

«If Grier *is* asleep, she must wake up, that 's all!»

Two or three minutes afterward a disheveled maid, startled out of her first slumber, appeared, to ask whether her mistress was ill.

«No, Grier; but I wanted to tell you that I have changed my mind about staying here till Saturday. I am going to-morrow morning by the 9:30 train. You can order a fly first thing, and bring me my breakfast early.»

The maid, groaning at the thought of the boxes that would have to be packed in this inconceivable hurry, ventured to protest.

«Never mind; you can get the housemaid to help you,» said Miss Sewell, decidedly. «I don't mind what you give her. Now go to bed, Grier. I'm sorry I woke you up; you look as tired as an owl.»

Then she stood still, looking at herself—hands clasped lightly before her—in the long glass.

«(Letty went by the nine o'clock train,» she said aloud, smiling, and mocking her own white reflection. «(Dear me! How sudden! how extraordinary! Yes, but that 's like her. H'm—) Then he must write to me, for I shall write *him* a civil little note asking for that book I lent him. Oh, I *hope* Aunt Watton and his mother will bore him to death!»

She broke out into a merry laugh; then, sweeping her mass of pretty hair to one side, she began rapidly to coil it up for the night, her fingers working as fast as her thoughts, which were busy with one ingenious plan after another for her next meeting with George Tressady.

(To be continued.)

Mary A. Ward.

## THE ARMENIAN QUESTION.



MY friend the editor of THE CENTURY asks me to say a few words regarding the sufferings of the Eastern Christians whose misfortune it is to live under the sway of the Turks. Those sufferings have evoked so

much sympathy from the American people, and the moral influence of America may be so helpful to them, that no one who has followed the history of the Armenians during the last twenty years of oppression and misery can refuse the opportunity of addressing American readers on the subject. Nor is it merely that the recent demonstrations of feeling in the United States upon this subject have been so deep and wide-spread: nearly everything which has been done for these ancient seats of Christianity by modern Christian nations has been done by American missionaries, whose schools and colleges, planted in various parts of western Asia, have rekindled the flame of knowledge, and stimulated the native Eastern churches to resume the intellectual activity which once distinguished them. Americans have therefore a special reason, over and above their quick responsiveness to sentiments of humanity, for feeling a warm interest in the condition of the Armenian Christians.

The Armenians are a civilized people, a people of great natural gifts, and a people who have played a considerable part in history. Since their ancient monarchy, which had suffered severely in the long and deso-

lating wars between the Roman and Persian empires from the third to the seventh century of our era, was finally destroyed by the Seljukian Turks, a large part of the race has been forced to migrate from its ancient seats at the head waters of the Euphrates, Tigris, and Aras. Some of them went southwest to the mountain fastnesses of Cilicia, where another Armenian kingdom grew up in the twelfth century. Others drifted into Persia. Others moved northeastward, and now form a large, industrious, and prosperous population in Russian Transcaucasia, where many have entered the military or civil service of the Czar, and risen, as the Armenians used to rise long ago in the Byzantine empire, to posts of distinction and power. Russia's three best generals in her last Asiatic campaigns against the Turks were Armenians. Others again have scattered themselves over the cities of Asia Minor and southeastern Europe, where much of the local trade is in their hands. But a large number, roughly estimated at from 1,300,000 to 1,700,000, remain in the old fatherland round the great lake of Van, and on the plateaus and elevated valleys which stretch westward from Mount Ararat to Erzerum and Erzinghian. Here they are an agricultural and (to a less extent) a pastoral population, leading a simple, primitive life, and desiring nothing more than to be permitted to lead it in peace and in fidelity to that ancient church which has been to them the symbol of nationality, as well as the guide of life, for sixteen centuries.

Unfortunately, peace is just what they are

forbidden to enjoy. The tribes of robber Kurds who roam over the mountains in summer with their flocks and herds descend in winter to quarter themselves upon the Armenian peasantry in the valleys and plains, and at all times carry on marauding raids, which the peasantry, whom the Turkish government deprives of all weapons, are seldom able to resist. Thus the country is the scene of continual disorders. Sheep and cattle are driven off, villages are plundered, men are murdered, women are carried away to the mountains, and when attempts are made to recover them it is alleged that they have become Mussulmans, and the Turkish officials refuse to interfere. Sometimes a whole village will be burned, and the horses of the Kurdish bands turned into the standing corn in sheer wantonness. These grievances are of long standing. They might have been expected not only to destroy the prosperity of the Armenian peasantry, but also to reduce their numbers. Yet such is the power of patient industry that, in spite of these constant attacks, the Christian population has maintained itself, and would, indeed, have increased faster than the Mussulman, sapped by the practice of polygamy, has shown itself able to do, were it not for the ravages of these robbers, and the unremitting oppression of the Turkish government. For in Turkey the government is a praise to evil-doers and a terror to them that do well. So far from trying to keep the Kurds in order, as the Russian government does the nomad Kurdish tribes who live within Russian territory, the Turkish Valis and Kaimakams usually encourage, and scarcely ever check, their depredations, while at the same time themselves fleecing the Christian population by all the arts which corruption and avarice can suggest.

