has been supplied, the policy devised, and the whole series of these proceedings carried on from time to time. Pray recollect what has passed, and then judge whether I am right or wrong in saying that our main purpose is defensive, and our main object or desire to prevent the recurrence of such horrors.

**"Bulgaria Pale by the side of Armenia."**

Recollect that eighteen months or more have passed since the first of those gigantic massacres was perpetrated, and when that occurrence took place it was thought to be so extraordinary that it was without precedent in the past, for "Bulgaria becomes pale by the side of Armenia." As it was without precedent in the past, so it would remain without succession in the future. But, alas, the massacre, gigantic as it was, has been followed up so that one has grown into a series. When the Sultan, conscious of his triumph over the diplomacy of united Europe, carried the work of massacre into his capital, under his own eyes and under the eyes of our Ambassador, then it was that he appeared to have gained for the time the very acme of what it was possible for him to do. Let us consider, what was the massacre of Constantinople in comparison with the massacres in Armenia? It has created in Europe a greater sensation. Was it worse? more atrocious? On the contrary, I do not hesitate to say that, abominable and execrable and unpardonable as it was, yet it was of paler colour than these massacres which have taken place in the recesses of the Armenian hills. It was of a paler colour, because in the first place it was in the main confined to the work of murder, but in the Armenian massacres to the work of murder was added the work of lust, the work

of torture, the work of pillage, the work of starvation, and every accessory that it was possible for human wickedness to devise.

**The Assassin's Consummate Insolence.**

The distinction of the massacres of Constantinople as compared with those that had taken place before was not in their moral infamy. It was in this: that to all other manifestations which had formerly been displayed in the face of the world there was added consummate insolence. Translate the acts of the Sultan into words, and they become these: "I have tried your patience in distant places, I will try it under your own eyes. I have desolated my provinces, I will now desolate my capital. I have found that your sensitiveness has not been effectually provoked by all that I have hitherto done, and I will come nearer to you and see whether by vicinity I shall or shall not wake the wrath which has slept so long." Some feeling has been awakened, to an extent. The weakness of diplomacy, I trust, is now about to be strengthened by the echoes of a nation's voice. But it is right though it is painful, that we should estimate that weakness, and it stands before us in naked fact; and what do we know? We know that after sufficient deliberation, the Embassies of the Six Powers, having "screwed their courage to the sticking point," presented to the Sultan a truly formidable document, in which they announced that such proceedings as these at Constantinople must really cease. And why must they cease? Because if they continue they would create a prejudice—against the Turkish Government and against the Sultan. A prejudice! Was that the result to which they were led? I ask you to put yourself in the position of the guilty author of these massacres, be he who he may. Don't you think that remonstrance of itself would cause him to proceed? What more does he want than that you should confine yourselves to a paper war? A paper war is that which is alone necessary for the execution of his purpose, and that paper war conveys to him all he wants, namely an assurance of impunity.

**Does the Shadow mean Extermination?**

In speaking upon this subject at Chester, I stated that there was an opinion abroad that extermination was the true object of this policy, and I stated that the thing was so monstrous in itself as well as so difficult of execution, that I was not prepared to give my adherence to the idea that such a purpose should be entertained. I must say that so far as the Armenians are concerned, that idea is now far less irrational than it was fifteen months ago. The Sultan has added massacre to massacre. He has paraded massacre under the eyes of the representatives of every Court in Europe. He remains unpunished and intact, and boldly asserts his innocence and his merit. Is not that exactly the position in which we may expect that he will go forward? Since this meeting began to be in contemplation the very last days have brought us fresh accounts, which are as yet indefinite, but which we have no reason to disbelieve. Then another sample of the Sultan's policy is being afforded us by the people of Kurdistan. And I ask you everyone to consider, each in his own mind, whether it is not going to the extreme—I will not say of charity, but of indiscretion and folly—to suppose that the policy which has thus far been so triumphant in securing practical immunity, and even in drawing forth from the Press of certain countries loud manifestations of wrath against anyone who should attempt by forcible and coercive means to interfere with it, will

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be altered? Is it possible more strongly and effectively to accumulate enthusiasm, to go forward in the path which thus far has been trodden with conspicuous and complete success? All that has been done down to the present time has been done by the Concert of Europe. We ought to consider what that Concert is. It is a powerful, an august, and in many cases a most useful instrument of good. But its success has not been uniform, and I should be disposed to take upon the whole a less favourable view of its application to the Eastern question than was taken by one of the speakers who preceded me, and with whose general remarks I so cordially agree.

#### **The Concert of Europe—A Criticism.**

I think that usually the Concert of Europe has failed in what is known as the Eastern question. Good has been done in the Eastern question, aye, enormous good. These eyes of mine have witnessed the events which have liberated from fifteen to twenty millions of the subject races from the domination of Turkey. But how has that been effected? Greece has been constituted, and subsists and flourishes, but Greece was not constituted by the Concert of Europe. It was constituted by a combination of Powers—which it is possible, through circumstances, might again be seen—a combination of Powers, while other Powers looked on askance, and with inclinations far from favourable to what was done in 1853. The Government of England, and the people of this country in general, conceived that Russia was at that time harbouring unjust designs against the Turkish Government, and, moreover, we were then under what has since proved to have been a miserable and mischievous delusion. We were then under the belief that the Turkish Government was disposed to, and capable of, effectual reform. But we tried then the Concert of Europe. Even then it could not be effected. There were four Powers besides Russia concerned. These four Powers could not unite. We had a union with France which was effective for the purposes of war, and which was cordial and vigorous throughout; but the power of Prussia distinctly stood off and observed what is called a friendly neutrality to Russia. Another power—the power of Austria—was half with us, and half, it might be said, not with. The Concert of Europe proved then to be impracticable, and the result of the war was not due to it. Then, again, on a later occasion, the liberation of Bulgaria and the liberation of the Sister states around it was not due to the Concert of Europe. The Concert of Europe rather looked askance—I mean the majority of those Powers—and it was by other action, and by sole action, that that great and beneficial change was brought about which has converted the territories of the Balkan Peninsula, speaking of the main and in general, from a land of servitude into a land of freedom. Lastly, I may speak of the closing portion of these transactions. Two years after the treaty of Berlin the provisions of that treaty with regard to Greece and Montenegro remained unfulfilled. I was at that time a member of the Government, and the Concert of Europe went so far that several Powers sent each a ship of war to consort with us to the coast of Albania and Montenegro. But first one of them, then another, and, I think, some more, signifies that although their ship had gone there it was on no account to fire a shot. The consequence was that the Concert of Europe on that occasion, as on many others, was a miserable failure. But other instruments were put into action. The

Sultan became aware that coercion was hanging over him. There was no bloodshed, no war, no declaration of war, no measure of severity, but the mere knowledge that it impended was enough, and in the autumn of 1880 the Treaty of Berlin was fulfilled, and upon the whole fairly fulfilled, with regard both to Greece and Montenegro. Therefore, what I should say is this—that it was quite right, both for the present Government and the Government of Lord Rosebery, which preceded it, it was quite right for them, in my opinion—it was quite right for them to endeavour to work in concert with all the Powers of Europe. It was worth while even to pay the price for the benefit of that co-operation, and therefore I pronounce no censure, only I think the Powers collectively have undergone miserable disgrace. I don't partition that disgrace. I have expressed already my strong hope that it will be found that it is not our Government that brought such a result upon us. But the state of things at which we have arrived, I think, is this—and I understand my sentiments to be sustained and supported by the existence of this meeting—we have arrived at the point at which it becomes necessary to strengthen the hands of the Executive Government by an expression of national will. That is the exact point to which I have sought in my preceding remarks to bring with me the feeling of the meeting, expressing, of course, opinions for which no one is responsible except myself, but, at the same time, believing, as I do, that those opinions have been agreeable to the general sense of the meeting and of the country. When I speak thus of the value of the Concert of Europe I must point out that there is another side of the question. In this instance everyone is aware that we have failed in obtaining from the Sultan fulfilment of his treaty obligations, and in that sense the result of the Concert of Europe has been—I do not now speak of Crete, but of Armenia, that is the main subject before us—the Concert of Europe has been a total failure. But is this all? In my opinion the presence of the Ambassadors of the six powers at Constantinople during the whole of these proceedings—massacre heaped upon massacre, and when distant massacres would not suffice them, massacre on the spot, and in the view of the Embassies, came to be added to it—in my opinion the presence of the diplomatic representatives of the Six Powers in Constantinople, and of the Ambassadors of the Sultan in the six capitals of Europe has been a distinct—not so intended, but has worked as a distinct countenance and support to the Sultan. It has carried to the general mind of Europe the belief that the differences between them and the Sultan are matters to be arranged upon paper, and that endeavours to arrange them upon paper, which we ought to know beforehand, are each of them booked to utter disappointment. As we have begun, as we have persevered, so we will continue to the end. So far as my opinion goes—I wish to make it intelligible, at any rate, even if there are any who do not support it—that this presence, this maintenance of diplomatic relations with Turkey, which has not sufficed to prevent this massacre of 4,000 Armenians in the streets of Constantinople, operates as a distinct countenance of the Sultan, who is still recognised as an ally, and is still entitled to claim every diplomatic courtesy, and with whom, as long as we continue in the present course, we virtually tell the people of Europe and the world that we have no differences except such as can be arranged by a few

amicable exchanges of courtesy and argument. In these circumstances it is that the meeting is asked to vote as follows :—

“That this meeting trusts that Her Majesty’s Ministers, realising to the fullest extent the terrible condition in which their fellow-Christians are placed, will do every thing possible to obtain for them full security and protection; and this meeting assures Her Majesty’s Ministers that they may rely on the cordial support of the citizens of Liverpool in whatever steps they may feel it necessary to take for that purpose.”

#### **War with Europe Deprecated.**

It appears to me that resolution has great merits. It is firm, and at the same time it is cautious, and it does not take into our hands that which does not belong to us. It expresses our confidence that Her Majesty’s Ministers will do everything that is possible for the purpose of attaining a great end. It knows very well that we have not the information or the other advantages necessary for pointing out those means in detail, but it assures the Government that every measure which the Government may adopt for the advancement of that great end will have our warm, ungrudging, unhesitating support. It is upon the ground of that resolution that I invite you to place yourselves, and I think you will allow me to say, in the first place, the terms of the resolution are of course to be interpreted in accordance with the rules of common sense, and when we say we hope Her Majesty’s Government will adopt every possible measure we mean every measure which is possible consistently with reason. I therefore think that although the resolution does not express it, yet it is not the intention of this meeting to express a desire that everything that in the nature of things is abstractedly possible should be done. The rules of prudence must be observed, and the rules of prudence, I think, as has often been said in the course of this discussion, neither require nor permit—nor does duty, in my opinion, either require or permit—that we, for the sake even of the great object we have in view, should place ourselves in condition of war with united Europe, or should take measures which should plunge Europe generally into a state of war. With that proposition I cordially agree, but when I speak of a state of war in that sense I mean a real state of war, and I don’t mean those phantasms of European war which everyone—not so much in this country as in other countries—who wishes to stop beneficial measures on behalf of Armenia conjures up before our eyes, in saying that any country that takes into its own hands, exercises its own judgment, and makes itself in the last resort the judge of its own duty—that every such country must reckon upon plunging Europe into war. I do not say that. I say everything that is reasonable—everything that is possible. I say that it would not be reasonable to do that which would imply war with Europe, or plunge Europe into war; but, I completely deny that it means that England is, under all circumstances, to abandon and forego her own right of ultimate judgment upon her duties and her powers, and to be dragged at the chariot wheels of the other Powers of Europe, or of some other Powers of Europe who have possibly other points of view, and who may not take at present entirely the same view with us.

#### **Our Independence and Obligations.**

As to this idea of war—that the threat of war in insignificant newspapers, and by random gossiping going about from one place to another, even if among the places be included the doorways of some public departments—to suppose that that implies that all independent action on the part of this great country is to be made chargeable for

Sultan became aware that coercion was hanging over him. There was no bloodshed, no war, no declaration of war, no measure of severity, but the mere knowledge that it impended was enough, and in the autumn of 1880 the Treaty of Berlin was fulfilled, and upon the whole fairly fulfilled, with regard both to Greece and Montenegro. Therefore, what I should say is this—that it was quite right, both for the present Government and the Government of Lord Rosebery, which preceded it, it was quite right for them, in my opinion—it was quite right for them to endeavour to work in concert with all the Powers of Europe. It was worth while even to pay the price for the benefit of that co-operation, and therefore I pronounce no censure, only I think the Powers collectively have undergone miserable disgrace. I don't partition that disgrace. I have expressed already my strong hope that it will be found that it is not our Government that brought such a result upon us. But the state of things at which we have arrived, I think, is this—and I understand my sentiments to be sustained and supported by the existence of this meeting—we have arrived at the point at which it becomes necessary to strengthen the hands of the Executive Government by an expression of national will. That is the exact point to which I have sought in my preceding remarks to bring with me the feeling of the meeting, expressing, of course, opinions for which no one is responsible except myself, but, at the same time, believing, as I do, that those opinions have been agreeable to the general sense of the meeting and of the country. When I speak thus of the value of the Concert of Europe I must point out that there is another side of the question. In this instance everyone is aware that we have failed in obtaining from the Sultan fulfilment of his treaty obligations, and in that sense the result of the Concert of Europe has been—I do not now speak of Crete, but of Armenia, that is the main subject before us—the Concert of Europe has been a total failure. But is this all? In my opinion the presence of the Ambassadors of the six powers at Constantinople during the whole of these proceedings—massacre heaped upon massacre, and when distant massacres would not suffice them, massacre on the spot, and in the view of the Embassies, came to be added to it—in my opinion the presence of the diplomatic representatives of the Six Powers in Constantinople, and of the Ambassadors of the Sultan in the six capitals of Europe has been a distinct—not so intended, but has worked as a distinct countenance and support to the Sultan. It has carried to the general mind of Europe the belief that the differences between them and the Sultan are matters to be arranged upon paper, and that endeavours to arrange them upon paper, which we ought to know beforehand, are each of them booked to utter disappointment. As we have begun, as we have persevered, so we will continue to the end. So far as my opinion goes—I wish to make it intelligible, at any rate, even if there are any who do not support it—that this presence, this maintenance of diplomatic relations with Turkey, which has not sufficed to prevent this massacre of 4,000 Armenians in the streets of Constantinople, operates as a distinct countenance of the Sultan, who is still recognised as an ally, and is still entitled to claim every diplomatic courtesy, and with whom, as long as we continue in the present course, we virtually tell the people of Europe and the world that we have no differences except such as can be arranged by a few



amicable exchanges of courtesy and argument. In these circumstances it is that the meeting is asked to vote as follows :—

“That this meeting trusts that Her Majesty’s Ministers, realising to the fullest extent the terrible condition in which their fellow-Christians are placed, will do everything possible to obtain for them full security and protection; and this meeting assures Her Majesty’s Ministers that they may rely on the cordial support of the citizens of Liverpool in whatever steps they may feel it necessary to take for that purpose.”

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#### **Our Independence and Obligations.**

As to this idea of war—that the threat of war in insignificant newspapers, and by random gossiping going about from one place to another, even if among the places be included the doorways of some public departments—to suppose that that implies that all independent action on the part of this great country is to be made chargeable for

producing war in Europe is, in my opinion, a mistake—almost more deplorable, perhaps, even than any of those mistakes that have ever before been committed in the history of diplomacy. Therefore, while I fully admit and recognise that the possible measures—all measures that are possible—do not include a policy which gives just cause of complaint to the Powers of Europe, because I admit that if they had just cause of complaint, of course they would have a title to object to our action, and to enforce their action by the use of all their military means—I will not admit that we are on that account to forego our own convictions and our own duties, or to take our own measure of those duties from that which may be said and felt abroad. We have an independent part to play. We have often undertaken to play that part on behalf of our own interests. Let us see now what are the obligations incumbent upon us; because, while I admit that it is of the utmost importance that we should study every means of consulting the sentiments of other Powers, and of carrying them along with us, I do not believe that the way to carry them along with us is to show a servile determination under all circumstances, and whatever they may decide, to make their conscience the measure of our own. The first question is: Have we the title, and would it be politic—should it be found impossible to obtain the assent of the other Powers—have we a title, a just title, according to the law of nations, to threaten Turkey with coercion?

#### The Power of Coercion.

Coercion does not of itself mean war. Coercion, justly and judiciously employed, has often been the means of averting war. At the same time, it is quite right to admit that coercion, when once applied, does carry with it the consequence that in certain cases it may develop into war. That I don't for a moment deny. Now what is our position with regard to Turkey? In 1856, by the Treaty of Paris, Turkey gave a solemn promise to introduce into Armenia, as one part of her dominions, effective reforms. She broke that promise. She renewed the promise in 1876 in the Treaty of Berlin. As far as Armenia is concerned, she again absolutely broke that promise. In 1878 another treaty was formed, known by the name of the Anglo-Turkish Convention, and there England endeavoured to obtain securities for the fulfilment of the promise by offering compensation. England undertook to defend Turkey in Armenia against unjust aggression from Russia, Turkey undertaking in return to introduce into Armenia reforms, the nature of which was to be settled and adjusted by the joint action of Turkey and England. The two first of these treaties constituted objections by which the other Powers of Europe were bound, in conjunction with us, and to the same degree as ourselves, but the third was entirely our own; and perhaps I ought to mention, parenthetically, that I myself was a great objector to that treaty on account of certain circumstances connected with the arrangement which I thought improper and disastrous. But that treaty was made known while the Congress of Berlin was sitting, and must be held to have received its substantial assent and approval. Well, there is a separate and distinct obligation, on the one hand on England, and on the other hand on Turkey, England agreeing in certain circumstances to defend the Turkish frontier in Asia Minor; Turkey agreeing in consideration of this covenant to introduce effective reforms into Armenia.

