

TURKEY. No. 1 (1896).

CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING THE

INTRODUCTION OF REFORMS

IN THE

ARMENIAN PROVINCES OF ASIATIC TURKEY.

*Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
February 1896.*

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Correspondence respecting the Introduction of Reforms in the Armenian Provinces of Asiatic Turkey.

No. 1.

Sir P. Currie to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received January 29.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, January 19, 1895.

I INCLOSE, for your Lordship's information, a copy of notes which I have drawn up respecting reforms for the Armenian provinces.

The main feature of the proposals is that the Mutessarifs, Kaïmakams, and Mudirs should be Turkish and Christian, in accordance with the proportionate number of those communities in each vilayet, sandjak, and caza.

I have had the benefit in drawing up these notes of Colonel Chermiside's practical experience of the subject. They are merely a sketch showing the principle on which the reforms might be based, leaving the details to be filled up hereafter.

I have not discussed the question of reforms with my Russian and French colleagues, but I have reason to believe that both M. de Nélidoff and M. Cambon would not be opposed to the bases I have suggested.

I should be glad to learn whether they meet generally with your Lordship's approval.

The last paragraph (No. 10) was added in order to meet some observations made to me as to the insufficiency of any ordinary scheme of reform to deal with the question of the Kurds. It is founded on passages in the collective note addressed by the Powers to the Porte on the 7th September, 1880.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PHILIP CURRIE.

Inclosure in No. 1.

Memorandum.

1. VALI for five years with approval of Powers, removable only by Commission *ad hoc* approved by Powers.
2. A Council-General of Delegates from the sandjaks; communities to be represented according to their numbers, to have control of finance.
3. Vilayets to be divided into sandjaks. The Mutessarifs to be both Moslem and Christian in a ratio proportional to the respective numbers of these communities in the vilayet.
4. Sandjaks to be divided into cazas. The Kaïmakams to be both Moslem and Christian in a ratio proportional to the respective numbers of these communities in the sandjak.
5. Cazas to be divided into nahiés. The Mudirs to be both Moslem and Christian in a ratio proportional to the respective numbers of these communities in the cazas.
6. The cazas to have Administrative Councils representing the communities, and containing no *ex officio* members.
7. Vekils elected by the Notables of each community to represent its interests at the chief town of the vilayet.

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8. A Court of Assize for each vilayet composed of two Christians and two Mussulmans, who would at fixed dates visit all places where justice is administered, would inspect the prisons, revise Judgments, hear appeals, and effect a periodical gaol delivery.

9. A mixed gendarmerie in which Mussulmans and Christians should be represented in proportion to their numbers both as regards officers and men.

10. Special measures for the protection of the Armenians against the Kurds. (See collective note of the 7th September, 1880.)

*Correspondence respecting the introduction of Reforms in the
Armenian Provinces of Asiatic Turkey.*

Annex.

Collective Note addressed to the Porte.

M, le Ministre,

Constantinople, le 7 Septembre, 1880.

LES Soussignés ont reçu la note en date du 5 Juillet dernier, par laquelle la Sublime Porte a répondu au paragraphe de leur communication du 11 Juin, relatif aux améliorations et aux réformes administratives que le Gouvernement Ottoman s'est engagé, par l'Article LXI du Traité de Berlin, à introduire dans les provinces habitées par les Arméniens. Une étude attentive de ce document leur a prouvé que les propositions formulées par le Gouvernement Ottoman ne répondent ni à l'esprit ni à la lettre de cet Article. Les Puissances représentées par les Soussignés n'ignorent pas que le Gouvernement Ottoman a envoyé deux Commissions dans les provinces habitées par les Arméniens; mais elles ont des raisons de penser que ces missions n'ont abouti à aucun résultat, et la Porte, contrairement aux obligations résultant pour elle de l'Article LXI, s'est abstenue de les porter à leur connaissance.