Things were so bad seventeen years ago that when Russia compelled the vanquished Turks to sign the treaty of San Stefano, in 1878, a special promise was made in it that the government of the Armenian provinces should be reformed and the Christians protected against the Kurds. When at the Congress of Berlin the treaty of Berlin was substituted for that of San Stefano, this provision was carried over to the new instrument, and the Armenians were thus placed virtually under the protection of the six great European powers. But their condition, so far from growing better, has since that time grown steadily worse. The British government has incessantly remonstrated with the Turks on their maladministration, and has tried, through its embassy at Constantinople and

its consuls in the interior, to impose some sort of check upon the excesses of tyranny, and to procure the dismissal of the most cruel or corrupt officials. But it has received, until quite recently, very little support from the other five powers; and the Turks have opposed to its demands that dogged, sluggish resistance, and those endless evasions and vague promises of amendment, which are the usual resource of Oriental diplomacy.

Meanwhile two new factors have entered into the situation which have made it more acute. One is the growing fanaticism of the Mussulman population, stimulated by the Sultan himself. Claiming to be calif,—that is to say, supreme spiritual as well as temporal head of the Mohammedan world,—he has conceived a higher conceit of his ecclesiastical position than has any of his predecessors for centuries past, and has been striving to strengthen his religious authority all the more because he feels that his material power is fast slipping away. Thus, in appealing to the Mussulman feelings of his Turkish subjects, he has revived their antichristian feelings, and has, indeed, followed during the last ten years a distinctly antichristian policy, which has had the most pernicious results on the relations of the two creeds. The old spirit of hatred to the *giaour* has become strong in the East, and might (in many places) lead at any moment to conflicts in which the Christians, fewer in numbers, and almost always without arms, would be the sufferers.

The other factor is the growing sentiment of nationality among the Armenians themselves. They have become proud of their history; they have developed a keen interest in education, and while continuing to use and value the American schools and colleges, have now also founded others of their own. They have conceived hopes of a brighter future for their nation when the decaying fabric of the Turkish empire shall have finally crumbled away, and they have been encouraged by the sympathy shown them in Britain and in the United States to take a somewhat bolder line than formerly, and to raise their voices in complaint against the tyranny they have to endure. It is said that some among them have formed secret societies, and that the representatives of Armenian patriotic committees in two or three cities of continental Europe have been moving about Asiatic Turkey trying to rouse their fellow-countrymen. This is probable enough, though little or nothing is authentically known; nor can any one be surprised that some among the victims of Turkish misrule should combine against it,

however hopeless the prospect of a rising by an unarmed minority against a government which not only possesses a large army furnished with modern weapons, but has on its side the bulk of the Mohammedan population, which is generally armed. The result of this growth of national Armenian sentiment has been to alarm the Turks, to stimulate their hatred of the Christians, to make the officials more cruel and the courts even more unjust than they were previously, and to dispose the Turkish ministers more and more toward the policy which one of them is said to have expressed thus: «The way to get rid of the Armenian question is to get rid of the Armenians.»

Under the influence of these causes there has been of late years added to the old disorders in Armenia proper a general reign of terror over Asiatic Turkey. The industrious Armenian population in the cities of Asia Minor, which had previously suffered from misgovernment not much more than its Musulman neighbors, and which had lived on friendly terms with them, has been subjected to more outrageous oppressions and more horrible cruelties than probably it has had to endure since the fifteenth century, and that under a monarch who holds his throne only by the permission, and owing to the jealousies, of the Christian powers of Europe.