The Sultan of Turkey has interpreted reforms to mean wholesale and immeasurable massacre, and that is the condition in which, so far as title is concerned, we have placed ourselves in the face of Turkey. And am I to be told that while the law of nations declares a very deliberate breach of treaty to constitute a justification for war—am I to be told that such a breach of treaty as this has no power in vesting England either with an obligation or with a solemn right to require, and to peremptorily require, an application of those requirements and of all institutions really calculated to maintain them in Armenia?

#### Suspend Diplomatic Relations.

Now, I earnestly hope, and more than hope, and I have every trust, that England will not be called upon to act alone in this matter, but the right to act alone I, for one, will never be a party to renounce. It is a case where the cause of complaint is not sufficient only, but fearful in its amount, intense in its character, and where we confine ourselves strictly to the measures that such cause of complaint may entail. Now in the natural course of things I am not going to advise Her Majesty's Government. It would be going entirely out of my line of duty, and inviting you, I think, to go beyond the purpose of this meeting; but there are certain measures that when a determined intention is entertained one must suppose hypothetically to come in the natural course of events. I will first of all suppose, then, that every effort to obtain direct and active co-operation from any power of Europe has failed. That is a large supposition—but supposing that—because I am going to suppose everything against my own arguments in order that you may be enabled to measure the worst of what could possibly happen. Well, of course, the first thing would be to require Turkey to fulfil her obligations, and to require that by what may be called a peremptory demand, and not by one of those demands that are first of all delayed for a certain time in deference to the Porte, and then delayed in deference to a Commission, and then, pending the report of the Commissioner, delayed until the report of the Commission to be considered. The proceeding that I hope will be adopted, and I feel sure should be adopted, is the method of what is termed peremptory demand, which is taken, and can properly be made, when the title is unquestionable and the necessity urgent. Well, then, upon the failure to comply with that demand I apprehend the first step to be taken must be the recall of our Ambassador from Constantinople, and the corresponding dismissal of the Turkish Ambassador from London. I apprehend that that is not creating a European war. What I wish to point out are these two things. The first is what is called the suspension of diplomatic relations—a thing of frequent, I might almost say of constant, occurrence. It is a thing which gives no right of objection or of complaint to anybody. I do not hesitate to say that in the present relations with Turkey it would be a withdrawal of countenance and an escape from responsibility as far as it goes. It would be a good thing in itself, although I don't say it would do all the good we ought to contemplate. But it would do this: When diplomatic relations have been put an end to or suspended there arises for all parties the full and free opportunity of considering what shall be done next. And if the English people are of opinion that it is enough—I will not say that is my opinion—they have an unquestioned and unquestionable opportunity of saying so.

### A Public Disclaimer.

Now I am going a little further, I am going to suppose that, upon this withdrawal of diplomatic relations—the suspension of diplomatic relations—England informs the Sultan that she shall take into consideration that means of enforcing—if force alone is available—of enforcing compliance with her just, legal, and humane demand. Now I am here going to interpose a condition of my own authority. I am strongly of opinion that, if unhappily we come to the point of sole action and of continuing obstinacy on the part of Turkey—neither of which do I conceive to be very probable—if we come to that point, and if it became our duty to intimate to the Sultan that we should consider the proper means of enforcing our just demands, there is, in my opinion, one condition on our part which ought on no account to be overlooked, and that is the passing of what has been called a self-denying ordinance. Such a declaration was made at the beginning of the Crimean War on the part of England and France. It was a declaration that on no account would they turn that war to their own private and particular advantage. That declaration was publicly made and it was honourably kept. In my opinion it would be the manifest duty of England to make such a declaration, and to make it in such terms that the Powers of Europe, aye, or any of them, might, if they thought fit, resent the breach of it as being not only a violation of good faith in itself, but a violation of our engagement to them, and therefore placing us entirely at their mercy. Therefore, if this country be the selfish and grasping country that she is sometimes represented to be—and perhaps on certain occasions she has been—if this country be that selfish and grasping creature, I can only say I can hold out no inducements in that direction. We ought, in my opinion, solemnly and effectively to disclaim and renounce every prospect of the kind, to limit ourselves absolutely to those duties which lie in our path, and which we, under obligations of treaty, ought to insist upon.

### The Phantasm of War.

Well, according to some anonymous articles in the newspapers, and according to reports destitute of all authority, and due probably to the imagination or to selfish aim in some other quarter, or to pure error of judgment, we are told that such a proceeding as I have sketched is to create a united war with Europe against us. I again say that in my opinion such a proposition is more or less to say that which is cruelly unjust to all the Powers of Europe—is saying little short of, even if it does not approach the limits of, absolute absurdity; because it would be a declaration, and a declaration supported by measures of violence, to the effect that there was no power on the part of a state which had obtained concession by treaty—there was no power to exact the observance of those concessions. I therefore don't believe, and don't entertain for a moment, this phantasm which is raised to alarm us if our nerves happen to be in a peculiar state of weakness; this phantasm of European war against measures unselfish, just and directed to the stoppage of brutal and horrible massacres on an unexampled scale. I do not believe that Europe, or any part of Europe, will make war to ensure the continuance of these massacres; but if they are not to continue, and if security is given against them, that is all we want. But that security must be effective; it must be real; it must not be visionary; it must not be limited to the exaction

of promises upon paper with which we have too often and too long been contented. Now, supposing however, that this monstrous supposition were to come about, and that where we had in a binding form limited our own proceedings to the suppression of mischief in its aggravated form on account that we have used the word coercion in our communications with Turkey, then the supposition is that a threat of war by the European Powers is to be at once thrown in our face. This supposition I am considering. I am going to make a frank confession. If the people of England find themselves confronted by a distinct announcement of such a war in order to secure the maintenance of the present state of things in Turkey, they would have to consider their position. Supposing they came to the conclusion, because this is the most unfavourable supposition, that it was their duty to desist from all effort of procuring effectual change in Turkey—suppose they frankly owned that they were not prepared to incur the responsibility of plunging Europe into war—supposing they said, “We cast upon you who are willing to undertake it the responsibility of giving countenance to those detestable and horrible proceedings, we wash our hands of them, we will have nothing more to do with them, we will never give countenance, we will never give neutrality, we will not acknowledge as a nation within the family of nations the ruler who is himself the responsible agent of these monstrous acts—but we are not prepared to urge Europe on to war, and we will do what was done by France in 1840, without loss of honour retaining our own judgment and retaining our own right of enforcing that judgment when we see our way to do it—but we will not plunge Europe into war, and will leave to those who bring about this state of things the responsibility which belongs to them.”

#### **The Bounds of Reason.**

Well now, in 1840—there are few of you who recollect it—France at that time had a policy in the Eastern question totally at variance with that of the rest of Europe. They were prepared to resort to military measures, and France is certainly, as everyone will admit, a very spirited and a very powerful country. France receded in the face of that attitude on the part of Europe, and she receded without loss either of honour or of power; she receded believing that she had been right and wise, that others had been wrong and unwise. I declare, in my judgment, it would be far better even to run the risk, which I believe is no risk at all, of recession than to continue the present state of things, in which we become ministers and co-operators with the Sultan by ensuring his immunity and encouraging him to continue his monstrous acts. Now if in pursuance of what I have laid before you we go before the Government, not presuming to speak for the people of England, but presuming in some degree to speak for one great community, which undoubtedly exercises an important influence with England, and which constitutes not altogether an inconsiderable fraction of the strength and also of the intelligence of England—we shall be able to go before the throne with the assurance that we at least will not shrink from giving support to the most energetic conduct of the Government within no bounds except those bounds described by reason.

#### **Neutrality Denounced.**

May I venture on the observation—even the day is favourable to our purpose—I do not mean simply that the sun is returning to display

himself on high, but I mean that this is the day on which her Most Gracious Majesty commences a new term of a reign already so long, and a reign of which the length has not been more remarkable than the manner in which it has been adorned and blessed by peace, by prosperity, and by valuable and useful legislation. May that reign long continue—and may it continue to bear the marks which have hitherto made it not so long, but honourable. I think that what we are humbly endeavouring to recommend to-day will, if it proceed into a practical form, not tarnish the honour of that reign, but on the contrary, tend to elevate it, and to elevate the character of this great and powerful people always possessed of weight, and now perhaps under modern circumstances possessed of ever-increasing weight, in the councils of Europe. Come what may, let us extract ourselves from an ambiguous position. Let us have nothing to do with the countenance of, ~~but~~ renounce and condemn, ~~neutrality~~, and let us present ourselves to her Majesty's Ministers, promising them in good faith our ungrudging, and our enthusiastic support in every effort which they may make to express by word and by deed their detestation of the acts, not yet perhaps having reached their consummation, but which already have come to such a magnitude and such a depth of atrocity that they constitute the most terrible and most monstrous series of proceedings that have ever been recorded in the dismal and the deplorable history of human crime.

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## IS SELFISHNESS POLICY?

ENGLAND speaks and Europe listens—what doth England say!  
 FROM the very shrine of Freedom comes a voice to-day,—  
 Comes a voice from Christian England, bids them spare or slay,  
 Is it death, or is it life! What doth England say!

“ Shall a brother help a brother, if the waves run high!  
 Shall a nation save a nation, if it lose thereby?  
 Keep the peace, endure oppression, trade and gather pelf,  
 England's mission—(hear it, Heaven!)—is to save herself!”

Hath he said, and shall the world say, “ This is England's choice?”  
 Nay, but this is the supplanter, this is Jacob's voice.  
 Shall he rob us of our birthright, right to free the slave,  
 Right to comfort the afflicted, right to hear and save!

Shall the river hurry seaward, red with Christian blood,  
 Outraged maids and ripped-up mothers rolling down the flood!  
 Shall the savage lust of Islam hold its revel there,  
 And the putrid breath of corpses lade the sluggish air!

Oh, for Milton's rolling thunder, Cromwell's fiery zeal for God;  
 Then should England rise to vengeance, tread the path that once  
 she trod.

Once again for sacred Freedom should her hosts go forth to fight,  
 And the battle-cry of England should be “ God defend the right!”

## ARMENIA'S WRONGS.

ARMENIA lifts her voice on high :—  
 “ How long, O Lord, how long ?  
 Why are we led as sheep to die,  
 Why suffer rapine wrong ?  
 Why should the wanton Moslem's greed  
 Destroy as with a flood ?  
 We bear Thy name, Thy help we plead :  
 Avenge our martyrs' blood.”

Armenia cries to many a land  
 'Neath Christian rule at peace :—  
 “ O stretch to us a rescuing hand,  
 Bid dire oppression cease :  
 Our wives, our daughters shield from shame,  
 From murder save our homes ;  
 In justice listen to our claim,  
 From outraged hearts it comes.”

Armenia pleads her bitter plaint  
 With all the Church of God :—  
 “ Ye bear the honoured name of Saint,  
 Release us from the rod  
 Of reckless lust and ruthless hate :  
 O weep with them that weep.  
 Pray for us in our hapless state,  
 Unceasing vigils keep.”

Who then shall heed Armenia's wail ?  
 Who move to right her wrongs ?  
 Too long does Christian England fail  
 To burst her cruel thongs.  
 O God, respect Armenia's plea,  
 Thy holy arm make bare ;  
 Bid nations take their lead from Thee—  
 Direct, enlighten, spare !

REV. W. A. BATHURST.

---

REFERRING to the crimes at Bitlis, Dr. Dillon says :—“ The massacre of Sassoun sends a shudder to the hearts of the most callous. But that butchery was a divine mercy compared with the hellish deeds that are being done every week and every day of the year. The piteous moans of famishing children ; the groans of old men who have lived to see what can never be embodied in words ; the piercing cries of violated maidenhood, nay, of tender childhood ; the shrieks of mothers made childless by crimes compared with which murder would be a blessing ; the screams, scarcely human, of women writhing under the lash ; and all the vain voices of blood and agony that die away in that dreary desert without having found a responsive echo on earth or in heaven, combine to throw Sassoun and all its horrors into the shade.”

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**ILLUSTRATED TRACTS, &C.**



Die Makedonische Frage - Jahresbericht des Kaiserlichen  
Vereins für Geographie und Statistik 1901.

The groundwork of the population of the three Macedonian Vilayets is Slavonic:  $\Phi$  in the Mountain-land north of ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~city~~ <sup>city</sup> ~~Nitowitz~~ <sup>Nitowitz</sup> they call themselves "Bosniaks": in the Metza & the Kosovo Polje, "Serbians": from Ushub to the Aegean Sea, "Bulgarians."

Serbian means Slavonic-speaking adherents of the oecumenical Patriarchate-Church; Bulgarian means Slavonic-speaking adherents of the Exarchate. Even this distinction is fluctuating: for whole districts cross over from one to the other Confession. Nevertheless the population of the ~~west~~ <sup>west</sup> north as far as Ushub call themselves & are called by their neighbors Serbians: from there to the Sea they are recognised as Bulgarians. Accordingly ~~must~~ <sup>must</sup> maintain ~~firmly~~ <sup>firmly</sup> that Macedonia from Vadrarsknie downwards is inhabited by Bulgarians. But if the Bulgarian schismatic church should return to the oecumenical church, the only clear distinction between Serbs & Bulgarians would disappear. This because of this that the Bulgarian national movement is against ~~all~~ any ~~and~~ union of the Churches.

The occurrence of <sup>e.g.</sup> Serbian village-names in Bulgarian parts, & Bulgarian in Serbian parts, is of little importance. It merely means the settlement of e.g. a Serbian among Bulgarians or vice versa. It gives no ground for claiming the district as belonging to the stock <sup>to</sup> which the name of the village belongs.

Differences of speech or dialect do not offer ground for dividing the Slavs of Macedonia into two stocks or stems. In primitive times Macedonia was settled probably contemporaneously by Bulgaro-Slovenes, ~~by~~ <sup>by</sup> mixed with Magyar-Hun elements, and by the Serbians, a pure Slavonic race from Serbocroatia. The extent of the pure Serbian settlement <sup>in Macedonia</sup> may be taken as coincident with the attachment to the Patriarchate there.

Putting the question of race & language

aside, ~~the~~ the only way in which we can speak of Macedonia as divided into distinct ~~the~~ Serbian & Bulgarian nations is by the reason of neighbourhood to the independent states; thus:—  
 the Slavs of North Macedonia have naturally tended towards their <sup>nearest</sup> kinsmen in the Kingdom of Serbia; the Slavs of South Macedonia to their ~~kinsmen~~ nearest kinsmen in the Principality of Bulgaria.

The manner in which the neighbourhood of the independent national State takes effect, is to be seen in the <sup>development of the</sup> ethnographical situation of ~~Macedonia~~ in the vilayet of Monastir. The groundwork of the population is Bulgarian Slav: there are also Greeks in the South: the vilayet stretches to the Greek frontier. The population of the villages in the Pelagonian plateau is also Bulgarian; also in the surroundings of Monastir. But the vilayet is separated from the independent principality of Bulgaria by the mountains, unknown district of Kurichovo, through which the Corna flows to the Vardar. To the West are the Albanians, to the North the district has a bad name & is difficult to traverse. The only practicable communication is therefore by the valleyway from Ostrovo-Vodena, and also by the Salonika-Monastir Railway. This route leads to the comparatively international Salonika, & from there it is still a long way to Bulgaria. Towards Greece the communication is much easier. The hinterland of the Plateau Ostrovo-Kailor is Thessaly. The result is that Greek speech & culture has spread among the inhabitants of the towns, and the Greek form of <sup>worship</sup> ~~religion~~ among the rural population. The Bulgarian-speaking monks in the monastery ~~of~~ Sveti Naum on the Lake of Ochrida are "Greek," & belong to the Oecumenical Church. On Sveti Ailo, an island in the S-E. bay of the Prespa-Lake, the writer saw <sup>small</sup> children working at the Greek alphabet, alpha, beta, gamma &c. Yet the speech was formerly ~~that~~ Bulgarian, & he was shown an old woman who still spoke Bulgarian.

The sorry remnants of the Wallachs in the

Macedonian villages are too far removed from their national  
stock in Roumania to be drawn towards it. They belong to  
the Ecumenical Church, & are already getting Hellenized.  
It will not be ~~so~~ long before the flourishing town villages  
of the East-Prisoner slope are completely Greek in feeling.

Thus it may be said that the national  
division of Macedonia is thus: (1) North Greece =  
South-West Macedonia (2) South Serbian (or Old-Serbian) = North  
Macedonia (3) Great Bulgarian = the Middle & South Macedonia.

Among such diverse elements, the Turks  
form a neutral party which, if under proper reforms, would  
form a satisfactory balance and Government.

Liberals in 1903

“ Macedonia, and is at present engaged in destroying by  
“ wholesale massacre the inhabitants of that country, calls  
“ upon His Majesty’s Government to take such steps as are  
“ necessary to put an end to these massacres and to emanci-  
“ pate Macedonia from the direct rule of the Sultan.”