Rien ne prouve qu'une amélioration quelconque ait été introduite dans l'administration de la justice. De nombreux rapports Consulaires établissent, au contraire, que la situation actuelle, au point de vue de l'indépendance des Tribunaux Civils ou Criminels, est aussi peu satisfaisante sinon pire que par le passé.

En ce qui concerne la gendarmerie et la police, la note du 5 Juillet affirme que la Porte a invité plusieurs officiers spéciaux à présenter des projets de réforme de ces deux services. Les Puissances n'ont pas eu connaissance de ces projets, et le Gouvernement Ottoman n'est même pas en état d'affirmer qu'ils lui aient été présentés.

Les Soussignés ne sauraient donc admettre que la réponse de votre Excellence ait donné la moindre satisfaction aux plaintes formulées dans leur note du 11 Juin. Ils se croient d'ailleurs d'autant plus autorisés à réduire à leur juste valeur les efforts tentés à ce point de vue par le Gouvernement Ottoman, que la Porte, à en juger par cette même réponse, se rend évidemment un compte moins exact de la situation et des obligations que lui impose le Traité de Berlin.

Les termes mêmes dans lesquels la Sublime Porte a cru pouvoir s'expliquer sur les crimes commis, ou signalés comme ayant été commis, dans les provinces habitées par les Arméniens, prouvent qu'elle se refuse à reconnaître le degré d'anarchie qui règne dans ces provinces, et la gravité d'un état de choses, dont la prolongation entraînerait, selon toute vraisemblance, l'anéantissement des populations Chrétiennes dans de vastes districts.

La note du 5 Juillet ne formule aucune proposition sérieuse tendant à mettre un terme aux excès des Circassiens et des Kurdes. Il est cependant à craindre que ces excès ne puissent être prévenus par l'application des lois communes. Des mesures de rigueur exceptionnelles peuvent seules mettre un terme à des violences qui, sur plusieurs points des provinces désignées par l'Article LXI, sont un perpétuel danger pour les biens, l'honneur, et la vie des Arméniens.

Par l'Article LXI du Traité de Berlin la Porte s'est engagée "à réaliser sans plus de retard les améliorations et les réformes qu'exigent les besoins locaux dans les provinces habitées par les Arméniens." Les Soussignés ont le regret de constater que les réformes générales indiquées par la note du 5 Juillet ne tiennent aucun compte des "besoins locaux" que signale l'Article précité. Les Puissances accueilleront sans doute avec satisfaction l'introduction de larges réformes dans toutes les parties de l'Empire Ottoman; mais elles tiennent avant tout à l'entière exécution du Traité de Berlin, et elles ne peuvent admettre que la Porte se considère comme libérée des engagements qu'elle a contractés de ce chef en proposant une réorganisation dans laquelle ne figure aucune des réformes spéciales stipulées au profit des provinces spécifiées par ce même Traité. Le

caractère particulier de ces provinces étant, d'ailleurs, la prédominance de l'élément Chrétien dans des districts d'une grande étendue, toute réforme qui ne tiendrait pas compte de ce fait ne saurait aboutir à un résultat satisfaisant.

Les Soussignés estiment qu'il est également indispensable de tenir compte d'une autre particularité que présentent ces mêmes provinces. La Porte paraît vouloir appliquer un même règlement aux Arméniens et aux Kurdes. Il convient, avant tout, de les séparer administrativement, autant que cela est pratiquement possible, vu l'impossibilité absolue de régir de la même manière les populations sédentaires et des tribus à demi-nomades. La distribution des communes et des groupes administratifs en général, devrait par suite se faire de façon à réunir le plus d'éléments homogènes possibles ; elles devraient tendre à grouper les Arméniens, ou, au besoin, les Arméniens et les Turcs, en excluant les Kurdes. Par suite encore l'élément Kurde nomade, vivant dans les montagnes et ne descendant dans les plaines habitées par les Chrétiens que pour y porter le désordre, ne devrait pas être compris dans les relevés statistiques qui détermineront la majorité des habitants dans chaque commune.