Every one has heard of the massacre of Sassoun. It was an absolutely unprovoked massacre, and has all the appearance of having been deliberately planned in order to exterminate the Christian population of a district almost entirely inhabited by Armenians, and in which they had retained in an unusual degree the primitive simplicity of their life and habits, as well as their physical strength and courage. Taken by surprise, and surrounded by vastly superior forces, the unhappy people fought as well as they could for their wives and their children, whose lot, if captured alive, was far worse than death. Of the slaughter and the revolting cruelties which accompanied it no more need be said than this: that the accounts which have appeared in the newspapers are not in excess of the truth as it has been ascertained by careful official inquiries not yet made public. The details sometimes vary, but the main features admit of no doubt. Nor were the Kurds the guiltiest parties. All they did was surpassed by the ferocious cruelties of the regular troops, directed by Turkish officers. But these terrible events are hardly more shocking, except in their scale, than the things which have been monthly and weekly happening in many other towns and villages,

and of which no report ever reaches the European press—the defilement of churches, the abduction of women and children, the imprisonment of innocent men in loathsome dungeons where they are often subjected to frightful tortures under which many perish, the acts of brutal and revolting lust perpetrated without fear of punishment upon helpless victims. Much of what is contained in the British consular reports is too horrible for print; and if the American missionaries were able, without endangering their own position in the country and the lives of their informants, to make public what they know, they could supply a not less ghastly record.

American readers will ask what, in these circumstances, the European powers propose to do. They are morally responsible for the sufferings of the subjects of Turkey to this extent: that they have kept in being a monarchy which has long since deserved to perish, and which would long since either have fallen to pieces by its own weakness, or have been conquered and annexed by one of its neighbors. They perceive, moreover, that the state of things which now exists in Turkey cannot go on indefinitely, and may produce some explosion which would cause a grave European crisis, perhaps a European war. Something, therefore, must be done. At the moment when these lines are being written the British government, pursuing under Lord Salisbury the line of action which his predecessor initiated, is in conjunction with Russia and France pressing the Sultan to accept a scheme of reforms. Long before these lines can be read in America it will be known whether they have extorted the consent of the Sultan to these reforms, or to some others, which may hold out a hope of better days for the Armenian Christians. There would be no use, therefore, in discussing the situation as it stands at this moment. But there are some permanent aspects of the question, not likely to vary for years to come, which may properly be adverted to, because they are not fully realized in western Europe, and are probably even less familiar to Americans.

Although the other nations of Europe now treat the Turks as if they were a civilized state, hold diplomatic intercourse with them in the usual way, and even talk of «respecting their susceptibilities,» they have no title to be so treated, and ought never to have been admitted to a place among civilized communities. Even if we do not, as Mr. Freeman did, describe them as «merely a band of robbers encamped in a country whose inhabitants they despoil,» still the words of Edmund

Burke, who more than a century ago denounced the idea of deeming them to form a part of the European states system, remain true, and have received from events the strongest confirmation:

I have never before heard that the Turkish empire has ever been considered as any part of the balance of power in Europe. They despise and contemn all Christian princes as infidels, and only wish to subdue and exterminate them and their people. What have these worse than savages to do with the powers of Europe but to spread war, destruction, and pestilence amongst them? The ministers and the policy which shall give these people any weight in Europe will deserve all the bans and curses of posterity.

Having no idea of responsibility to its subjects, and not recognizing any duty to promote their welfare, the so-called government of Turkey has been at all times inaccessible to the considerations by which civilized governments are moved, or to which they must at any rate—even the worst of them—profess to defer. Hence the difficulty of making any impression on the Turks by remonstrance or persuasion. Nothing moves them but fear. They are, moreover, most of them, so purblind, so incapable of looking forward or around and foreseeing the action of the causes now in motion, that they cannot be made to learn by experience, or to realize that the course they are pursuing must at no distant date involve the ruin of their power. These faults have been aggravated during the last few years by the policy of the present Sultan, who leaves very little to his ministers, is jealous of any talent that shows itself among them, tries to direct everything himself, and is, in fact, largely swayed by a camarilla of ignorant personal attendants and hangers-on at the palace. There are some able Mohammedans in Constantinople who detest the present régime and see its perils. Now and then a good governor is found in the provinces, who tries to improve the local administration. But the able men are never listened to, and the good governor is speedily recalled. In every government more depends upon the men who administer than upon the system; but in a despotic government men are everything. In Turkey the men and the system are equally corrupt; and to try to reform the Turkish monarchy is like trying to repair a ship with rotten timbers.

Why does not such a government go to pieces, according to the law of nature which happily provides that corruption and weakness bring dissolution in their train? There

are three reasons. One is the jealousy of three great European powers, which has had the effect of preventing two of them from annexing what remains of Turkish territory. Another is the fact that the Mussulman population, being in the majority, is so fanatically ill disposed to the Christians (who are the greatest sufferers) that it is not only willing to help the government to hold the Christians down, but even disposed to tolerate evils which would produce Mussulman insurrections were there no Christians in the country. There is, however, a great deal of latent discontent among the Mohammedans, and but for the fatalism which Islam engenders, and which has made the masses listless and resigned, one may doubt whether even jealousy of the Christians would suffice to prevent outbreaks. The third reason is the enormous advantage which modern weapons give to a government which can raise money to purchase them. Two centuries ago insurrections were far easier and more likely to succeed than now, because the insurgents were more on a level with regular troops than they are in these days of swift-firing guns and rifles of long range. There is therefore little ground for hoping for any speedy extinction of the Turkish power by natural causes.