Mr. Birrell, as you are aware is a member of the present Cabinet. The same resolution was also passed unanimously by the Executive Committee of the Home Counties Liberal Federation, of which Sir William Harcourt was then the President. Acknowledgements of the resolution were received by the Secretary from Lord Spencer and Sir William Harcourt and the present Prime Minister. Sir William Harcourt wrote :—

“ As one who, 25 years ago, strenuously resisted the  
“ policy of Lord Beaconsfield by which the domination of  
“ the Turk was maintained in Macedonia, I am specially  
“ sensible of the obligations imposed upon this country to  
“ employ its legitimate influence to restrain the terrible  
“ massacres now being committed upon those unhappy  
“ people.”

Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, the present Prime Minister, in acknowledging receipt of the resolution, wrote :

“ I duly received the resolution which you sent me  
“ from your Committee on the subject of Macedonia. I  
“ was glad to read it, and am in full sympathy with it.”

We have here then a definite expression of concurrence that action should be taken, from the Prime Minister downwards, to bring to an end the existing state of affairs in Macedonia. A leading liberal organ at the time, after expressing its entire agreement with the resolution of the National Liberal Federation, went on to say :—

“ . . . . It may be that we have for a moment  
“ a Government which lacks the nerve to retrace the fatal

“error it made nine months ago, when it resigned the whole management of this crisis to Austria and Russia. But no Government is immortal; and the opinions which Liberals, in common with humane men of all parties, have expressed, will be binding when next a Liberal Government comes into power.”

We must, therefore, fight on, and endeavour by every means in our power to strengthen the hands of the Government in any action which they may take. We believe that we have at the head of the Government a humane and sympathetic man who will respond to any call which the country is entitled to make in this direction.

From trustworthy accounts, if war is to be prevented between Bulgaria and Turkey, it is imperative that something should be done, and that promptly. In the nature of things we cannot expect that Bulgaria will remain quiescent for ever while her kith and kin are being slowly extirpated across the border. Many people think that unless something is done, war may break out next spring, and such a war would be a terrible and bloody one; a religious war between Christian and Mahomedan, with possibly far reaching consequences. It behoves us therefore to bestir ourselves while there is yet time.

I turn now to the question of the Congo, and here also it may be of value to go back to the beginning of this unhappy story. The Congo, as you are probably aware, was discovered by Stanley, and is situated in Central Africa. King Leopold, the present King of Belgium, was so fired by Stanley's narratives of the wonders of that region that he determined to possess it. Mr. Gladstone, who was then Prime Minister, with Lord Granville, Foreign Secretary, distrusted King Leopold, and was

THE MACEDONIAN MASSACRES.

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A PUBLIC MEETING

was held at

ST. JAMES' HALL, PICCADILLY

on

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 29th. 1903

to protest against

THE MACEDONIAN MASSACRES

BY THE TURKS.

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The Bishop of Worcester occupied the Chair at the opening of the proceedings and His Grace was followed by Sir Edward Fry.

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(Transcript from the Shorthand Notes of  
Messrs J. Moore & Son, 38 Parliament Street,  
Westminster, S.W.)

THE BISHOP OF WORCESTER:      I now call upon Mr. Noel Buxton  
to read letters which he has received from those whom we  
should wish to have with us to-night, but who are not  
able to attend.

MR. NOEL BUSTON: The following are extracts from letters received by the Committee.

The Archbishop of Canterbury says - "It can, in my judgment, do nothing but good, that by such meetings as this we should make it clear, both at home and abroad, that in such vigorous action as our responsible Government, with the means of influence at its command, may find it possible to take, it will have behind it the spirit of ~~the~~ <sup>d</sup> united people, bent upon bringing the whole influence of <sup>Christian</sup> great England to bear for the repression of tyranny, rapacity, and misrule, and for the introduction of such conditions as may bring happiness and peace both to the Christian and Moslem populations of these distracted countries".

From Lord Spencer we have the following - "I am unable to attend the meeting at St. James's Hall on September 29th. but I should like, if you are there, to make known how deeply I sympathise with the unhappy people in Macedonia. It is difficult, and would be unwise without knowledge of what is passing by diplomatic negotiation between the Powers, to suggest the exact course which the King's Government should follow, but I am sure that public opinion in this country has been clearly represented, and it will accord support to the Government in taking, as I hope they are, the most effective steps, in connection with all the great Powers, for establishing a just and humane Government in Macedonia, and thus relieving a large population from offensive and exasperating acts of administration".

The following is from the Bishop of Durham - "From my heart I wish for the meeting to have a great attendance



and a great influence. Day by day The Times, no partisan witness, shows us that the Turkish power is acting with terrible thoroughness on lines of purely barbaric violence and outrage. The unworthy jealousies of European Christendom alone make this possible, a reflection which is an indescribable reproach upon the Christian name. May England even yet, in the mercy of God, wake to her true self, and at least make her voice heard if only in an open appeal for the sympathy and concurrence of France in earnest diplomatic action"!

The following is from the Bishop of Rochester: "I earnestly trust that it may be given to England to discharge some of her special responsibility to this unhappy population, and to say the words which force in reserve makes powerful for their deliverance and enfranchisement".

Expressions of sympathy with the object of the meeting have also been received from Lord Ripon, Lord Halifax, Lord Davey, The Bishop of Ripon, The Bishop of St. Johns, The Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, The Rev. Lord Victor Seymour, The Rev. Canon Rhodes Bristow, Canon Escreet, Canon Horsley, Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman, Sir Edward Grey, Mr. Asquith, Mr. Haldane and 39 other members of Parliament.

THE BISHOP OF WORCESTER: This is a <sup>grand</sup> ~~great~~ meeting - considering the weather a very grand meeting, and I hear that there is a grand overflow. And this is as it should be, because this meeting has a great work to do and it should represent a multitude. What is it that this meeting has to do to-night? It is, I take it, to express, and by expressing, to strengthen a thousand fold the demand which the country makes upon the Government for a more <sup>in the affairs of Macedonia.</sup> effective intervention. This feeling has had expression already, and as always when the affairs of the Turkish Empire are in question, I recognise with satisfaction that the Non-conformists have been foremost - they have always been true in this matter to the lead of the great Churchman whose son and representative we had hoped to see here to-night - I need not say whom I mean, it is Mr. Gladstone. If among the speakers who are to address you to-night there is only one whom you will recognise as a Non-conformist, Mr. Campbell, it is I suppose because those who are organising this platform were conscious that the sentiments of the Non-conformists were well known, and that the important matter was to emphasize that the sentiment belonged not to them only but also to the other section of the Christian Churches. I say expression has been found already for the sentiment which this meeting has collected to emphasize, but it commands expression far stronger, more concentrated, and more voluminous than it has yet found; because in a great measure the powers of a Government to act with force and with resolution depends on its being understood to have a strong, and popular, and determined sentiment of the country behind him. And this is all the more necessary

if, as I venture to think, this meeting will be unanimous in believing what is wanted is, not only that the Government should persevere in a course which it has already undertaken, but that the intervention should be, as I said just now, more effective than it has shown signs of being hitherto.

We have read Mr. Balfour's letter to my great chief whose words, enthusiastic and warm words, you have had just now, the Archbishop of Canterbury. But I must confess to sharing what is apparently the feeling of this meeting. I was not satisfied with the terms of that letter. We want more effective interposition than is there adumbrated. We were told in that letter that the Russian and Austrian scheme of reform was the irreducible minimum. I am quite certain that the irreducible minimum of effective reform is something of definitely more than the Austrian and Russian scheme of reform. And I say "definitely more", because I wish to emphasize the particular point <sup>in</sup> which it appears to me all experts, all those who have the local knowledge and have given us their testimony, agree in emphasizing to be the necessary point - and that is that whatever the districts Macedonia may be divided into for religious <sup>or racial</sup> ~~of rational~~ reasons the <sup>whole</sup> ~~Peles~~ should be under <sup>a</sup> ~~the~~ Christian Governor responsible, not to the Sultan but to the Powers, and irremovable except with the consent and intervention of the <sup>P</sup> powers. I am quite sure - I am reassured by what I hear, in feeling that this great meeting, which represents so great a body of feeling and sentiment in the country, ~~that~~ this point is regarded by this meeting as the irreducible minimum.

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Now on this matter the first point which ought to be prominent in our minds, is that England has a right, and a something which is much greater than a right, that is a most solemn duty to interpose. We put our money on the wrong horse. That was in the fifties; and unfo

rtunately, like many others of those who have embarked in gambling, we do not stop soon enough. We put it on the wrong horse again, in 1878. Well now it is well known that gambling in the matter of horses mostly leads people into debt, and that that which brings them up short after a time is the consciousness that the debt has got to be paid.

Now, our putting our money on the wrong horse has led us into this unfortunately position of the gambler; and we have got, as we are men with a sense of our responsibility, to be prepared to pay the penalty which God laid on us for our action - we have got to pay that debt by something more strenuous than any action than we have hitherto exhibited. It is a very old story, and as I daresay I am speaking to almost no one who is not familiar with the rudiments of this question historically, I might almost omit the matter so familiar; but I always believe that there are some people at meetings, a very few, somewhere in a corner who ~~own-knew~~ do not know much about the matter under consideration, and in case there should be one or two somewhere hidden in a corner of the top gallery ("we are all right up here"). You know very well all of you up there; but there are just one or two of you that I should like to say, that in the memorable year 1878 this particular people, almost the whole of them, who now by their intolerable suffering are exciting our

even  
sympathy, the sympathies of the most hard-hearted and  
indifferent, ~~they~~ were on the threshold of liberty and  
emancipation by the Treaty of San Stefano, which a victorious  
Russia had imposed upon the Sultan. You know it, for  
amongst other things the greater part of Macedonia was  
to have been attached to the Principality of Bulgaria, and  
would have shared all that extraordinary immeasurable  
improvement in the social and political condition of  
which Bulgaria has given us the example; and you know,  
yes, in the misery of your own consciences, you know,  
that it was England who at that moment interposed, and  
interposed alone, and said that that Treaty should not  
be carried into effect; and the Congress of Berlin  
substituted for the Treaty of San Stefano the Convention  
of Berlin, and instead of allowing that Treaty to take  
effect, and the Macedonians obtaining their practical  
emancipation, it put them under the superintendence of  
the Powers of Europe, and there could not have positively  
been a more solemn and engagement made in the sight of  
God than was then made by the Christian Powers of Europe  
with the people of Macedonia that they should have the  
conditions of decent Government. You know the history -  
the newspapers are making it plain to you every day - and  
I venture to say that the reproach lies equally in  
England on both political parties. You know that that  
great promise has not been fulfilled. We have then a right,  
something more than a right, a very sacred duty to make  
our voices felt in the Councils of Europe. No one who  
knows recent history, and who knows the place that England  
held in the Convention of Berlin, could doubt for a moment  
that we are, by the obligations we then contracted, pre-  
eminently interested in this matter.

But then what is it that constitutes the main objections to what I have been saying. First of all we hear that the sympathies of the English people have been alienated by the outrages of the revolutionists. On that subject I wish to say a word. I wonder if there is any Englishman acquainted with the history of his country, I wonder if there is any Englishman short of <sup>a</sup> ~~his~~ Stuart Absolutist, who would deny that under the conditions under which they have lived, after the long and ineffectual waiting upon the Christian Powers of Europe, it has been the duty of these Macedonians to rebel. I would not for a moment deny that in this rebellion, as in every rebellion known to history, many things have been done which ought not to have been done. I do not for a moment ask this sensitive Englishman in any way to excuse or to palliate the excesses of that rebellion. I do not ask that whatever ~~meed~~ of punishment is thought proper should not be meted out to the Macedonian Committee. But I ask, is it they who are in question? For whom is it that we are taking Council. It is not for a few members of a Committee; it is not for a few people; it is for, even in the eyes of those very sensitive consciences, for a whole innocent nation and people; and there they are in their villages, where they have not been burnt, there they are homeless, destitute, in danger of famine, bewailing multitudes that have been massacred. It is not for any people that have been guilty of excesses that we are asking for any pardon or anything else. Let them get whatever punishment Europe thinks it right to give them in company with those who caused those excesses. But what we plead for are, peoples, the wholly innocent peoples of Macedonia.



Then secondly we hear, not so much this time in at all well-informed circles, but from the man in the street, or should I say the man in the smoking room, you still hear a pooh-pooch of those exaggerated reports.

Well now, I remember that so very well, some years ago, when what was in question was the massacre, not of Macedonians but of Armenians, we were told, until we were weary of it, that the reports were exaggerated, and I venture to say that when the time came for report to have passed into history, when the time came for men to have consulted and got the returns of Cons<sup>uls</sup>, there was no more said about exaggerated reports. Nay, I say it deliberately, almost the worst reports were less than the realities, and I have not a doubt that all that has been said by that organ, which, on matters <sup>that</sup> concerned the Government, as was remarked just now, is not <sup>a</sup> the partisan organ, I have not a doubt that the correspondent of "The Times", the noble correspondent of "The Times", has been speaking the truth. And I notice also that all through Mr. Balfour's letter, there was not, I think, any indication that he believed the reports in which we were confiding to have been exaggerated. But it is said (and this is perhaps the last point that I propose to consider) that the mixture of races and religion makes the situation quite different to what we have had to deal with in other similar situations under the Turkish Dominion, and of course Mr. Balfour lays a great deal of stress on that point.

I should like to be allowed to say one word on that subject. first, and I am ~~am~~ only going to occupy one minute. I notice two letters in this morning's Times of

a very important character. The one pointed out ~~the~~ <sup>that</sup>  
the ~~phrase~~ <sup>phrase</sup> "that the difference in religion" requires a  
great deal of explanation, because the followers of the  
Exarch and the followers of the Patriarch are not  
distinguished by any known difference in religion at all.  
So that you have to deal with no more difference in religion  
than belongs to any district where the Mahommedan and  
Christian are living side by side. But it was also  
pointed out from another letter from our friend, to whom we  
owe a most special debt of gratitude this evening, and  
who speaks with a great <sup>personal</sup> knowledge of the affairs of  
Macedonia, that you may have districts characterised by  
a preponderance, whether of Greek or of Bulgarians or of  
Serfs, and they ~~can~~ <sup>could</sup> receive a difference of administra-  
tion, they could become a different province of the one  
administration; so that you have not really any more  
difficulty than has been already encountered and <sup>met</sup> made in  
that arrangement which we desire to take as a pattern  
for the reform we desire for Macedonia - I mean of course  
the arrangement in regard to <sup>the Lebanon.</sup> ~~Lebanon~~. It does not appear  
that the racial differences need be any obstacle whatever  
to the administration of the provinces under one Christian  
Governor. And then of course we are asked what it is  
that we want them to do. I would say only one word,  
because an outsider, who is not an expert never can in-  
timately know what diplomatic contingency is or is not  
possible; But I do not want that England should act  
alone; I do not want that England should confine itself  
to supporting the designs of Russia and of Austria. I  
want that England should, if it be possible, first of all  
to definitely formulate all that I have already spoken  
of as the irreducible minimum of necessary reform,

pointedly and precisely; then that it should endeavour by all possible means to obtain the co-operation of France and Italy. And then it should make a very urgent and persistent application to the other Christian Powers, especially Russia, Austria and Germany. Of course, we find it very often that some men would frighten us off by the bugbear of a war. For my own part it appears to be that it is inconceivable that Russia, occupied as she is in the remoter East, can be very anxious for war, or that Austria, in the <sup>particular</sup> political crisis of her history, can be very anxious for war; and I cannot but think that the cry of the possible European war is something of ~~the~~ <sup>a</sup> bugbear; and I have an immense belief that where it is so manifestly contrary to the interests of any one European Power to go to war there, a clearly defined policy and a strong moral persistency on the part of any one nation would bring the rest into line. [ It is very kind of you to have listened to me so long. I have ventured to speak thus with all the more presumption I fear, because having thus spoken, I am obliged to withdraw. I am compelled by business to leave London for what I fancy I may call the real metropolis of politics to-night, and by that I need hardly say I mean Birmingham (Laughter). I do not want to leave you laughing. I do want, if I might in one sentence, before I go, to impress the fear, the dread which is constantly in my own mind when I contemplate the currents of politics in our country at the present moment; I am terribly afraid that the enthusiasm for righteousness is at a discount in politics at the present moment. You listen to the preacher; you look at the enthusiasm of the religious body, and it appears to be a mighty force, a great river, but it seems to lose itself

in the sands as soon as it approaches, whether in internal matter; or external politics, practical concerns. Well, again and again the thought, I suppose, is in our minds, "Oh, for one half-hour of Gladstone". Gentlemen, enthusiasm may have made mistakes in history, but I ask you, is the Turkish question a very good instance for advocating this position, for has not policy, naked selfish policy, made mistakes. Has it not put its money on the wrong horse? <sup>A</sup> And indeed those mistakes which moral enthusiasm has ~~was~~ made in history are manifold; <sup>and</sup> it is also true that there is nothing else which is capable of accomplishing anything great.

I am going to ask you to allow me to vacate the chair for a very much more effective Chairmen, namely Sir Edward Fry, (The Bishop of Worcester then withdrew and his place in the chair was taken by Sir Edward Fry).