On peut supposer que la Sublime Porte a vu dans l'organisation communale proposée par la note du 5 Juillet le moyen de créer des groupes administratifs du premier degré dans lesquels la grande majorité des habitants appartiendrait à la même religion. Rien n'indique toutefois dans ce document que la Porte s'engage à appliquer ce principe.

Les Soussignés constatent avec satisfaction que le Chef d'une commune, dans l'organisation projetée, doit appartenir à la communauté religieuse prépondérante ; mais l'absence d'une disposition analogue s'appliquant aux fonctionnaires d'un rang plus élevé, prouve jusqu'à l'évidence que les réformes proposées ne tiennent pas un compte suffisant des "besoins locaux" des provinces désignées par l'Article XLI.

Le Gouvernement Ottoman déclare "qu'il a déjà admis aux fonctions publiques des personnes honnêtes et capables, sans distinction de culte, et que désormais ce fait recevra une application plus large encore. Cette déclaration est extrêmement vague, et les Soussignés pensent qu'il est d'autant plus nécessaire d'insister sur ce point que les Arméniens affirment que, dans les provinces où ils se trouvent en très grand nombre, il n'y a presque pas d'Arméniens dans les fonctions publiques. Leurs réclamations à cet égard paraissent d'autant plus légitimes qu'il pourrait se faire que la Sublime Porte plaçât à la tête de ces provinces des Gouverneurs Chrétiens sans qu'il en résultât une plus grande certitude, pour les Arméniens, de rencontrer plus d'équité et de justice dans l'Administration.

Des mesures d'un caractère beaucoup plus large que celles qu'indique la note du Gouvernement Ottoman sont donc nécessaires pour que la Porte s'acquitte des engagements qu'elle a contractés à Berlin.

L'insuffisance des réformes proposées est telle, en général, qu'il semble inutile de discuter les défauts du projet de la Porte. Les observations suivantes, toutefois, s'imposent en quelque sorte à l'esprit :

En déclarant, en premier lieu, que les Administrateurs des communes devront être des fonctionnaires du Gouvernement, choisis par le pouvoir central parmi les membres élus du Conseil Communal, au lieu d'être élus par le Conseil Communal lui-même, la Porte affirme le principe de la centralisation jusqu'au dernier degré de la hiérarchie administrative.

La Porte a d'ailleurs omis de dire, en ce qui concerne les Administrateurs et les membres des Conseils de Commune, s'ils seront nommés à titre viager ou seulement pour un temps. Elle ne dit pas davantage à qui appartiendra le droit de les révoquer de leurs fonctions en cas d'incapacité. Ce droit appartiendra-t-il au Conseil de Préfecture qui les nomme ou à une autre autorité ?

La note Ottomane, d'autre part, n'établit de distinction entre la gendarmerie communale et la gendarmerie provinciale, ni quant au mode de recrutement ni à d'autres points de vue. La gendarmerie communale ne diffère de l'autre qu'en ce sens qu'elle est placée sous les ordres du Chef de la Commune. Elle ne se recrute pas dans la commune même, parmi les habitants appartenant au culte prépondérant, et rien ne garantit qu'elle soit spécialement ce qu'elle doit être, c'est-à-dire, une force défensive locale.

L'organisation de la gendarmerie provinciale ne répond pas davantage aux besoins locaux des provinces spécialement désignées par l'Article LXI ; la clause d'après laquelle elle doit se recruter, en officiers comme en soldats, "dans toutes les classes des sujets de l'Empire," est encore du caractère le plus vague. Il serait à désirer que les officiers et les soldats de la gendarmerie provinciale fussent recrutés dans la gendarmerie communale, c'est-à-dire, parmi les gardes champêtres qui auront été choisis par les communes elles-mêmes. Ces gardes champêtres chargés de la défense des villages contre les incursions des Kurdes fourniraient à la gendarmerie provinciale un contingent proportionnel à la

population de chaque commune. Substituée à l'arbitraire de l'administration provinciale, le principe de l'élection constituerait une garantie sérieuse pour la bonne organisation des forces destinées à assurer la sécurité publique.