If, then, it is going to last some time longer, can nothing at all be done, if not to reform it, yet to abate its evils? Experience has shown that there is only one way of reforming an Oriental government, and that is by putting it into leading-strings, by either superseding the chief officials and putting Europeans in their place, or else by giving them European adjutants who shall virtually direct them. This might be done in Turkey if the European powers were willing. But it would be necessary practically to supersede the Sultan—that is to say, to prevent him from interfering either with administrative policy or with appointments. And it is a method which, though capable of being efficiently worked by a directing and protecting power, as England works it in the minor protected states of India, cannot be well applied, at least on a large scale, by three or four powers conjointly, because each would suspect the other of obtaining some advantage for itself.

Another expedient would be to detach from the rest of the empire those parts of the country where disorders were most frequent, placing them under a specially constituted administration. This was done in the case of the Lebanon, and with very good results. It has been proposed for Armenia, and would probably succeed there. If the

powers chiefly concerned were to compel the Sultan to erect Armenia into a distinct province, with a European governor who should be irremovable except with the consent of those powers, who should control the revenues of the province and maintain out of them a strong police, and who should be free to introduce administrative and judicial reforms, the country might in ten years' time be brought into the same perfect order, and obtain a measure of the same prosperity, as has attended the rule of Count Kallay in Bosnia, which was delivered from the Turks in 1878. There are, no doubt, as many Mussulmans as Christians in Armenia, but the former have also much to gain by the establishment of good administration, and would welcome it. Russia, however, is unwilling to set up on her borders what she fears might become an Armenian principality toward which her own Armenian population would gravitate; so it is to be feared that this course, however promising, will not be taken.

We are brought back, then, to the question what the European powers can or will do to deal with a situation which every one admits must not continue. Their present plan is to introduce small changes in local government—changes too numerous to be stated here—which may give the Christians a better chance of preserving their lives and property, and to institute a commission of supervision at Constantinople, with which the European ambassadors may be in communication, conveying to it the reports of their consuls, and pressing it to see that justice is done in the provinces. This scheme, though somewhat complicated, may, in the opinion of several judicious British and American residents, be made to work. But it will require the closest attention by the European consuls and ambassadors, and the most unremitting pressure must be brought to bear on the Sultan if its provisions are not to be neglected or evaded in practice. Nothing but fear and threats will move a government which has up till now never expressed the slightest penitence, nor shown the slightest remorse, for the Sassoun massacre, nor taken any serious step to put an end to the hideous prison tortures which the British Embassy has so often brought to its notice.

One closing word as to the influence which America may exert in these questions. She has very wisely, and very fortunately for herself, abstained from joining in any of the

treaties which determine the relations of European powers to one another; and she has neither obtained any such legal right to interfere for the protection of the native Eastern Christians, nor incurred any such responsibility toward them, as is the case with the six great powers. But she has missionaries in many parts of Turkey, whom, and whose churches and schools, constantly threatened by the local Turkish governors, she is entitled to protect; and she has the enormous advantage of being obviously disinterested in all Mediterranean questions, having nothing to gain for herself in that region of the world. Hence any action taken by her, either on behalf of her missionaries or from sentiments of humanity and sympathy for the oppressed and persecuted, cannot be misunderstood by the Turks or misrepresented by the press of continental Europe, as that press constantly misrepresents the action of England, though in interfering on behalf of the Armenians England has not, and cannot have, any selfish motive. The position of America is therefore a very strong one. The appearance of her gunboats off Turkish ports has before now had a wholesome effect upon the Turkish mind; and these gunboats would do well to appear promptly whenever the rights of her citizens and the safety of their educational establishments are threatened. At Constantinople much depends also upon the capacity and the firmness of the envoy who embodies and speaks the will of a foreign power.

Dark as the prospect before those unhappy people may at present seem, no one who remembers the calamities they have already endured and survived will despair of their future. During ten centuries of humiliation and suffering they have clung to their faith, when at any moment by renouncing it they might have obtained complete equality with their oppressors. Alone of all the races that once inhabited the inland regions of western Asia, the Armenians have retained their language, their national feeling, and their hold upon the soil. A race with so much natural vigor, so much tenacity of life, and so much capacity for assimilating and using modern ideas, cannot be destined to extinction, and may some day, when countries that were among the earliest homes of civilization have been delivered from the tyranny of the Turk, help to repeople those now desolate and poverty-stricken lands, and restore to them some measure of their ancient prosperity.