SIR EDWARD FRY, then called upon Mr. Bryce.

MR. BRUCE: The first resolution which I have now to move for your acceptance is as follows - "That the long-continued and incurable misgovernment of Macedonia and the failure of all attempts to introduce reform under Turkish control, have made it necessary that the direct rule of the Sultan should cease in those provinces, and be replaced by an administration directed by persons who cannot be controlled or dismissed by the Turkish Government". That is a moderate resolution, a cautious resolution. It asks nothing more than what is absolutely necessary, and it asks nothing more than what can be immediately and easily obtained, if only the Powers of Europe will agree. It is also not in any sense a party resolution. It is not a party meeting. Our respected Chairman who has just quitted us, I really do not know, and at this moment I am glad I do not know to which particular party he belongs; and I see beside me and around me at least *four* distinguished members of the party which commonly support his Majesty's present Government. The question is above party. It is a question on which I believe that the country is agreed, and that the unanimity you have already shown to-night represents the unanimous opinion of the British people; and I do not believe that the Government itself is at all out of harmony or out of sympathy with the temper and feelings of this meetings ("No") Well, I hear a note of dissent, and I suppose that note of dissent arises from the letter to which the Archbishop of Worcester referred, written by the Prime Minister. Now it is not my business, nor is it my habit, to defend His Majesty's Government, but on this occasion I must do so because I sincerely believe the terms of Mr. Balfour's letter do not measure the real wishes of the Government

They seem to me to belong to his idiosyncrasies; they seem to belong to his peculiar habit of thinking and of speaking; and I believe that you will misjudge a Government, misjudge their zeal for justice and humanity if you measure ~~of~~ it by the terms of Mr. Balfour's letter. Therefore I have some hope that the result of our meeting tonight, and of the many other meetings that are going on all over the country, may be to strengthen the hands of the Government in the course which they are not unwilling to pursue.

27 years ago we held a great meeting in this Hall. There were many noble voices heard that day which are now long since silent, and the meeting was closed by a speech from one majestic voice which was last heard on behalf of the Christians of Armenia, which was always heard on behalf of freedom, and which above all other voices we should delight to hear now. That meeting was held to arrest the policy of Lord Beaconsfield's government in supporting the Turks. We were accused then of neglecting British interests, for meddling in matters which belonged to the Government, and of deserting the established policy of Great Britain. But we persevered, and the result of that meeting, and of the agitation of those days, was to prevent Lord Beaconsfield from supporting the Turks. The Turks were left to their fate, the Czar Alexander II began the war; Turkey was reduced, and a Treaty was dictated ~~nearly-all-~~ by which Macedonia was liberated, nearly all of it, and its provinces were added to free Bulgaria. Then Great Britain stepped in; and she was the principal cause why those provinces were handed back to oppression. I mention those things, not for the sake of accusing the dead, but in order to remind you of what has happened, and of what

our responsibility is. Of course the Turks promised to reform; the promise was solemnly embodied in the 23rd. article of the Treaty of Berlin. But things went on as badly or worse than before, and the daily oppressions continued - the oppression of the Mussulman landlord, the oppression of the tax gatherer, and of the tythe-farmer, the oppression of the Gendarme, and the oppression of the Judges, because, under Turkish laws, the Judge is the shield of those who do evil and the terror of those who do well. It is not very easy for us to realise here what those daily oppressions mean, which this unhappy peasantry of Macedonia and the peasantry of Armenia have got to suffer. Think what it would be for you, never to know when you sowed your field, that you would be ~~app~~ allowed to reap the harvest; never when attacked and insulted and beaten by armed men to be able to defend yourselves; never when you left your house in the morning to be without fear that when you returned you might find its inmates outraged, your wives violated, your daughter perhaps abducted. That is what those peasants of Macedonia and Armenia have had to bear for generations. And when after centuries of wrong, maddened by centuries of wrong, those people rose in arms against their oppressors, they are told that they are rebels, and Europe placidly looks on and tells the Turks to suppress the rebellion. The bare facts of what have been happening during the last few weeks are far more terrible than any ~~statements~~ <sup>statements</sup> that rhetoric could make to you about them.

I will take, however, two facts which I got from yesterday's and to-day's newspapers. I find in yesterday's "Times" this statement: "In the Caza of Okhrida, especially, the devastation is complete, and the whole district has

become<sup>d</sup> dismal solitude. The total number of villages destroyed in the vilayet of Monastir was estimated in the memorandum recently presented by the revolutionary leaders here to the representatives of the Powers at 98, but my informant considers that this figure has now been largely exceeded. The statistics of the memorandum receive strange confirmation from a document which was purloined from Hilmi Pasha's archives and has fallen into the hands of one of the Consuls. It appears that the progress of systematic extermination is carefully recorded by the Turkish authorities and duly reported to Constantinople. The document in question gives the total of the villages destroyed in the vilayet as 93." But when I turn to the Standard I find that this authority estimates the number of villages destroyed in the vilayet of Monastir at 111, and the houses burned at 9,700 and the number of refugees at 50,000 - all homeless, all suffering, because the policy of the Turks is not only to kill by the sword but to kill by famine. Now I will give you one other extract also from yesterday's Times; "Fifteen peasants from the village of Ziatan, near Resna, which was burned, returned at the invitation of the Turkish Government from the mountains to their ruined homes. A troop of soldiers came upon them while they were binding wheat which they had cut before their flight, and tying their hands drove the unfortunate peasants into a ditch, where they massacred them all with the exception of one, who survived although he was stabbed in six places." I wonder, therefore, where in that case was the balance of criminality; because you will note that by far the greatest part of the suffering, by far the greatest quantity of bloodshed, has fallen upon the innocent and very largely, not only on the innocent



peasantry, but upon the women and children.

Now what remedy is there. <sup>?</sup> Is it a scheme of reform which we were told was the irreducible minimum? Why that scheme was dead before it was born. It was dead because its execution was entrusted to the Turks and they never execute any reforms. It is like all the other reforms which they promised before the time of the Crimean War until now. In fact the promises of the Turk are almost as numerous as his victims. No one, not even, I think, an English minister, can at this time of day suppose that any promises of a reform the Turk makes can ever be effective. There is only one remedy, and that remedy is not a new remedy. It is a remedy ~~and~~ approved by long experience. <sup>100</sup> For ~~ten~~ years now the tide of Turkish power has been receding, and <sup>Greece,</sup> across-Servia, ~~Leba~~ the Lebanon and Bulgaria, and Bosnia, and Crete have all in succession been liberated from the Turkish power. <sup>h</sup> Some of them complete independence has been granted. In some the Suzerainty of the Sultan remains. But that does not make much difference, <sup>h</sup> nor does the resolution dwell upon <sup>the point,</sup> because the one only essential thing is to get the direct rule of the Turk, his power of doing mischief, out of the country. And in each of those cases which I have enumerated what <sup>has</sup> ~~have~~ followed? Order, peace and prosperity; & order, peace and prosperity not only for the Christian, but equally for the Mussulman; because the Mussulman would have almost as much to gain as the Christian has by those reforms. Everyone knows that the Turks will go. They know it themselves. They will show you the very gate in the wall of Constantinople through which, as they believe, they will ultimate

leave Europe. Why should we <sup>protract</sup> ~~protract~~ the agony. Why, when we know what will come sooner or later, should it not come now, and spare at least this generation from the wrongs that I have told you of? This-h-

This matter is not a matter for Russia and Austria only; and no cynicisms or selfishness on the part of any Power can relieve us from our right and our duty. What particular form of action the policy of Britain should take is, as the Bishop of Worcester has said, extremely difficult for us, without knowing more than we do of the attitude of the different Powers, because it is not the same attitude in the case of different Powers - it is extremely difficult for us to say at this moment. I believe that about this, at any rate, there can be no question - that the very first thing we should do is to press upon all the other Powers, and particularly upon France and Italy, ~~for~~ which we have reason to believe are in sympathy with us, that we should press upon them the duty of at once adopting the policy which is contained in this resolution. And I believe when I look upon the moral force and upon the position of unselfishness and of disinterestedness which Great Britain is able to take, and upon the hopes that I entertain from the generous sentiments of France and Italy, our effort, if strenuous and resolute, will not be in vain. One word more. I have said that Britain has a right. But has she not a duty? We who forced this unhappy people, upon whom ~~at~~ the first beams of liberty had begun to shine at the time of the Treaty of San Stefano, we who forced them back into the torture house of Turkish rule, ~~surely we, who are called~~ upon surely we, above all other Powers, are called upon in the sight of God and man, to endeavour to apply now

at last, after 25 years, the remedy which we then rejected. Are we prepared to discharge this duty? Since the Jubilee of 1897 we have been dwelling much upon our national greatness, upon our wealth, upon our wide dominions, upon our gigantic expenditure, upon the strength of our Navy. But those things are not enough to make a nation great. It is not merely wealth and power, but it is the capacity to rise to the height of your position, and to appreciate the great ~~missions~~ in the world which God has given you. It is that which makes the greatness of a nation. To what purpose is it that Providence has bestowed upon us power and fame, if in craven fear, or in callous indifference, we recoil from the duties which that position and our plighted faith have imposed upon us. The moment is very critical. There are three dangers hanging over us. The one is the danger of the extermination of the Macedonian people. The second is the danger that Bulgaria will be driven to war; and when I think of what the feelings of the people of Bulgaria must be when they hear of what is going on just across their own borders, upon their own kinsfolk, men of their own race and faith, I am surprised for <sup>so</sup> how long they have been able to keep back. But it is a danger, and a danger we ought to avert.

And then thirdly there is the other danger on which the-Chairman so much is said, said at any rate by those who profess to know - the danger of an outbreak of a European war. Well, the best way to avert all these dangers is to adopt the policy which we now put to you, because it will put an immediate end to the horrors that are passing, and it will reserve for ultimate settlement in quieter times, those difficult questions which are

connected with the disposition of the Macedonian territory. Therefore I venture to say that the path of safety both for Macedonia and for Europe, is the path which every consideration of justice, ~~th~~ of ~~the~~ humanity, and of national honour, calls upon Britain to follow.

SIR EDWARD FRY: I have been asked to second the resolution which has been so ably proposed by Mr. Bryce, and I do so with great cordiality, and I will endeavour to do so with great brevity. It appears to me that in order to come to the conclusion which you are asked to arrive at by this resolution, it is not necessary to go back beyond <sup>a</sup> the very few days of the history of the Turkish Empire. What has been the conduct of the Sublime Porte during the last few days? You recollect the outrages of Krusheho, and to-day's papers announced that the Porte has honoured the agent who superintended the massacres with one of the highest decorations. But a few days ago you are aware that the Porte issued an Irade', which was supposed to contain all the demands of the Bulgarian principalities and that she entrusted the execution of the Irade' <sup>a'</sup> to favoured subjects whom she represented as having such eminent capacity and qualification for reform and who was appointed Chief Inspector of Reforms and his presence was said to render unnecessary the appointment of a European Commission. The same man was named by the Porte as President of the Commission, which was appointed to consist partly of Turks, partly of Bulgarians, and partly of other nationalities. Now who is this trusted servant to whom Turkey entrusted those great powers, and who it asks the rest of Europe to trust in the same manner, it is Hilmi Pasha. You know something of what kind of manner of man he is. He is the agent who has been carrying into effect those atrocities, and he is more responsible for them than even the generals under whose commands they have been executed. He is the man in whose archives was found that document <sup>to</sup> which Mr. Bryce has alluded, the list of 93 villages which have been laid waste by the

direction of the Turk. He is the man who has refused to the Sisters of Mercy permission to attend the wounded and the dying at Krushebo. He is the man who has refused even their prayer to be allowed to take the medicaments necessary for the help of the miserable people. And this is the behaviour of Turkey, not at the time when the eyes of Europe are directed to some other part of the globe, but when the gaze of the civilized world is fixed upon Turkey and its behaviour. A Power which can do such things at such a time when the eyes of the civilized world is fixed upon it, has proclaimed itself as unworthy of consideration. And therefore I submit to you that, ~~as~~ without going back on the past history of the relation of Macedonia and Turkey, without attempting to solve the question of a balance of criminality, those simple and undisputed facts of the last week or 10 days is enough to lead you to the conclusion to which this resolution leads you; and therefore without further addressing you I beg leave to second this resolution with the utmost cordiality.

THE REV. R.J. CAMPBELL: I believe that the time of speakers to-night is strictly limited, and in any case I feel that this occasion is one much too solemn for ~~hurrahs~~<sup>hurrahs</sup>. We are here to-night not as party politicians, nor as members of any particular denomination, but as Christian citizens to protest against a great wrong in the name of ~~the~~<sup>our</sup> common humanity. Our hearts have been deeply stirred within us, and our souls moved to indignation, by the long drawn tale of horror which has reached us from the Near East. The Turk is true to his traditions once more. It is not a new story. What happened in Bulgaria and in ~~Rea~~ Armenia ~~was~~ is now happening in Macedonia. We cannot approach the subject without some sense of shame while our fellow Christians are being done to death. Europe and the great Powers stand helplessly by. There is something shameless in the cynicism of the so-called Christian Powers. The rule of the Turk is an abomination and an <sup>a</sup>chronism in Europe. I take it that there is no man in this magnificent assembly but who would be willing and glad to hear that an end was made of the Sultan and his rule. It may be that in some instances the stories of outrage which have reached us have been somewhat exaggerated, but there is more reason to believe that we know less than the truth. The Sultan has been careful to expell as far as he could, the representatives of the European, and especially the British Press. Nevertheless, from expressions which have been read in your hearing to-night by Mr. Bryce, we can form some idea of the situation not so very far from the sphere of operations, <sup>There are now</sup> three days distance, and on the same Continent as ourselves, Thousands of men and women and helpless little children ~~are~~ being put to death. Nay, more than that, we can form some little idea of the true situation if, for Bulgarian women

we would read our own wives and sisters and mothers. Gentlemen it stirs the hearts of British people with unspeakable indignation and shame to think that our country stands silent in ~~such~~ such an hour as this. We are not alone in our protest. To the honour of the public spirit of France and Italy be it said, that these two nations are speaking with us in the cause of common humanity. I do not feel, and cannot feel, that the Powers of Europe, shall I say the Governments of Europe, really represents the sentiment of the people of Europe. And as much may be said, though not speaking as a party politician, as much may be said of our own. Mr. Balfour's letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury does not represent the sentiment of his own following, and I cannot but feel that if our Government were to act, and act strenuously tomorrow, in obedience to the last resolution, in accordance with the resolution which will be passed to-night, they would have behind them a united Empire. For how comes it that the rule of the <sup>Turk</sup> ~~Church~~ has been permitted in Europe so long. This important question is only part of a large question. The answer is because of the traditional policy of Great Britain, a policy which dates back for nearly a century. 1878 was not the beginning of the present state of things by any means. But in 1878 we took a further step in our mistaken policy of acting as the Macedonian Trustess, and the direct result was that we threw ~~the~~ back the district under the rule of the Turk. We shrunk from the big Bulgaria because of the possible designs of Russia. Now we see that as usual our diplomacy has made a <sup>bad</sup> big mistake, and a big Bulgaria would have been the means of maintaining British prestige instead of destroying it. I have now given the outline of an appeal which will presently take the form of a resolution.



The policy of the Sultan is never short of extermination. See how he goes about his work. The telegrams from Monastir ~~allow~~ allow us to make some conception of the situation.

Now it is pretty clear that the Sultan's policy is to destroy the Slav population of Macedonia. There have been jealousies and feuds between the races inhabiting the districts, but it is the common duty of Christian people to save the Bulgars from extermination, if only because these people, who are the majority of the population, have shown spirit enough to stand up against the Turks. What is it that we could expect Great Britain to do. In the first place to vindicate herself. We have a solemn moral duty in regard to Macedonia and it is a duty which would be recognised by the European Powers; <sup>and</sup> speaking as a layman, I may say, We have a right, an undoubted right, which I think Austria and Russia would concede, as the principal signatory in Berlin, to intervention on behalf of the oppressed people. And in any case whether we intervene or not it is only a matter of time. Those people who have taken up arms as a last and desperate resource must in the end prevail. Bulgaria must be drawn into the struggle, but freedom cannot be crushed. If England stands out of this battle for liberty, some other Power will intervene in the name of humanity and carry away the credit which should be ours. We have been careful enough of our material interests. We have just finished a great war at a great cost. I was one of those who believed, at that time, and I believe now that my country's quarrel was just (Loud cries of "No", and "it was unjust" and disorder which lasted for some time). I had no intention of introducing a subject of controversy, but I

did it with the view of illustrating - - - - -

SIR EDWARD FRY: I have no doubt that Mr. Campbell will not pursue the subject. I quite agree that it is not an *relevant* ~~an~~ ~~element~~ to the present subject, and I have no doubt that it will not be further introduced.

THE REV. R.J. CAMPBELL: I had not the faintest intention of introducing controversy at all, but of illustrating my point which is briefly this, that whether we were right or wrong (interruption), I hope you will give me an opportunity of saying what I arose to say, whether we were right or wrong the war was not popular in Europe, I must say that. (*Further interruption*)

SIR EDWARD FRY: I must ask you to allow Mr. Campbell to proceed, I am quite sure that he will not follow the subject.