La valeur des propositions relatives à la constitution d'une Cour d'Assises dépend avant tout des conditions dans lesquelles cette Cour sera constituée, et la note du 5 Juillet garde le silence à cet égard. Il paraît nécessaire de tenir compte de la prédominance de l'élément Arménien dans certaines provinces et de faire à cet élément une part proportionnelle dans l'organisation de la justice.

Ici encore, d'ailleurs, se posent un certain nombre de questions dont la note Ottomane ne laisse pas entrevoir la solution. Les Juges seront-ils inamovibles ou désignés pour un temps déterminé? D'après quelle loi jugeront-ils? Sera-ce d'après le Chéri? Sera-ce d'après un autre Code? Comment les Cours d'Assises feront-elles respecter leurs arrêts par les tribus Kurdes semi-indépendantes et tout à fait sauvages? Cette dernière question prouve surabondamment combien il est nécessaire d'exclure les Kurdes de l'ensemble des réformes destinées aux populations de l'Arménie et de leur donner une administration séparée conforme à leurs mœurs guerrières et primitives. A l'occasion de cette même question des rapports des deux éléments sédentaires et nomades, les Soussignés expriment la conviction que toutes les servitudes ou corvées imposées par les Kurdes aux Arméniens, et qui dérivent, non pas d'un principe de droit, mais d'un abus invétéré, doivent être abolies.

Ils pensent également que le bénéfice de toutes les réformes stipulées au profit des Arméniens devrait équitablement être acquis aux nombreux Nestoriens qui peuplent le centre et le midi du Kurdistan (Caza de Djoûlamerk).

Il est regrettable que le paragraphe relatif au prélèvement d'une certaine somme destinée à subvenir à des besoins locaux tels que l'entretien des écoles, et l'exécution des travaux publics, ne soit pas rédigé en termes plus clairs. On peut admettre cependant qu'il renferme l'idée d'un principe financier d'une certaine valeur et ce principe, dans la pensée des Puissances, se poserait dans les termes suivants. Les taxes se diviseraient en deux catégories : la première, comprenant le produit des droits de douane et de l'impôt sur le sel, serait appliquée aux besoins de l'Empire. La seconde, provenant des revenus généraux du vilayet, serait affectée en premier lieu aux services administratifs de la province. Une partie du surplus serait réservée pour les besoins locaux, et le reste envoyé à Constantinople. Si cette interprétation est exacte la proposition de la note du 5 Juillet correspondrait plus ou moins à l'Article 19 du Projet de Réorganisation Administrative des Provinces de la Turquie d'Europe présenté par la Sublime Porte à l'examen de la Commission Européenne de la Roumélie-Orientale. Elle constitue assurément une réforme sérieuse, en tant qu'elle consacre le principe qu'il doit être tout d'abord pourvu aux dépenses de la province au moyen d'un prélèvement opéré sur une partie du produit des impôts, mais il est essentiel que ce principe soit entouré de garanties identiques à celles adoptées par la Commission des Réformes Administratives.

Les Soussignés doivent faire observer, en outre, qu'on ne peut pas affecter à tel ou tel autre usage des revenus qui sont déjà hypothéqués.