*James Bryce.*



# OPEN LETTERS

## The Armenian Sufferers.

A NOTE FROM THE DUKE OF WESTMINSTER.

[LONG before Mr. Gladstone's remarkable address at Chester, last summer, Americans, acting upon information received from their own missionaries and from Armenians resident in the United States, and from other sources as well, showed a practical and earnest interest in the cause of the sufferers—an interest cordially acknowledged by Mr. Gladstone in his address. For the further authoritative information of the American public, two contributions on the subject are given in this number of *THE CENTURY*—one from the pen of the distinguished author and Liberal statesman, Mr. James Bryce; and the other a note from the eminent Conservative and well-known philanthropist, the Duke of Westminster.]

GROSVENOR HOUSE, LONDON.

SIR: I write a few lines, in deference to your expressed wish, in order to invoke the sympathy of the great Republic with the suffering Armenian Christians, now in dire distress in consequence of the inhuman treatment the survivors of the Sassoun massacres have received, and are receiving, at the hands of the Turkish government.

The founder of the Anglo-Armenian Association here in England, Mr. Bryce, is, I understand, writing the case of the sufferers for your review. It is the cause of humanity, «pure and simple,» which now confronts the nations of the West.

As presiding over a committee in London formed for the purpose of assisting our poor Armenian friends, I venture, therefore, to add one line to ask all who have a heart to feel for those innocent and defenseless thousands, whose only fault it is that they are Christians, to join with us in England in bringing all the pressure that can be brought to bear upon the Turkish government in order that there may be found some hope for them, some guarantee for their lives, their faith, their property, and for the honor of their women, for all of which there is absolutely none at this time at which I write.

The Turkish government is bound by treaties with the Powers to this effect, but has for forty years ignored all their provisions. America is by comparison only remotely interested in the Eastern questions, but she has sent missionaries to these unhappy countries, and it is through their assistance mainly that the contributions raised here are distributed there—a work which, owing to the difficulties of communication and to the remoteness of the provinces affected, is one of very great difficulty.

All the facts connected with the horrors of the misdoings of the Porte have not yet been revealed, but enough has transpired, on authority which cannot be disputed, to combine all the civilized governments of the world in raising one loud, powerful, and indignant protest against a continuance of these iniquities, and in

declaring that not only shall they never be repeated, but that guarantees must be given by the Sultan for some measure of adequate reform in the afflicted provinces subject to his sway. I remain, sir, yours obediently,

*Westminster.*

### Titian's So-called "Sacred and Profane Love."'

It is said that this famous picture came to be known by its present title many years after it was painted—that it was not so named by Titian. The picture is now to be seen in the Villa Borghese, where it is better placed and lighted than it was in its former position in the gallery of the Borghese palace. The figures are life-size, and the picture is in width something more than double its height—say eleven feet wide by nearly five feet high. It is composed of two female figures, one nude and the other heavily draped, seated on either side of a fountain which is in shape like an ancient Greek sculptured sarcophagus, while a Cupid behind the fountain plunges his arm into the water, as though playing with fish. The background on each side is a charming landscape, while toward the center and behind the Cupid rises a thick mass of foliage, very rich and deep in color. The coloring of the whole is simple and effective, and is easily taken in at a glance. From the nude figure—which is seated upon the edge of the fountain in a buoyant attitude, reclining upon one arm, while the other holds aloft a smoking brazier—falls a mass of drapery of a rich red tone. The drapery of the other figure is one simple tone of gray, relieved only by the sleeve of the arm reclining in the lap, which is red, and of a similar tone to that of the red drapery of the other figure. The fountain is gray also. These simple tints, with the golden coloring of the flesh, are relieved against a background of rich, deep brownish tones. The composition of the picture is equally agreeable and impressive: while the nude figure reclines on the edge of the fountain in a light, free, and agile posture, the draped figure is seated more sedately and restfully, and upon a step below the fountain, thus breaking what might otherwise be too great a symmetry of pose between the two. The nude figure is delightful in its proportions. It is neither heroic nor ascetic nor voluptuous in feeling, but purely natural in its development—entirely beautiful, and one of Titian's most charming creations. The draped figure is statuesque in pose and emblematic in feeling. The grand and ample folds of her heavy drapery, and the gloved hands, together with a certain turning away of the head from the ardent gaze of her free companion, seem to suggest a severity and chastity that no doubt give the reason for the present title of the picture.

*T. Cole.*

<sup>1</sup>See Frontispiece.