THE REV. R.J. CAMPBELL: <sup>the</sup> If, gentlemen ~~you~~ would only allow me to proceed they would find it rather in their favour than in mine. Europe then refused to believe in our disinterestedness, we have a chance of showing at the present time that we can be disinterested. ~~We have a chance of~~ I fear that ~~that~~ the prestige of England as the traditional champion of oppressed nationalities has somewhat sunk; and my feeling is this that if England should now show that, without any axe of our own to grind, or any interest of our own to serve, she was ready to intervene on behalf of oppressed Macedonian, ~~we~~ she would right herself in the eyes of Europe. With that end in view we should urge upon the Government two things - perhaps I can only speak for myself in mentioning the former - first ~~intermediate~~ *immediate*

intervention - the sooner the better;- and secondly to press upon the European powers the adoption of the policy which has been outlined from this platform to-night.

In regard to the first of these I do not mean that we should seek to occupy any territory; but I believe that the only argument to which the Sultan ever listens is the argument of force, and if necessary we should display the force at Constantinople, and it should be employed forthwith to save the lives of the remnant of the Macedonian people.

While we are hesitating, and consulting, and writing letters, and holding public meetings about this question, men and women and children are perishing. Our intervention if it is to be effective, should go without delay. As a rule we interfere after the war and not before. If we could intervene now by a display of forces at Constantinople, we might save untold waste and misery later. I would that the Government should demand the immediate withdrawal of the 300,000 Turkish troops from Bulgarian borders; and then secondly let us call upon the Government to press with urgency upon the <sup>Powers</sup> ~~nations~~, and particularly upon Austria and Russia, the adoption of the very moderate policies which has been demanded by the Macedonian Committees, namely, the appointment of a Christian <sup>Governor</sup> Government, ~~x~~ responsible, not to the Sultan, but to the Powers.

We do not come here to criticise, or condemn, ~~te-e~~ or to denounce the Government, though you will not suspect me of insincerity when I say that some of us have very small reason to love the Government. But I feel, however, the truth of what Mr. Bryce has said, that the heart of

England is right in this matter, and the heart of the individual members of His Majesty's Government too. There are other reasons perhaps which cannot be entered into in a public assembly for hesitation and delay. But I would think that as we did wrong in 1878 we might have the courage to do ~~the~~ right now, be the consequences what they may. The facts are too plain to be ignored. Our responsibility is too great to be huddled out of sight; and I would that Mr. Balfour and Lord Lansdowne would realize, as I suppose, they must in time realize, the whole power of the united sentiment of the nation is behind them in any act<sup>ion</sup> that they may take. We only know in this matter that we owe a solemn duty to ourselves and to those oppressed peoples and to God. I would call upon the Government to listen to the voice of this great meeting which ~~expresses~~ expresses for immediate justice in the cause of freedom, justice, and right.

The Hon.

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: There is so much talent and so much

knowledge on this platform to-night that I think I shall best further the cause that we have so very deeply at heart by being extremely brief on this occasion. But I appear before you like my friend Mr. Bryce as rather a link with the past, and I appeal to the past for this reason, that in the past we see what ought to be our policy in the present. Twenty seven years ago as Mr. Bryce told you, I spoke from this platform with the late Duke of Westminster in 1871, <sup>and</sup> at the evening meeting ~~at~~ <sup>with</sup> which my father, Lord Shaftesbury, ~~was~~ in the Chair, and Mr. Gladstone <sup>and by that</sup> ~~was then~~ <sup>and we secured</sup> agitating ~~some~~ <sup>for</sup> what she has got now. What has she got now? She has got at any rate freedom, justice, civilization, and happiness. We have only to take the same line and persevere in the same way and we shall do the same for Macedonia .

But I have a further link in the past. I was private Secretary to Lord Palmerston, the Prime Minister, when he made the Lebanon arrangement, which has secured that which you are now seeking on behalf of Macedonia. I rejoice <sup>in</sup> ~~for~~ this great meeting, because it shows me that I am wrong in what I was afraid of. I was afraid very much that England, like an old man, was merely getting cynical, egotistical, and did not care for anything that did not interfere with her material prosperity. That is not so. We see a great moral remonstrance which shows that the moral fibre of England was right. I remember, as Lord Palmerston's secretary, one of the things which made me admire him more than anything, was this, when an old man nearly eighty he was as much aroused by any appeal of cruelty and injustice as he was when he was twenty. A <sup>not</sup> man or a nation up to advanced age, to have these sentiments

is a deteriorating man and a decadent nation. We are <sup>free</sup> ~~pre-promised~~ to-night. I heard a great cheer just now, for the sentiment, "Oh, anything for an hour of Gladstone". I applaude that. And I would like to have an hour of Palmerston too. I am not going to follow the beaten track which was so ably dealt with by Mr. Bryce and others. But all that I say is this; in our Bulgarian agitation of 1876 we had an obstacle which we have not got now. The Prime Minister of that day was scornful of all the accounts; he openly derided them; he called them "coffee-house babble", which aroused many of us very much; and he actually tried to suppress any expression of national feeling. That is not the case to-day. In that letter quoted ~~x~~ very often to-night of the present Prime Minister, he says in that letter, although I think that letter is not what I should have written myself (I daresay my literary capacity would have been less, but my feeling would have been stronger) However in that letter, what he says <sup>is this:</sup> "I do not object to meetings." We thank him for that; we are much obliged to him. Well we have held one to-night, and we reply to him in his enquiry; "yes, Sir, go on with no philosophic doubt, but go on. You are in the hands of Providence, you represent the great English nation; go on and tell Europe that the English nation disapproves of its going on, condemns it as her moral sentiments are injured; and calls upon the nations of Europe to rally round her." I am sure that our Prime Minister means well, but he has not got the sacred fire in him. [I am going to be very short, and I do not want to travel over beaten ground. There are some people who say to us "Oh, we cannot help Macedonia; it is no good giving her autonomy," (and that is the justification

for the abominable thing that was done in 1878; because the sects are so split up and ~~vie with~~ <sup>fighting</sup> ~~vying~~ with one another; there is no harmony and no accord ~~—~~ they cannot go on". Do not listen to them. It is perfectly true that the persons who live in Macedonia are different in their views and race; but their active hostility to one another has been the direct result of their rulers; the Turkish Government, for its own ends and objects has constantly envenomed the sentiments and blown up the fires and tried to maintain this discord instead of appeasing it. Give them freedom and liberty, and make them realise that they can walk ab-out and live as responsible human beings. They will have their differences, just as you and I have shown that we have differences. Still we do not murder each other for it - we behave like Christians.

[ Another point I should like to mention is this: it is said that both parties are guilty of extreme <sup>atrocities</sup> ~~proceedings~~ and violence, and that the balance is doubtful on which side it lies, and it is for that reason that we are not to go in to the help of the Macedonians. But is there no responsibility of a ruling Power? Do you tell me that a Power is fit to rule who <sup>because</sup> ~~gives~~ its subjects, slaves they may be rising in their revolt, and as slaves always exceeding the bounds that we think proper, that they are to follow suit and submit <sup>them</sup> to atrocities worse than slaves have ever done? By that very argument they prove to me that they are unfit to be a ruling Power. If they cannot control these men and these soldiers they cease to be a civilizing Power.

Now I have no doubt that in the proposals that we are making now which we urge upon the Government, to come forward and obtain autonomy for the Macedonians, we do not

mind

the Turk, <sup>having</sup> ~~to lose~~ the suzerainty, which he has had for the last 30 or 40 years. We had a discussion lately about suzerainty, and it all amounted to nothing in particular, and we have no objection to the Turks having suzerainty so long as the Macedonians are governed by European Christians. But there may be difficulties - I do not deny it. ~~But~~ However difficulties are meant for statesmen to overcome. What is the good of you calling yourself a statesman if you cannot overcome difficulties that come before you. You are bound to do it, and you can do it. But whatever the difficulties may be there is one greater difficulty, the greatest of all difficulties and that is the difficulty of imagining that this British nation, after all our traditions, after all our beliefs, our love of freedom and sympathy with oppressed nationalities should sit still while these things are going on.

Sir Edward Fry put the Resolution to the Meeting and declared it carried unanimously.



LORD STANMORE: The resolution which I have been asked to move is thus worded: "That the action taken by Great Britain in 1878, and her obligations under the Treaty of Berlin require her to take such steps as may be in her power to arrest the massacres of non-combatants, and the devastation now proceeding in Macedonia, and make it her duty in the first instance to urge upon the other Powers which signed the Treaty of Berlin the advantage of some such policy as that suggested in the foregoing resolution".

Now that is a resolution which is couched in terms of studied moderation. It is one not open to the unworthy taunt which has been hurled at the heads of some of those who are among the leaders in the movement in which we are taking a part, that we are actuated less by sympathy for Bulgarians than by hostility to His Majesty's Government. This resolution affords no hold for such an imputation as that. We do not ask the Government to undertake impossibilities. We do not point to them exactly the lines which they should take. We ask them to take such steps as may be in their power, whatever those steps may be; and with a dignity worthy of such a meeting as this, we decline to condemn before we know exactly what the facts are. What has been done (which may be more than we think) what the obstacles have been, (which may be greater than we chose to imagine), but though we do not ask from the Government impossibilities, though we do not prescribe to them the course of action, we do ask, nay, we demand, that they should take some steps, that they should dismiss for ever from their thoughts the idea that what is called the irreducible minimum can be brought forward in the present state of things. We say to them this: you must press upon the nations of Europe that the rule of the Turk

as a rule, must cease in those provinces. Let his red flag remain there for a time if you like, and his nominal suzerainty <sup>and</sup> ~~legitimacy~~ remain, but do not leave him with a shred of effective power. And that is what we ask and demand of the Government that they shall press upon the other Powers of Europe, that they shall say to those Powers who hold back in the matter "Your responsibility is not perhaps as great as ours, but in some way it is even greater. It is greater because you are the nations who are just on the borders of Turkey, and on you depends the possibility of immediate action more than upon any other Power." They are responsible for they have all signed the Treaty <sup>to</sup> ~~of~~ which <sup>we</sup> ~~are~~ are a party, but do not let us ~~let~~ forget our responsibility. That is a point which we want to press upon the Government. That is the point this resolution is directed to, namely, to call to mind that we are more than any other nation responsible for the present position of the Turks in Europe. It is not an affair, as one of the speakers said, of yesterday <sup>or</sup> It is not an affair of the last few years; it goes back much further than that. We have bolstered up the Turkish power for the last 60 years and more, and in so doing we had incurred the grave responsibility; we have incurred the right to insist that that Power which we had restored should not be exercised to produce the misery of its subjects.

But our responsibilities have gone further - I need not dwell upon them for they have been mentioned already. In 1839 and 1840 we saved the Sultan from the success of a great rebel. In 1854 we saved him from external attack. In 1878 we came to his help when beaten; and all through we have been the instrument of keeping up that which 50 years ago was denounced by John Bright as a filthy [ ]

It was denounced by the Prime Minister of the day as radically vicious and abominable, but which yet, nevertheless, for the last fifty years has gone on and existed when it ought to have disappeared, and altogether owing to our support. I wish to say this, that a remedy, one so simple, so easy, if the Powers of Europe meant to adopt it, could be carried out. We have seen how it has worked already, and, as has been pointed out, peace, prosperity, and order, have succeeded; but oppression, misrule, and anarchy has disappeared wherever that experiment has been tried, namely, by appointing an independent governor responsible, not to the Sultan, but to the Powers of Europe. That has been said so often before that I will not dwell upon it; and I think after what Mr Ashley has said, I may say that I too, like him, belong to the past generation rather than the present. I do not think that it is needful to say much of what I had intended to say with regard to the utility of the principal objections which are urged against the possibility of interference in this case. I say, as Mr Ashley says, and I say it as an old man, very early brought in close contact with great affairs - don't you believe one word of it. I have seen the same thing repeated in almost the same words, in the same newspaper, fifty and sixty years ago that we see to-day. We were told that the people could never agree. We were told that it was hopeless to introduce a government. Look at the results. There have been forty years of peace and order. We were told that Musslemen and Greeks were so mixed in Crete that you could set up no orderly government among them. Has that been the case? No. And here I come to the end of my speech, and to the point which I wish to enforce, that that is what our eyes must be set on, that is the point to which our aim must be directed. Do not let us disperse it in other ways, but bring to bear all the forces we can command upon that

one point, namely, the insisting upon the appointment in those regions of a governor responsible to the Powers of Europe and irresponsible to the Sultan of Turkey.

One single word more. I do not think after what has been said it is necessary that I should say anything about the Government's trust in Turkish promises. They must know now fully what they are worth. I only mention it for this reason, that they <sup>greatly</sup> increase our responsibilities. We have solemn engagements with Turkey, in which Turkey has promised us over and over again things which she has not performed. After 1854, in the Treaty of Peace, we asked for promises that the Christians throughout the land should be treated on an equality with Mohammedans. That was put into an Article of the Treaty and guaranteed. We know how that promise has been kept. Again in 1878 there was a solemn guarantee for the introduction of reforms in Armenia. All of us know what those reforms were.

SIR EDWARD FRY: A telegram has been placed in my hands which it would be wrong for me to suppress. It is received from Maidenhead and is in these terms "Hearty greetings of Maidenhead and District Free Church Council. Passing similar resolutions. Lewis, President."

MR WILL CROOKS, M.P.: I second this resolution with settled convictions. We have arrived at a <sup>period</sup> ~~time~~ in our history when it is absolutely necessary for the British public to supply some back-bone to a Government to carry out the resolutions. I am not here to say a word that would help the Ministry out of office, but I am here to say a word or two to help them to carry out their obligations. The resolution that has been put before you, we have been told, is moderate in the extreme. Very well, we must be a little forcible in our language, that is all. We either want it carried out, or we are going to toast our toes and satisfy ourselves that we have done everything we can. I do not believe we have. We are a nation - at least I have been told, of Empire builders; and when we have a little domestic job like Cabinet making it is too much for them. We are indeed under an obligation, we have stood security for the bad behaviour of the Turks more than 50 years. We have paid and shed blood and sacrificed our sons and our brothers to uphold the rule of the Turk. I would regret ~~that~~ <sup>at</sup> this moment if we were taken away on a side issue, as we were in 1876 - 7 - 8, when Mr Gladstone's burning words had stirred the nation from end to end, and someone came along and said we were not in earnest, and he manufactured a word that has frequently put us off the Christian track, namely, the Jingo and the Anti-Jingo, and how we sung and bawled at every man who took the side of Mr Gladstone. You remember those great meetings in Hyde Park when friend Bradlaugh took his life in his hand. Our memory is indeed short, and we are soon taken off the object of a great meeting like this. But after an experience such as we have had, an experience that teaches us that if we once forget our obligations, people who have by mere accident secured power, will use that power to their advantage and against the whole community. We must not forget our obligations. Are

not the words as true to-day as when they were used on Blackheath by Mr Gladstone: "I confess straight away a pang and feeling of jealousy that I had when Russia went to war with the Turk, because I believed then, as I believe now, that England is the greatest country and the greatest Power in the World for good if she will exercise it. A friend in the Hall has been good enough to hand to me a copy of those words used by Mr Gladstone. He said that it should be the duty of civilised Europe to say to the unspeakable Turk; "Never again shall the hand of violence be raised by you; never again shall the flood-gates be opened by you; never again shall the refinements of cruelty be exercised by you for the purpose of making men miserable in Bulgaria". We all know what diplomatic language is. So convenient is that language that I am told it is perfectly honest, and it may be that it is. I am one of those sceptical individuals who judge by results and not by language used. The ambiguity of the Treaty and the letter of the Prime Minister has been referred to. It is a kind of thing that an eminent lawyer would revel in. You can argue it from both sides. We are asked to consider the balance of criminality. Delightful! In a Christian country the "balance of criminality" when two men fight and one is vanquished the victor <sup>has</sup> ~~is~~ the right to outrage the women and the children! Talk to me of the balance of criminality. I will have none of it. As with individuals so with nations. Whatever we do we always boast about it. We can clack a bit you know, we really can. We have said that England would sacrifice its blood and its treasure in the interest of liberty and of justice. And I glory in the fact that it is so. If we were to walk from this Hall tonight, and saw two brutes fighting and saw the greater brute of the two well beaten, we should be content. But if the victor walked across the road and commenced to assault

the wife of the one who was beaten, we should be on the job immediately. We have a right to worship as our consciences dictates. That is the fundamental principle in this country of ours, and has been so for longer than most of us who are here can remember. Why is it convenient to forget? What is the matter with the people? We are making an appeal now ← a demand. We have, as I said before, made ourselves responsible, and we have paid. Now surely here is a time when, late, as we are, we can impress upon the nations of the world that we have some moral feeling; that we do believe that Great Britain has always existed for the making and creating of laws which should be a terror to evil-doers, and no injustice to an honest man. We all believe that at bottom. Well, then, why don't you act up to it? We are going to send these resolutions on. If ever a man, if ever a number of men, wanted to put this christian nation in the forefront of liberty and justice now is the time. This is no time for philosophy. It is a time for work and to do it. And we will have the intense satisfaction of knowing tomorrow that if the Prime Minister sent a joint Note to the Powers that have been named to-night, he would know that he was backed not only by the brains of the nation but by the mass of the people like myself who are supposed to have none. I remember not so long ago, ~~when~~ the Prime Minister himself, when he was asked why he allowed certain things to go on, why he did not interfere to protect the people who were assaulted, his answer was: "There is a limit to human endurance". And a limit has now arrived, and the people of this country are determined if not by him, then by other men who may ascend there, to carry out the obligations that were placed upon us by the Treaty of 1878.