Le principe de la décentralisation, si nécessaire dans des provinces habitées par une population professant un culte différent de celui de l'autorité centrale, est traité d'une manière peu satisfaisante dans la note de votre Excellence. Il est impossible de compter sur des réformes efficaces aussi longtemps que la position des Gouverneurs-Généraux ne sera pas complètement modifiée. La note laisse bien entrevoir que leurs pouvoirs seront étendus et leurs fonctions garanties, mais des assurances d'un caractère aussi général ne sont pas de nature à résoudre le problème. Tant que l'extension des pouvoirs d'un Gouverneur - Général, et de la responsabilité qui semble absolument nécessaire à l'accomplissement de ses devoirs, n'aura pas été nettement stipulée, tant que des garanties formelles n'ont pas été accordées à ce haut fonctionnaire quant à la durée de sa mission, il sera impossible de formuler une opinion sur l'efficacité des réformes proposées. Il est clair, en effet, que les Gouverneurs-Généraux doivent avoir certaines données sur la durée de leurs fonctions, et être affranchis de l'intervention constante qui se produit, sous le régime actuel, dans les moindres détails de leur gestion administrative, et a paralysé jusqu'à présent leur action. Il est inutile d'ajouter que si cette plus grande indépendance des Valis est partout désirable, elle est absolument nécessaire dans les provinces habitées par les Arméniens. Les Puissances, en un mot, convaincus de l'insuffisance des propositions du Gouvernement Ottoman, pensent qu'il y a lieu de tenir un compte plus sérieux des besoins locaux constatés dans ces mêmes provinces, de donner une plus grande extension aux deux grands principes d'égalité et de décentralisation, de prendre des mesures plus efficaces pour l'organisation de la police, et la protection des populations molestées par les Circassiens et les Kurdes, de définir enfin la durée et

l'étendue des pouvoirs des Gouverneurs-Généraux. A ce prix, mais à ce prix seulement, pleine satisfaction peut être donnée aux droits et aux espérances créés par l'Article LXI du Traité de Berlin.

La Porte cherche, il est vrai, à diminuer la portée de cet Article, en s'appuyant sur le chiffre de la population Arménienne, et en général de la population Chrétienne, comparé à celui de la population totale. La proportion indiquée par la note diffère tellement de celle que donnent d'autres renseignements que les Puissances ne sauraient l'accepter comme exacte.

Le Tableau ci-joint de la population Arménienne, dressé par les soins du Patriarcat, montre l'écart énorme qui existe entre ces différentes appréciations. La note du 5 Juillet n'indique d'ailleurs que la proportion des Musulmans aux Chrétiens. Les Puissances désireraient avoir communication des données sur lesquelles est basé ce calcul, et elles croient indispensable de faire prendre dans le plus bref délai par une Commission impartiale dont la formation sera ultérieurement déterminée, le chiffre approximatif des Musulmans et des Chrétiens habitant les provinces désignées par l'Article LXI.

Il faut qu'il soit bien entendu que la Porte acceptera les résultats de ce recensement opéré dans des conditions incontestables d'impartialité, et quelle en tiendra compte dans l'organisation des dites provinces.

Il est très probable du reste qu'en procédant sur cette base, la nécessité de donner satisfaction à toutes les exigences locales entraînera le remaniement des limites géographiques actuelles des différents vilayets.

La Porte ne saurait d'ailleurs s'autoriser des délais qu'entraîneront les opérations du recensement projeté pour ajourner l'exécution des mesures présentant un caractère d'urgence.

Il est de toute nécessité de réaliser, sans perte de temps, les réformes destinées à garantir la vie et la propriété des Arméniens; de prendre immédiatement des mesures contre les incursions des Kurdes; d'appliquer sans délai la nouvelle combinaison financière, de mettre provisoirement la gendarmerie sur un pied plus satisfaisant; de donner surtout aux Gouverneurs-Généraux un pouvoir plus stable et une responsabilité plus étendue.

Les Soussignés, à titre de conclusion, appellent une fois de plus l'attention de la Porte sur ce fait essentiel, que les réformes à introduire dans les provinces habitées par les Arméniens doivent, aux termes des engagements qu'elle a contractés par un Acte international, être conformes aux besoins locaux, et s'accomplir sous la surveillance des Puissances.

Les Soussignés, &c.

(Signé)

HATZFELDT.
NOVIKOW.
GOSCHEN.
CORTI.
TISSOT.
CALICE.

TABLEAU Comparatif de la Population Mixte dans les Six Vilayets.

	Erzeroum.	Van (Mouche Britte).	Sivas.	Karout.	Darbékir.	Alep.	Total.	Total.	Total Général.
Arméniens—									
Arméniens	110,000	250,000	40,000	140,000	80,000	80,000	700,000		
Arméniens Catholiques ..	10,000	2,000	10,000	5,000	8,000	10,000	45,000		
„ Protestants	1,000	500	2,000	10,000	800	500	14,800		
„ Grecs .. ..	..	..	..	3,000	..	..	3,000		
„ Alévis Kizilbach ..	10,000	..	5,000	..	..	..	15,000		
„ Pachas	3,000	..	..	..	..	..	3,000		
	134,000	252,500	57,000	158,000	88,800	90,500	..	780,800	
Grecs—									
Grecs	5,000	..	5,000	2,000	5,000	..	17,000		
„ Catholiques .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	6,000	6,000		
	5,000	..	5,000	2,000	5,000	6,000	..	23,000	
Syriens—									
Syriens Nestoriens .. ..	..	85,000	..	5,000	40,000	40,000	170,000		
„ Catholiques .. ..	..	..	..	..	15,000	66,000	81,000		
	..	85,000	..	5,000	55,000	106,000	..	251,000	
Turcs—									
Turcs	50,000	20,000	50,000	60,000	40,000	50,000	270,000		
Circassiens	10,000	..	15,000	10,000	15,000	..	50,000		
	60,000	20,000	65,000	70,000	55,000	50,000	..	320,000	
Mélanges—									
Yezidis .. ..	..	20,000	..	..	5,000	..	25,000		
Tchinguizians	10,000	..	..	5,000	..	5,000	20,000		
Kizilbach .. ..	..	..	..	15,000	15,000	..	30,000		
Juifs .. ..	..	1,500	..	..	..	..	1,500		
	10,000	21,500	..	20,000	20,000	5,000	..	76,500	
Nomades—									
Kurdes Zazas	60,000	70,000	15,000	30,000	..	15,000	190,000		
„ Alévis .. ..	..	..	..	10,000	40,000	..	50,000		
„ Arabes .. ..	..	..	..	..	30,000	40,000	70,000		
„ Afchars .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	10,000	10,000		
„ Bédouins Fahriss ..	..	40,000	..	..	..	..	40,000		
Turcomans .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	20,000	20,000		
	60,000	110,000	15,000	40,000	70,000	85,000	..	380,000	
									776,500
									1,831,300

(Translation.)

Constantinople, September 7, 1880.

M. le Ministre,

The Undersigned have received the note, dated the 5th July last, by which the Sublime Porte replied to the paragraph contained in the communication of the 11th June last respecting the improvements and administrative reforms which the Ottoman Government engaged themselves, under Article LXI of the Treaty of Berlin, to introduce into the provinces inhabited by the Armenians. A careful study of this document has proved to them that the proposals made by the Ottoman Government do not meet either the spirit or the letter of this Article. The Powers represented by the Undersigned are not unaware that the Ottoman Government have sent two Commissions into the provinces inhabited by the Armenians, but they have reason to think that these Commissions have arrived at no result; nor has the Sublime Porte communicated them to the Powers as stipulated in Article LXI of the Berlin Treaty.

There is no evidence to prove that any amelioration has been effected in the administration of justice. On the contrary, numerous Consular Reports show that the present situation, as regards the independence of the Civil or Criminal Tribunals, is as bad, if not worse, than it has ever been.

As regards the gendarmerie and the police, the note of the 5th July states that the Porte has charged several special officers to present projects of reform for both these services. The Powers have no knowledge of these projects, nor does the Sublime Porte allege that they have been presented to it.