Fowell

SIR T. ~~POWELL~~ BUXTON: Allusion has already been made to the meetings that took place in this Hall in 1876 in reference to a very similar subject. It happened to me to have the privilege of being on this platform and taking a part in those meetings, and I owe it to that fact that I have the honour of an invitation to be here this evening. But I am not going to presume upon that to occupy you at any length. I would merely touch upon two points: I would ask you to read and to digest and take in the speeches that we have been listening to to-night. If I might touch upon a preference, I would allude to the complete and exhaustive speech of Professor Bryce, and I wish to express my entire concurrence with it. Well then I want it to be understood that this is a national meeting, a great London meeting, far above any party meeting; and I want to say that supporters of the Government and opponents of the Government are not here as such. We are here because we have our sympathies drawn out by the same sort of outrages and iniquities which caused great meetings to come together 37 years ago. And I wish to maintain it was not a party meeting got up for party purposes; and I hope you will agree with me that I may say so, in spite of some who endeavoured and have attempted to make it a party meeting. We began this meeting by hearing some letters read. Perhaps I may say that those letters were read by my son and therefore you have had quite enough of one family for this evening. I beg to support ~~the~~ the resolution.

SIR EDWARD FRY; You have heard the resolution read. I now declare it carried *neminē contra diſente.*



THE BISHOP OF HEREFORD: The resolution which I have the privilege of putting before you is to this effect:

"That having regard to the imminent danger of famine among the ~~homeless~~ <sup>homeless</sup> refugees of Macedonia, relief is urgently called for, and that the Balkan Committee be requested to organise a fund to meet the prevailing distress." This resolution needs no advocacy in any meeting of Englishmen and English women, and least of all I think in this magnificent meeting, which has come here to-night through the drenching rain to express their pity for that down-trodden people, and their indignation that that condition continues. This resolution raises no question as to how the Sultan is to be stopped from his doing or how this or that great Power of Europe is to be stirred; how the Czar of Russia is to be persuaded to exercise his immense power in this matter; how the Emperor of Germany, <sup>that great and strong man,</sup> is to be made to feel his responsibility in the matter. This resolution raises none of those questions. It is a resolution that depends entirely upon ourselves to carry into effect. And more than that, it is a resolution that tests our individual sincerity in the matter. And in proportion as we realise this resolution which ~~is~~ I hold in my hand, I venture to think we shall be doing more than simply relieving the remnant of that down-trodden race. We shall be doing an act which is in complete accordance with the traditional spirit of English freedom and of the greatness of the English nation. I read the other day some words which were well and nobly spoken in the cathedral of St Pauls, <sup>and</sup> the preacher said: "The greatness of a nation does not consist in the number of its people; neither does it consist in the extent of its territories; nor in the accumulation of its wealth, but it consists in the breadth and the depth and the justice of its compassion". And so I hope that while we are doing what we can to persuade our Government to do their part,

we shall ~~be~~, do our part in this great work of Christian compassion; and more than that my friends I need not say in this assembly on behalf of this resolution. But before I sit down I do desire to add a word or two on the general question. I feel, I have to confess it, as we all feel, I think in this Hall, that during the last nine months the Government of our Country might have done more than they seem to have done. That is my feeling, & I am bound to speak freely on the matter. As we have been reminded we are here not as belonging to any Party in the country, but as Christians,; and I venture to think, my friends, that I am standing here as you are, here to-night, in support of our Government, when I say I cannot but feel that our Government ought to have done more on our behalf. I say it in the hope that we should stimulate them to do more in the future; and when I think of the Government, the two names in particular naturally occur to us; we cannot but think of our Prime Minister, who is our leader on all great occasions, and we cannot in <sup>this</sup> connection but think of our Foreign Secretary, because he is our mouth-piece. Well, then, I think of those two men, and I desire to stimulate and to support them. We have lately read the letter of the Prime Minister, which has been alluded to to-night. We cannot allude to it too often because of its importance. As I read that letter to our Archbishop in reply to his appeal, I felt, as I read it, how well inclined our Prime Minister is, "Almost thou persuadest me". But, my friends, this is not a time for "almost". It is not a time for any hair-splitting arguments; it is not an occasion for any philosophic doubting. We cannot simply, on an occasion like this, express benevolent sentiments and wash our hands of it. These things have appeared in history on critical occasions again and again, but never ~~yet~~ with creditable results; ~~never with creditable results~~. And these are not

the things out of which the great moral forces of the world are made; and it is not out of such sentiments that the greatness of England has been made. Nor is it by this that they will be maintained. And so I say let us stimulate our Prime Minister to show more spirit, and more earnestness, and more strenuous action in this matter. And that is what I mean when I say the Government ought to do more. And turning to Lord Lansdowne, I say the Government ought to strengthen his hands. I have the privilege of listening to Lord Lansdowne in the House of Lords last March on this very question, when we were pointing out what was already happening six months ago; and I could not help thinking in listening to him, how genuine, and sincere, and earnest he was in his desire to do all that could be done to benefit this unhappy people. Let us not forget that. But I cannot but feel, when I remember that his colleagues ought to have done more to strengthen his hands, <sup>if</sup> there was any cause in which they might have given him a big revolver, this was the one.

But, my friends, my point is this : that we are here tonight to strengthen his hands, to give him the support, which I believe he desires, and which I hope he will use with effective results. And I venture to emphasise this for a moment because the other day I read in the Times newspaper what I cannot but feel a very misleading and mischievous letter which stated, with reference to the four letters written by four Bishops, that the writer supposed that those four letters were a preconcerted attack upon Lord Lansdowne, and as he humourously said, from the left wing of the English Church. Just imagine, two of the representatives of these letters were the Bishop of Worcester and the Bishop of Durham; just imagine those two Bishops nestling under the left wing of the English Church. I say writers of this kind are mischievous writers on great occasions. What were those

letters, and the similar letters from great leading Non-conformists from all quarters of the religious world - what were they? They were the common cry of our moral responsibility and our moral indignation. And I thank God that that cry is going up from every Church in the land, and from every chapel in the land. And it is going up from every Christian home whenever the family meets for prayer. Yes, my friends, it is a common cry, and we say how long - how long <sup>will</sup> ~~with~~ the Christian rulers of Europe suffer these abominations to continue?

One other word I should ~~like~~ like to say. I wonder how, by the Grace and the Providence of God, the heart of such men as the Czar of Russia and the Emperor of Germany can be touched. The Emperor of Germany, in his powerful position, could put an end to these things if he would, and we should like to think that the Grandson of Queen Victoria was using his great power and should not go down to posterity as the close friend of Abdul Hamid.

But I return to the <sup>e</sup> resolution with which I began. Whatever else may be done or left undone, you and I can at anyrate do the part of the good Samaritan. Let us not go away from this meeting to-night and forget, but let us endeavour to do it; and whilst we do let us never cease to claim from our Rulers that they, too, shall do their part in a way that is worthy of the English name. For we believe (I think I speak the sentiments of every one of you) that if these Turkish misdoings are to be allowed to continue, if Turkish cruelty and Turkish lust are to stain those fair lands any longer, why, then, there will remain the stain of an indelible personal disgrace upon every crowned and anointed Christian Sovereign in Europe who allows, who acquiesces in this continuous state of misrule; and the same stain of personal dishonour will remain on every responsible stat<sup>e</sup>man, of every one of those countries who connive at

at this policy, or who does not do his utmost to put an end to it. And my friends, to come nearer home, the stain of personal discredit will remain upon every free people like you and me if we stand idly by and let those things continue to be done, for so we shall declare that we are unworthy of all the manifold benefits which our God has bestowed upon us in this free country, and that we are unworthy of our freedom.

MR H.N.BRAILSFORD: My only title to address you tonight is that I have seen in Macedonia myself, during the early months of this summer, something of the misery which has ended at length in the general rising. The spectacle of that misery left in my mind one overwhelming impression, and that is, that the mischief of Turkish misgovernment is not the ~~fruit~~ fruit of simple incapacity, is not the result of negligence; it does not come from mere lack of education, and cannot be remedied by the substitution of better officials for those who to-day are carrying out the work. The real cause of Turkish misgovernment springs from a very much simpler cause than any of those I have named, and that cause is greed. You have to deal with a conquering race which, in the villages, in the towns, in the vilayets, in the seats of Government, is living on the labour of a subject population. It has its various ~~kinds-of~~ ways of exacting a tribute. It is sometimes exacted by the gendarmerie, sometimes by the rural *guards* who live in the villages, sometimes in the courts of Justice, most of all by the landlords. But in all these matters it is living on the people; and as long as we allow this tradition of ascendancy to continue, no patching, and no meddling, no improvement ~~that~~ can possibly come in the condition of the subject population. This system of ascendancy is written on the faces of the peasantry, and upon the houses of their villages. Macedonia is a rich country. You will find as you approach a village, a laborious population, cultivating with careful fingers its maize, and its tobacco, and its wheat. There is everything that the village can use, and much that the village can sell. It is only when you come into the houses of the inhabitants that you begin to enquire into what channels has this wealth run. You look around, and you see a simple hut of mud and timber; the floor is all mud; the windows for the most part

non-existent; and of furniture there is none, unless perhaps a cradle, a few pots, and a mat on which the inhabitants sleep. You go among them and you enquire from them by what channels <sup>their wealth has</sup> ebbed away from them; where the industries have gone; where the days spent in anxious labour, from morning to evening, with scarcely a siesta, — how it comes that it is not represented by anything visible to the eye? The first answer will be, the tax-gatherer; and perhaps you will be told that he has been there the other day; he has raised at one swoop the dues that should have come quarterly; he has carried away probably one third of the earnings of the peasant family in the year. And then you ask about the police, and you may be told that the police is some Albanian brigand who has come from the mountains, and who receives a yearly ransom in return for which he denies himself the privilege of preying upon the inhabitants of that village, and gives them a little perfunctory protection from the other and more distant labours on the mountains. There is still a more fruitful source, <sup>you</sup> ~~you~~ enquire in the village ~~led me to believe~~ <sup>what</sup> ~~that it was~~ the relations between the peasants and their landlords, <sup>are,</sup> and they will tell you about their exactions. Mr Balfour has told us about the mixture of races. I saw in one village how that mixture came about. Fifty years ago, when putting our money on the wrong horse, in the Crimea, there swooped down upon this little village an Albanian Chief with his retinue. They murdered half the inhabitants; they burned half the houses; & they settled down in the remainder. The peasants who before had owned the soil, became their serfs, and beasts of burden. Half their produce had to feed the Bey and the brigand followers. These same followers became the policemen of the village, in whose hands the order and security of this Christian population rested. They held in their hands knives, and in their houses rifles. The Christians were forbidden to own so much as a table-knife

You can imagine what this system was when you came to the daily questions of daily life. A man is summoned at the instance of a Musselman neighbour; he refuses to answer. There is no redress. <sup>+</sup>The Policemen are the retainers of the Bey. The Bey himself is the magistrate. There is no Court to which the men can appeal. But perhaps it does not happen very often. ~~But~~ Then the Musselman does not often require to draw his knife. He receives from day to day the humb~~al~~ obedience of a man, who is without the power of redress or the power to revenge himself. And so, <sup>through</sup> the ordinary range of ordinary life. Little Bulgar allows a little robbery, a little occasional violence, until a band comes round and finds this peasant burning with the wrongs that he has suffered, and he puts a rifle in his hand and he becomes a free hand, but he behaves as a slave population in revolt always will behave; he knows what he risks in raising the flag of revolution. Atrocities are nothing new to him. The tradition of many years, the tradition of centuries has told him what to expect when he raises his hand against the Turk. He knows that his women and his children will be subject to dishonour; he knows that his village will be burned; he knows that his relatives will be driven into the mountains. And still he rises. He has no choice. He is driven in despair to this gamble with death. And, as he ~~finds~~ fights, he knows that he has left in the mountains <sup>o</sup> thousands of his women defenceless, without provisions. I have heard to-day, from a traveller who returned from Macedonia, what has been going on in the vilayet Monastir. There have been sweeping movements in some directions; villages have been razed and flattened with the ground. In ~~others~~ <sup>others</sup>, towns have been burned. In all, at least 40,000 homeless peasants have fled to the mountains. They are living, as I have seen the peasants living in Crete, on ( ) and snails and any little wild fruit that they can contrive to pick up. Unless



we can reach them, every one of those 40,000 peasants is doomed to a certain destiny; and there is no means of reaching them unless the Government will force the hands of the Turks. He does not mean that his victims shall be succoured. It is necessary not only to raise funds on behalf of those refugees, but also that we should compel our Government to insist that the money shall be distributed; and if we fail in either part of this task, the certainty that awaits us in the future of Macedonia will be neither autonomy nor partition - there will be nothing more to discuss: the future of Macedonia will be simply the cooling of its ashes.

MR T.P.O'CONNOR, M.P.: I did not come to-night with any intention of speaking, but as I was present, and as I was pressed to speak, I thought it was desirable to say that the members of the nationality and the Party to which I belong are in full sympathy with the people of this country in the attempt they are making to relieve the people of Macedonia.

My friend, Mr Bryce, raised this question in the closing days of the last Session of Parliament, and an attempt was made to try and strengthen the hands of the Government upon this question. Now I must frankly say that while I entirely respect the proposition laid down that our business and our desire is to strengthen the hands of the Government, I do not think this question is really going to be settled either by our own Government or by any of the Governments of the Continent. I believe that this question must be taken out of their hands and put into the hands of the masses of the people, who, I believe in every country of Europe, are in favour of justice being done. We have means of knowing what the opinion is in this country. I do not believe that there is any difference of opinion in any body of men in this country. I think some of us know what the feeling is of the masses of the people in France. They desire that relief should be brought to the people of Macedonia. We have heard a good deal about the action of the government of Russia. Well, Sir, I believe whatever may be the motive of the action or the inaction of the Government of Russia, there is no doubt as to what the sympathies of the peoples and the masses of Russia are. Their own newspapers are, <sup>even</sup> often under <sup>the</sup> strict ~~control~~ censorship of that country, beginning to give vent <sup>to</sup> of what is the real feeling, I believe, of the people there, and that feeling is that it is nothing short of a crime on the part of Russia to sit still and see people of their own race and their own creed massacred.

What does all that mean? It would be idle to say that these Governments are acting from a want of <sup>the</sup> spirit of humanity, or from anything like a spirit of cruelty. I do not believe there is a single man in any of those Ministeries whose feelings are not strong upon this question. But, ~~to~~ all my experience of political life is this, that no great movement of emancipation has ever been made by the voluntary actions of the Ministeries or of Governments; they have always had to be forced upon Governments by public opinion. It would be idle to deny that this <sup>is</sup> a complex question, and a difficult question. But, Sir, again, I call upon my experience of political life, and especially of politics with regard to the controversy of the East, and my experience is this: the only safe thing for ~~a~~ reformers to do in these matters is to go right straight on, to recognise the difficulty; but, at the same time, to see and to proclaim that those difficulties are not insuperable and that Governments exist for the purpose of courageously tackling difficulties.

One of the preceding speakers made an observation in which I cordially concur—I think it was Lord Stanmore—and that is, that there never has been a movement for the emancipation of any portion of the peoples who are under the rule of Turkey that has not been met by precisely the same objection, precisely the same arguments, as are employed to-day. What do we find? I am almost ashamed nowadays to confess it, but I am one of an unfortunate band - 99 of them so that I err in a somewhat numerous band of a hundred members that when the question of the emancipation of Crete was hanging in the balance, we sent a telegram to the King of the Greeks, for the purpose of letting him understand that there are at least in the House of Commons a number of Members who were determined to support him and the people of Crete

in the efforts for emancipation. But what happened? The present Prime Minister was then the Leader of the House of Commons. He got up and made speeches in the House of Commons, which were almost word for word, and argument for argument, and objection for objection, and apparently balancing vacillation with vacillation, an equal division of guilt between the Turk and the Christian that we saw in his letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury the other day. And if we had stopped and listened to those objections, if we had allowed this argument to weigh with us, if we had ceased our agitation for the emancipation of Crete, which to-day is free, it would still be enslaved, and still be oppressed.

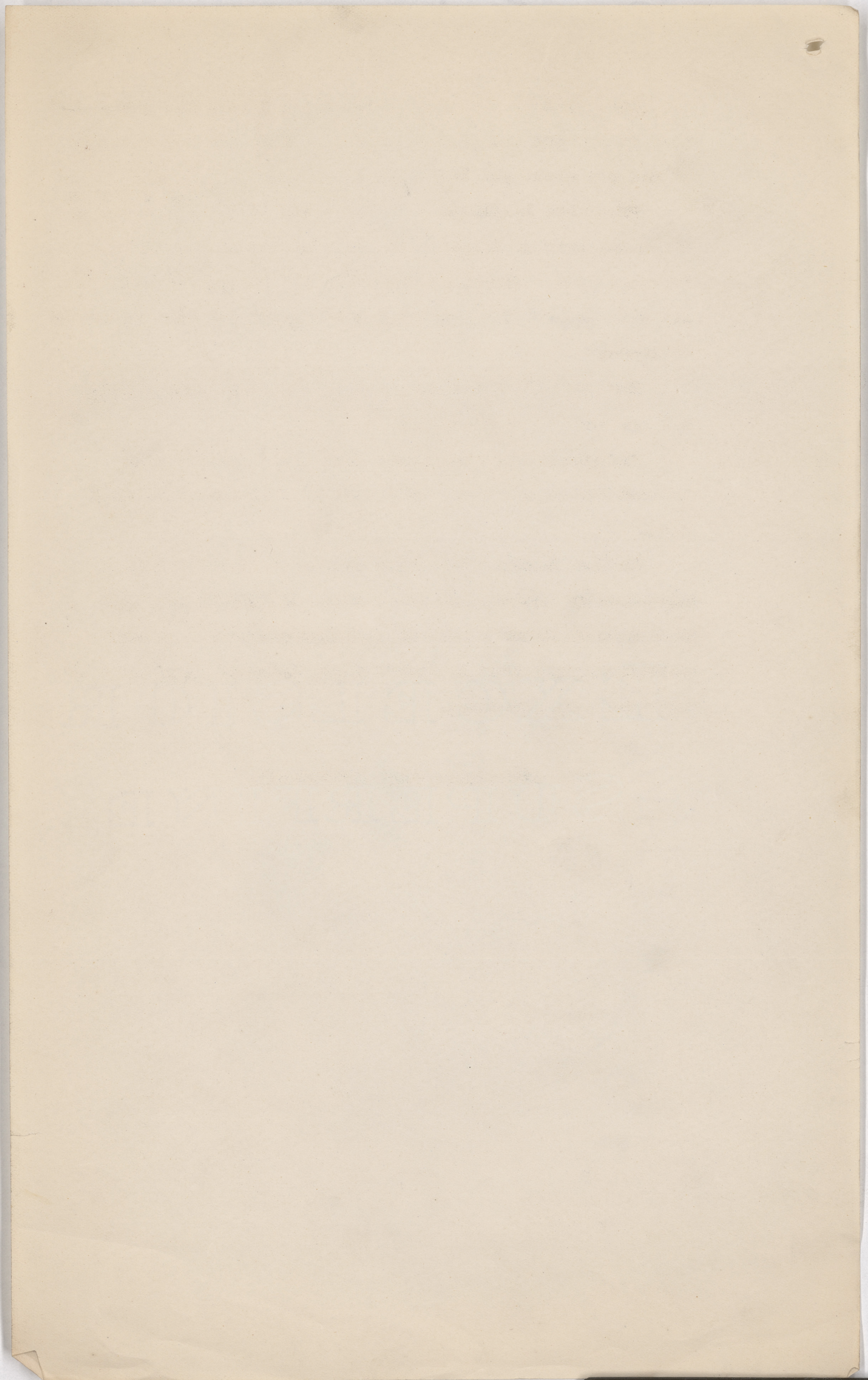
There is another objection on which I think it necessary to say a word. There is not a man on this platform who has not in some form or another signified his love for the Greek cause, and has endeavoured to advance that cause so much as in him lay. It is objected that there <sup>are</sup> great, wide, and even vicious differences of opinion and feeling, between the different creeds of the different races in Macedonia. It would be uncandid to deny that ~~that~~ fact. But still, I call upon the experience of every man in this room, who has studied politics, and I lay this down, that most differences of race and creed are <sup>ag</sup>gravated by an alien tyranny, and the best way to get rid of them is to bring those people together in the work of government.

What is our duty at this hour? Are we without lessons in this matter? Is there a single man who does not remember very distinctly what took place with regard to Armenia, as not to believe that we are actually going for almost the same thing to-day. When we <sup>o</sup> pointed out the difficulties and dangers in Armenia; when we pointed out that sufferings would lead to massacres - when massacres did come, we asked that they should be stopped; and what were we told. <sup>2</sup> We were told that the question could not be

settled, that there were difficulties in the way; that there was something to be said about balancing the guilt between one side and the other; and all those arguments, which may speak for the coldness and the reasoning, though I do not think for the soundness, but also spoke for the coldness and the rigidity of the heart of Christian Europe. And the result of this kind of reasoning was this, hundreds of thousands of Armenians, not men alone, not women alone, as we know, but children, babies who were cut to pieces on the knee of their mothers by the hordes ~~and~~ of Turks and Bashi-Bazouks; and all that massacre took place, and Christian Europe, to its shame be it said, stood by with folded arms and angelic reasoning, and balancing the guilt. The guilt was yours, and the sufferings were those of Armenians; and, to-day, the same thing is happening in Macedonia (Send the Fleet up the Danube) I agree with him. I believe that the people and the Government of Russia could be convinced. If the people and the Government are convinced that they have behind them not only the public opinion but the naval and military forces of England enforcing justice upon the Turks, they may take action against the Sultan, and this question ought to be settled in a very short time.

My friend says: "Send the fleet. It is a daring and a bold policy. But I ask you to reflect upon this; I do not mention it as a partisan, except as a partisan of justice and liberty for this people; but I ask you to remember this that this people had escaped to freedom, and were thrust back to servitude, by the policy and the action of the Government of this Country. And therefore the forces England <sup>having been</sup> used once on the side of slavery, it would be only right that the Forces of England should be used now on the side of liberty.

Sir Edward Fry declared the resolution to be carried unanimously.



LORD FARRER: The Resolution which I have the honour to move is perhaps the only one to-night that has not a tinge of sadness about it. It is the following:

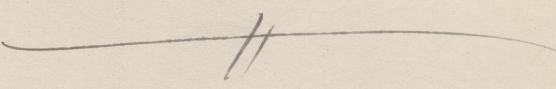
Prime Minister and to the  
"That the Resolutions be forwarded to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and that a Vote of Thanks be accorded to the Bishop of Worcester for taking the Chair, and also to Sir Edward Fry ~~for succeeding~~ for also acting as Chairman."

The Resolution was seconded by the Rev. J. Scott Lidgett and was carried unanimously.

Sir Edward Fry: Telegrams have been received from various bodies, and I now call upon Mr Noel Buxton to read them.

Mr Noel Buxton: Telegrams have been received from a Committee of Greeks and Macedonians in London; From the West Bristol Women's Liberal Association; From Professor Gilbert Murray; from Mr Jasper More, M.P.; Mr F.N. Charington; and from Lord Beauchamp.

(The proceedings then terminated)



EXCHANGES



The Revd. Rosslyn Bruce, M.A.

15th November 1903.

St Anne's, Soho.

*Maudsley  
Suffering*

"Hath God forgotten to be gracious?"  
Psalm lxxvii.9.

The psalmist in the early part of this psalm repeats a cry of doubt and misgiving. Over and over again he re-iterates the same thought, "Will the Lord absent Himself for ever?" "Will He be no more entreated?" "Is His mercy clean gone for ever?" "Is His promise come utterly to an end for evermore?" "Hath the Lord forgotten to be gracious?" and in these words I think he voiced a certain instinctive cry which comes up again and again in varying form attacking the faith of every believer "Hath God forgotten to be gracious?" It is not the cry of assured pessimism, the remainder of the psalm makes that quite clear, for he goes on to say "It is mine own infirmity", and he concludes with these words "Thou leddest thy people like sheep, by the hand of Moses and Aaron", so the Lord hath not forgotten to be gracious.

And when we come to think how this cry, which I have called an instinctive cry of the human heart, comes upon us

in these times, - we think of those doubts, which raise up in us the cry "Hath God forgotten to be gracious?"

It is not only poets who have seen a certain strange harshness which is quite incomprehensible to the tender heart of "humanity"; it is not only poets whose hearts have been wounded with the savage world of nature "red in tooth and claw". The kestrel hovering over us in the heavens is seen to dash suddenly with a dart like lightning down into the undergrowth: and we remember that some little field mouse has paid the price of being Nature's helpless child. There is no close season in the open field, and the little victim is often the parent of a little starving family, left to suffer a lingering starvation through its cruel death.

We watch the swallow sailing gracefully over the stream and we see him dip in his curving flight; the dip means death to some little fly - hardship and disaster we may see throughout the universe, yet the great God of Nature is the God of Love reigning over all, "Hath God forgotten to be gracious?"

When we come from Nature nearer home and look to the suffering in this vast city, again we see suffering everywhere. One-third of the whole population are patients during the

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When we come from Nature nearer home and look to the suffering in this vast city, again we see suffering everywhere. One-third of the whole population are patients during the

year in those great hospitals of ours, enduring hours and hours of patient suffering. Little children are brought into the world, so far as we can see, simply to suffer; - born victims to suffering - living as victims - dying as victims - and a bitter cry of human pity goes up from the heart, as we see the cruelty in nature reproduced in human life; again we cry "Hath God forgotten to be gracious?"

When we look over the poverty of this great city - when we see sometimes lifelong suffering and lifelong struggling with starvation, with no hope of anything better, only dreary dull existence and long hard wearying work, when we see children dragged into this terrible scheme, this great world of struggling poverty, again the cry arises "Hath God forgotten to be gracious?"

And then to go farther afield, we come to the wider problems of race, the jealousy and antagonism of the sons of men, - such for instance as the scenes which we hear from day to day are taking place in the Balkan Peninsula. Women and children passing this winter in starvation out on the snow tipped mauntains, their sufferings and their blood being demanded by their accursed Turkish rulers - and few, all too few of our own people allowed to go and see what has happened,

or what is happening; only those who are willing to write home in such terms as one newspaper reporter, who says, he saw, it is true, a few starving children, a few of their corpses, he saw it is true, a great deal of drunkenness and revelry among the Turkish soldiers but on the whole the Turk behaved splendidly.

When I see such reading morning by morning, and when others tell of finding all about the land the emaciated corpses of the victims, even little girls being found with grass in their mouths by which they have tried to resist the cruel pangs of conquering starvation. And when we know that the great powers of Europe are responsible for all this, when we know that all that can be done, seems to be being done, and when we know that it is in vain to appeal for help to Russia and Austria and we know by centuries of experience the absolute worthlessness of promises of reform, I say we cannot understand this great load of suffering which hangs like a very cloud of hell upon the mind and conscience of Europe. Forty thousand - sixty thousand - a hundred thousand people, their homes burnt, sent out into the woods to die. Ship after ship once a week taking the men into exile and landing them, God only knows where, somewhere in the wilds

of Asia Minor, "Hath God forgotten to be gracious?"

The problem of all this suffering and hardship going on in the world cannot be dismissed by the optimist's assurance of an easy ignorance or of a shallow acquiescence. There is no place for optimism except in the full knowledge and the bold facing of suffering. Those who allow themselves to believe that all is for the best in the best of all possible worlds may find a certain passing comfort in the poet's song but all is not well, not yet, though God is in the heaven and all will be well.

The psalmist has worked the seventy-seventh psalm out to a sound conclusion. At the end "He leadeth His people like sheep, by the hand of Moses and Aaron." Like sheep - God leadeth us but we know not where; like sheep, we cannot see the end, only we have before us, as a vivid picture the truth of Mazzini's saying "The great bird of victory has two wings, one of triumph and the other of suffering."

Then we turn to the Cross again and there we have the explanation of it all. This is the test of our faith. "Hath God forgotten to be gracious?" Looking at the Cross of Christ with faith we may see more clearly the mystery of Christ's connection with human suffering, and strive to under-

stand to some extent the great problems of nature and of life.

In the struggles of nature, in the terrors of pain and poverty, in domination of war, and in that race hatred which has revealed its intensity and brought about horrors worse than war, God has shown us that He leads us like sheep - so blind! - by the hand of Moses and Aaron. Do you remember how when Moses had cured the people of their disease by raising up a serpent, for when all the people looked upon it they were saved? Do you remember how afterwards the reformer had to break into little pieces that very serpent, that brazen serpent, Nehushtan, which had been revered for generations till it had incense burned to it, how at last the reformer came to dash it to the dust, in order that the people might worship God alone? So God has given us a Saviour raised up upon the Cross to show us that suffering must be the explanation of everything, and that this test of our faith can only be born by the presence of God Himself, by the heart, that is, attuned to sympathy, pity and love. So, as the course of ages has gone on we have been tempted to look to the Cross of Christ as some looked at the brazen serpent, and have been inclined to forget the realities of the crucifix~~ion~~ are not in ivory or silver or brass or gold, but graven upon the fleshly tablets of the human heart. Unless we have entered



by suffering into the mystery of the great suffering world, unless we have in our life and in every action of our life striven to enter into this revelation of suffering, unless we have been enlisted into the noble army of sympathisers and workers for that other countless army of sufferers - unless we have done that, unless we have been able to look up and see in it all the sorrowing, agonized face of the Saviour, the tender, loving Master, revealed to us in Sacrament and in Prayer, then indeed we must say with the Psalmist, "It is mine own infirmity."

"Hath God forgotten to be gracious?" "It was mine own infirmity," "For Thou leadest thy people like sheep, by the hand of Moses and Aaron."

NB

Howell. outrages 1903

Nothing but extreme urgency would justify my putting before you such a distressing subject as that of outrages in Macedonia. My reason for circulating the facts is threefold-- that the public does not realise the terrible incidents of Turkish Rule, that these horrors will shortly recur unless the Government is more active than hitherto, and that your sympathy and efforts can have a useful influence.

The following statement is by a military officer of one of the Great Powers. It was written to me by a British soldier, Lieutenant Howell, who was in Macedonia last Summer and himself saw a woman with a sword-cut down to the breast through the right side and a girl with 8 wounds. I quote his letter, omitting the worst things, which are unmentionable.

*He is a reliable informant whom Howell trusted*  
"He had seen the village surrounded and sacked and managed

to get back to it 4 or 5 days afterwards. Women ripped open, children's arms and legs lying about, a man who had his stomach cut out with his arms and legs tied to benches, a woman (still alive) who had been skinned all down the right arm, shoulder and breast, and another who had been skinned from the knees downwards, wounded who had been lying there for nearly 5 days, some of them partially burnt where they had been unable to get clear of the flames, children covered with wounds, and a woman without any hands--these are some of the details I remember. And it is important to note that in talking with Bulgarians Armensko was not by any means considered the exception but rather the rule."

(Strictly Private.)

1899 Turkey

IN the following remarks I have recorded what I could learn on matters likely to interest the Grosvenor House Committee and the Byron Society. I have limited them as far as possible to things of which I had personal observation. Information is necessarily acquired mostly by hearsay, but I was fortunate in getting ocular evidence of a good many interesting symptoms. I do not go beyond these except where the proofs seemed first rate and where my belief was supported by the opinion of my companion, Mr. Cecil Harris, who, as a lawyer, had more experience in detecting falsehood; many statements are, of course, not verifiable.

We travelled through Servia and crossed the Western frontier at Rashka, stayed at Novi Bazar, Prishtina, Gilan, and other places in Old Servia; afterwards at Uskub, Prilip, Monastir, Salonica, and in the Vardar Valley, crossing into Bulgaria by Kumanova, Egri Palanka and Kustendil.

All parties shewed us great hospitality, and I regret that it is of the less agreeable side of Turkey that I must speak. The Turks shewed us personally every attention, but they seemed intensely suspicious of our purpose and afraid of sedition. We were never allowed to talk to the Christians without a gendarme being present if he could possibly contrive it—both officers and privates had orders to watch us continually. Several watched at the door of our room at night. A Christian who talked to our

Dragoman was summoned by the Prefect and examined as to the subject of his conversation.

Those things from which the people suffer most—murder, rape, illegal taxation and injustice—are of course impossible for a traveller to see; but some things that we noticed may be worth saying. It was common to see stacks of corn in the fields beginning to rot and sprout in the ear; meanwhile the peasants were working their hardest to finish threshing the share of the crop which had been taken by the Tax-gatherer and the Landlord. At the old Serb Church of Gratchanitzza we saw a large house for pilgrims, which was nearly finished, when the authorities forbade its completion on the ground that it might be used for seditious purposes. The field guards who nominally protect the peasants from brigands, but are really spies upon them, are billeted in their houses. The Christians were so afraid of being punished on suspicion that they would not let us leave our Dragoman with them unless a gendarme was present to listen. Our escort frequently took fruit, &c., from passing peasants without payment and without attempt at concealment. The seclusion of Christian women is very noticeable, and their re-appearance on entering Bulgaria struck us forcibly.

A friend of ours was appealed to by a Christian woman in our presence for advice, because the village gendarme had expelled her husband and taken her into his house, and had now gone away leaving her unprovided for and pregnant. At another village it was significant that a schoolmaster replied to our question, that all was quiet—they were very happy,—but when asked for details he said that the Sergeant of Gendarmes had closed the inn every evening because the inn-keeper's wife had refused his advances; but he had not thought such things worth

mentioning. He added that he had also been beaten himself, but did not know why.

The use of torture on a large scale in 1898, in order to discover hidden rifles, was well proved. A foreigner who is friendly to the Turks was told by them as an amusing fact that those who were tortured were at first very unwilling to betray their friends, but "when the head-string was tightened and their eyes began to bulge out, then they talked freely enough."

An outrage of a common kind occurred while I was at Uskub. A Bulgarian girl had been stolen by a Turk, and her brother begged the Russian Consul to give her refuge if he rescued her. He was so far satisfied of the facts that he did so, and sent her home with his wife to Bulgaria. Soon afterwards the brother was found with his throat cut close to the Turk's house. To make a show of justice some Christians were arrested, and there, as usual, things ended.

It is hardly necessary to speak of disorder and brigandage when they are so well known to prevail, but we saw a curious illustration of the general insecurity that exists when we visited a mining station. The Manager's house is built to stand a siege, and has looped-holed bastions on each side of the door. The Manager never leaves the house without a rifle. A French Mining Engineer was lately caught near Salonica and ransomed for £15,000.

The Vali of Monastir reluctantly allowed us to see the prison there. It was a rather rude building round a court, and crowded with prisoners of all kinds, many of them heavily chained. It did not look very dirty, and I must say it appeared to me almost as good as the Greek prison at Nauplia. This Vali is considered a model one.

With regard to poverty, the houses in the Vardar Valley frequently shelter both man and beast in the same

room, and few are provided with glass, but their equal might perhaps be found in Ireland. The existence of an elaborate national dress seems to incite the people to keep up something higher than the lowest level of comfort.

To Turkish misrule must also be attributed the trouble of frontier raids. These are of different kinds. Of robbing and smuggling bands there seems to be a prevalence both on the Turko-Bulgar and the Turko-Serb frontier. They may at any time cause conflicts between the frontier guards. There are also bands for taking vengeance for outrages by Turks, and we gathered that a good many Turks have been picked off by them recently.

A scarred ruffian who came bear hunting with us was circumstantially declared to have taken vengeance on twenty-three offensive Moslems. Bands were said to be lately in Prilip disguised, and it appears that the fear of vengeance produces a wholesome caution among the Turks.

Again, there are political bands, such as that which two years ago seized a village and killed the gendarmes. These are said to provoke reprisals, and to be condemned by the Macedonians on the spot. They may at any time succeed in their intention of provoking a massacre (to bring about the intervention of some foreign power). The preparations for a rising are no doubt considerable.

These two classes of political violence are Bulgarian.

The conflict near Prishtina of last Spring seems to have been only an affair of the smuggling variety. The Turks and Serbs at Rashka, where we crossed the frontier, were on very friendly terms, and explained to us that brigands cross the frontier to steal sheep. The villagers pursue them back, and the sentinels fire: hence complications. It appeared at the enquiry which followed this incident that Servia was not anxious to prevent the sale of rifles, though they get into brigand hands.

## SERBO-BULGAR RIVALRY.

The efforts of both States to gain adherents in Macedonia become more and more intense. The competition of schools degenerates into bribery by free clothing for children, and direct payment to parents. Bulgaria being first in the field, the opening of a Serb school leads to violence. Last year there was a bitter quarrel at Kumanova, where the Bulgars drove the Serbs from a churchyard given to the latter by the Government. From a comparison of the versions of both sides it was clear that the conflict ended in an attack by Bulgarian women upon the Turkish gendarme sent to protect the Serbs in possession. One of these women being in a state that unfitted her for activity, fell ill and died. Afterwards, when at Sofia, we found a requiem service being held for this lady, and her portrait was paraded about the town as that of a national heroine. The Bulgars appealed to the Sultan's mother, and finally won the day. The Serbs charge the Bulgars with the death of a leading Serb who was lately murdered at Uskub.

The Turks also, true to their tradition, *Divide et impera*, complain of Bulgar violence, and at Prilip the Prefect took occasion to snub them by quartering us in the house of the Serb Schoolmaster. This is the man who, for having dared to open a school in this Bulgar stronghold, was attacked with revolvers on entering his house, his arm is badly scarred; his daughter who opened the door was shot dead, he is now allowed an armed "cavass," and another attends the scholars to and from school. In spite of this lamentable side of the quarrel, competition, at all events, results in the increased spread of schooling. Itinerant teachers visit even the most remote villages, and though the reading and writing be devoted to nationalism, it is probably better than nothing.

The Serb propaganda is making some advance, but the Serbs are still weakened by their ecclesiastical subjection to the Greek Patriarch. The Bulgarians have the advantage of the funds of their own Church. The Serb teachers are paid by their Government through its Consuls, and observers doubt whether this great expense can be maintained.

### ALBANIA.

From the humane point of view, there is of course most to say about "Old Servia," which forms part of Albania. Here, in addition to the misfortunes which follow from Turkish rule, the Christian population is at the mercy of Albanian Moslems, who are more brutal and more active than the Turks and equally fanatical, and form in practice a race of licensed brigands, respecting no authority, and compared with whom even the Turk is a friend.

The Arnauts, as the Albanians are locally called, have never forgiven the expulsion of some 100,000 of their race from their homes by the Serb Government, when additional lands were given to Servia in 1878, and vengeance is easily gratified when the avenger is armed and the victim has his claws drawn. The Albanian is not only brutal to his weaker neighbour but defiant of his nominal master, the Turk. Among signs of this insubordination, I observed very insolent behaviour to the Prefect of Novi Bazar by Arnauts in the street.

In spite of the recent attempt of several tribes to arrange a cessation of vendetta and intertribal feuds, Martini rifles are generally carried; one sees even boys of 14 or 15 struggling to keep up with their seniors under the welcome burden. Even in the towns the strenuous attempts of the Turks to stop the carrying of arms have frequently failed. At Gilan and Prisren I have seen many in the streets. At Mitrovitza it is well confirmed that



the Arnaut mob took a Christian prisoner from the barracks and killed him, and though the Vali came with troops from Uskub there was no redress, and the Prefect objected to by the Albanians was removed. His successor, who speaks French, told me the Arnauts were "as much opposed to the Turks as to the Rayah." At Mitrovitza I saw no arms carried except by the Arnaut chief, who protected the Christians during the above incident. At Prishtina the unused quarters of the State tobacco monopoly department testify to the ridiculous weakness of the Government. The Serb Consul at Prishtina does not venture out without an escort since his predecessor was murdered in the street. The Turks have no gendarmes outside the towns, and if any authority beyond that of the rifle is respected it is the tribal government of the Arnaut chiefs, who live in fortified castles. We inspected that of the chief in Mitrovitza who befriends the Christians. His wooden house having been three times burnt he has built one with stone walls three feet thick, an iron door, windows only high up, with stone shutters and loopholed for rifles on every side. He is a Moslem, but has founded a convent and prays in the Chapel, and has received presents from the Bishop of Prisren.

The Turks shewed great anxiety for our safety, and insisted on large escorts, which never left us by day or night. They would not let us go to Ipek or Jakova, where a tribal war was proceeding, and betrayed a feverish desire to get us away from Novi Bazar. At Mitrovitza the schoolmaster who ventured to call on our Servian Dragoman was imprisoned on a frivolous charge; this was probably done to gratify the Arnauts.

Of the brutality shewn by Arnauts to Christians there is evidence in the fact that the Serb Consul had sent 300 complaints to his Government for transmission to the

Porte in the last nine months. Far from being a fire-eater, he seemed to us amazingly callous to the many stories of rapine and plunder that came before him during the few days we were together. We were the guests of a peasant near the Serb frontier whose farm is coveted by Arnauts. They had laid him under a ransom of £30, which he could not pay. Seizing an opportunity when the escort had left us (being a pious Moslem he fled from supper on the arrival of a pig, roasted whole), the peasant asked the Consul if he advised him to fly to Serbia. He added that his father and uncle had been murdered. We asked "Where were they killed?" "In this room," he replied, "and there are the bullet marks behind you. He has a wife and nine children and his mother to support. His story was confirmed by the priest, who carries a rifle, being under vendetta for killing two Arnauts.

In the towns it is noticeable that no women leave the house unless veiled, and that no one stirs out after dark. Stories of men murdered, and of women and boys kidnapped, forcibly converted or violated, become tedious by their frequency; taken together, they cannot be wholly unfounded.

The Christians, when permitted, surround their church enclosures with high loop-holed walls, forming a defensible refuge in case of anti-Christian riots.

The Serbs wish to magnify their claims to Old Serbia, but they admit that their people fly to Free Serbia at the rate of 5,000 or more per annum. At the same time, Servian is so far the predominant element that we travelled through the country with a Servian dragoman who spoke neither Turkish nor Albanian.

The Turks complain openly that they are not allowed by the Sultan to pacify Albania. It is stated that orders are sent from Yildiz direct to the Arnauts,

and men like the Mufti of Prishtina and others, who have become rich by protecting pillage on a large scale, are pointed to as intermediaries. The Turks assert that disorder could easily be stopped, as the Arnauts have no cannon or horses. Their fighting quality is a disputed point, but it may well be doubted if it would be safe to hand the country to Servia or any small state.

I need hardly tell you that after a visit to Albania, one thinks autonomy for such people is out of the question, though there are good authorities who expect a future for them. The concerted movement of 1899 was aimed at removing the Vali of Kossovo and forming a new Arnaut province. This led to the first refusal of favours on the part of the Sultan, and might, some think, inaugurate a saner policy on his part, but, if report be true, he has lately given way.

There are few signs of Albanian unity. The truce of January, 1899, was refused by some tribes; even those who accepted it have quarrelled, and there was fighting on a large scale at Ipek in October, also (the Servian Consul declared) near Prishtina; but I was not convinced of the accuracy of his figures. Religion divides the Arnauts into three camps, and these lines of cleavage are crossed by other lines of material interest or political sympathy which can always be bought by intriguing Powers. A strong hand, like that of Austria, or Italy, is needed to govern Albania, at least for a long period of education. There are probably a million Albanians, of whom perhaps a quarter are nominally Roman Catholic.

Pending drastic reforms, the lot of the Christians in Old Servia must remain pitiable in the extreme, more so by far than that of any other population in European Turkey. Some alleviation would be produced by the increase of foreign Consuls and in this way the Serb

Government should certainly try to do more. It might also assist its Nationals when they wish to emigrate to Free Serbia, if political interest did not pull the other way. Further, it might do more to purchase the protection of influential Arnauts, and one would like to see a bolder policy towards the Turks.

### SERVIA.

Servia was in a state of siege, the trials for *lese majeste* being in progress. The authorities were very nervous and suspicious and we were put under escort. The disastrous effect of oppression and disorder seems to be that the Serbs are moved by intense nationalism but very little humane feeling. Thus they declare themselves ready to fight with Turkey against either Austria or Bulgaria, and face to face with the victim of some appalling misfortune among their cousins in Turkey, they hardly bring themselves to listen. The ruins of an old Serb castle move them far more than the orphans beneath its walls.

This does not, however, discount their value as a substitute for Turkey. Their population of peasant owners seems a happy and a highly picturesque one, and the contrast between the two sides of the frontier is most striking. On the one side the hills are an endless waste, denuded of trees and with fertile lands, idle. On the other side the mountains are peopled by quite an ideal Alpine peasantry with substantial chalets and a great variety of crops, fruits, cattle and home industries. At the old Monastery of Studenitsa, where a memorial service was held after Mr. Gladstone's death, 10,000 are said to gather to celebrate the Virgin's birthday.

The present policy of Servia abroad is to get the same rights for its Schools and Churches in Turkey as the Bulgars have for theirs; Secondly, to gain time for their

propaganda to recover districts now adhering to the Bulgarian Church; Thirdly, to cultivate friendship with the Turks, in the hope of favours and help against more dangerous foes. In respect of favours, the policy certainly yields in point of success to the Bulgarian policy of pin-pricks.

### BULGARIA.

Compared with Servia, Bulgaria strikes one in respect of

Less suspicion of foreigners ;  
 Greater material progress ;  
 Freedom of speech ;  
 Development of education ; and  
 Religious liberty.

In these respects Bulgaria is also ahead of Russia, and having tasted liberty she is not likely to let herself become a Russian Province if she can help it. The use of agricultural machinery, and the progress of building and planting astonishes the traveller who crosses the frontier from Turkey.

As to religion, thanks chiefly to Robert College on the Bosphorus, Protestantism, almost unknown in Servia, is already a factor to be reckoned with.

But with regard to political action, on the other hand, the Government is paralysed by financial troubles. Its servants were lately unpaid for three months. The Macedonian Committees include leading men, but the Government, as far as we could gather, does try to prevent disturbances in Macedonia. It is not ready for war, and therefore does not wish war to be provoked. Bulgaria seems to suffer most from the absence of a class of independent men who may be trusted to serve the State. The growth of industry may remedy this, but a larger

country is needed to provide the material for Government, when that country is "a peasant state."

### SOLUTIONS.

I am well aware that this question leads one into the field of high politics where an amateur is not qualified to tread, but you may care to hear what I noticed affecting some possible alternatives. There are of course many that I do not mention.

With regard to reforms in Turkish rule, it has been said that only good Governors are needed to set things right. As to this I noticed that the Valis who are admitted to be honest and able, find themselves unable to cope with the vices of their subordinates. Thus, the Vali of Monastir complains that he cannot carry out reforms, and falls back on spending money under his own eye on public gardens. The reforms that followed Lord Salisbury's effort in 1896 are illustrated in the provinces by the Christian "Assistant Governor" and "Inspector of Justice." It is easy to see that they are both despised and disregarded. At Uskub, when the Governor is away, another Moslem, and not the "Assistant," is made *locum tenens*. They are known as Evet-ji or "Yes people," because they agree with every proposal. The Assistant Governor at Uskub assured me at the Governor's dinner-table that he was not a Christian, but a *libre penseur*. But some believe reforms to be possible.

Partition of the country among the small Powers is the ideal of some great authorities; but no one Power can move without the others, and agreement between them seems further off than ever. Greece has strongholds near Bulgaria, and Bulgaria near Greece. Servia has opened schools at Salonica, and the Radical party in Servia, which favoured compromise, is practically annihilated.

The adherents of each small Power would rather remain under the Turks than become subjects of the other. Their order of preference for the various governments seems to be as follows:—(1) Their own, (2) Turkey, (3) Austria, (4) Russia, and (5) the rival small Power.

This being so, and the population being arranged in the manner of “streaky bacon,” negotiations obviously require a high level of statesmanship.

Failing the small Powers, one looks to *Austria*. On humane grounds one would certainly desire an Austrian descent to Salonica, but it would prevent the formation, so long as it lasted, of a united Serbia or a united Bulgaria, either or both of which might in the future make a good development. At present Austria appears fully occupied at home, and satisfied with an agreement which secures the negative advantage of Russia's non-intervention in the Balkans, and with the occupation of Novi Bazar, which prevents a union of Serbs. But there are signs of Austrian preparations for advance both in Albania and Macedonia.

It is confidently asserted that Austria made preparations during the Greek War to send troops down to Salonica if Bulgaria entered Turkey, and it can hardly be doubted that she has some Albanian chiefs in her pay, and spends money on the Romanist propaganda for some political purpose.

If circumstances ever brought about this Austrian movement without a Russian advance, but with an enlargement of Bulgaria southwards, one might say in favour of this, that Austrian rule has been impartial in Bosnia (the British Bible Society finds more religious liberty there than in Austria itself); that the Greeks would much prefer Austria to Bulgaria, and that the portentous scandal of an unruled Albania would be

brought to an end. Perhaps also the balance of power in Europe would best be served at the same time. But if the *national* principle be followed, Macedonia must be Bulgarian; and as to this, no doubt Bulgaria might be trusted to shew an independent spirit towards Russia; and, considering the progress she has made with small chances, the larger country, and especially the larger wealthy class which the annexed population would bring, might enable her to do great things.

Mr. Dicey said in 1894: "Bulgaria is in a fair way of becoming a bulwark against Russian aggression," while at the same time she can never be so strong that Russia could fairly complain of being shut up in the Black Sea.

Supposing an opportunity to arise, it would therefore appear desirable to bring about autonomy for Macedonia, following the provisions of the Berlin Treaty, Article 23, as the simplest step towards the enlargement of Bulgaria.

The Bulgarians urge that the press of Europe follows the opinion and press of England, and that an agitation here would be enough to make a majority of the Powers demand autonomy from the Sultan. They consider that three regiments of the Powers, with a fleet at Salonica, could arrange the matter without bloodshed, and appealing to the precedent of Crete, they say: "Give us only the services of Admiral Noel for one week."

Greece is entitled to a certain advance northwards in any re-arrangement. But there would remain Albania. If Servia should receive "Old Servia" (*i.e.*, North Albania) and Italy the rest of Albania, the interests of religion and nationality would best be met. Failing Italy, the strong hand of Austria, descending from Bosnia, though Servian feeling would be injured, might at least be trusted to introduce the blessings of order.



As for temporary remedies for the present trouble, it is clear that much can be done by diplomatic interference. Sir Philip Currie's prompt despatch of Mr. Elliott to inquire into the treatment of suspected Christians in 1898 prevented a great deal of suffering. The Consuls also exercise a constantly restraining influence on local governors and prefects. Considering the responsibilities and reputation of England it is not we who should grudge the expense of an increase of Consulates. The boon would be immediately felt in hundreds of homes. Life, honour and property would be a little less in danger.

As a temporary measure for the present, it is  
 is clear that such can be done by legislative enact-  
 the Irish Corpn's growth beyond of Mr. H. H. H. H.  
 ing into the treatment of reported diseases in 1833  
 provided a great deal of relief. The Corpn. also  
 exercise a carefully regulated system of health  
 government and practice. On the other hand, the  
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 will be found to be in hundreds of towns.  
 the health and progress of a nation is