The Undersigned cannot admit that the reply of your Excellency disposes in any way of the complaints made by them in their note of the 11th June. They consider themselves to be all the more justified in reducing to their true value the efforts made in this direction by the Ottoman Government, inasmuch as the Porte, to judge by its reply, hardly realizes its position and its obligations under the Treaty of Berlin.

Even the language which the Sublime Porte uses in speaking of the crimes committed, or alleged to have been committed, in the provinces inhabited by the Armenians, shows that it refuses to

recognize the degree of anarchy which exists in those provinces, or the gravity of a state of things which, if permitted to continue, would in all probability lead to the destruction of the Christian population of vast districts.

In the note of the 5th July, no serious proposal is made for putting a stop to the excesses of the Circassians and Kurds. Their excesses, it is to be feared, cannot be checked by the simple action of the ordinary laws. Exceptionally rigorous measures can alone put an end to outrages which in several parts of the provinces mentioned in Article LXI are a continual source of danger to the property, honour, and life of the Armenians.

Under Article LXI of the Treaty of Berlin, the Porte engaged itself "to carry into effect without delay the improvements and reforms required by local wants in the provinces inhabited by the Armenians." The Undersigned regret to observe that, in the general project of reform specified in the note of the 5th July, none of the "local wants" spoken of in Article LXI are taken into account. The Powers will doubtless see with pleasure the introduction of large reforms into all parts of the Turkish Empire; but they are specially concerned to see that full effect is given to the engagements of the Treaty of Berlin, and they cannot admit that the Porte should consider that the engagements it undertook under this head have been fulfilled by proposing a system of reorganization in which no mention is made of the special reforms that were stipulated for in favour of the provinces named in the Treaty.

The peculiar characteristic of these provinces is the predominance of the Christian population over large areas of the territory in question; if this predominance is not taken into account no real reform would be effected.

The Undersigned consider that it is necessary to take another peculiarity of these provinces into consideration. The Porte appears to wish to apply the same Règlement both to the Armenians and to the Kurds. It is indispensable, however, to distinguish between them in administration, as far as it is practicable, in view of the absolute impossibility to govern a settled population and semi-nomadic tribes in the same manner. The communes and administrative groups should consequently be so divided as to unite as many homogeneous elements as possible, the Armenians, or, when necessary, the Armenians and the Osmanlis, being grouped together, to the exclusion of the Kurds. The nomadic Kurdish element, that lives in the mountains and descends into the plains inhabited by Christians, only in order to create disturbances, should not be included in the census by which the majority of the inhabitants of each village will be determined.

It may be assumed that the Sublime Porte sees in the constitution of communes as proposed in the note of the 5th July the means of creating administrative units in which the great majority of the inhabitants will belong to the same religion. There is nothing, however, in this document to show that the Porte engages itself to follow this principle.

The Undersigned notice with satisfaction that in the proposed organization the Mayor of each commune is to belong to the religion of the majority; but the absence of a similar provision in the case of the higher functionaries proves conclusively that the "local wants" of the provinces mentioned in Article LXI have not been sufficiently taken into account in the proposed reforms. The Ottoman Government declares "that honest and capable persons have already been admitted to public offices without distinction of creed, and that henceforward this principle will receive a still wider application." This declaration is extremely vague, and the Undersigned think that it is the more necessary to lay stress on this point, as the Armenians contend that in the provinces where they exist in very large numbers there is scarcely a single Armenian functionary. Their complaints on this point seem to be well founded, as it might be possible for the Sublime Porte to appoint Christian Governors-General without giving additional security that the Armenians would meet with greater justice or equity of treatment.

Measures of a much broader character than those proposed in the note of the Ottoman Government are necessary for the Porte to carry out the engagements made at Berlin.

The general inadequacy of the proposed reforms is such that it seems useless to comment on the defects of the project presented by the Porte; but the following observations offer themselves:—

By declaring in the first place that the administrators of communes are to be Government functionaries nominated by the central authority from among the elected members of the Communal Council, instead of being elected by the Communal Council itself, the Sublime Porte retains the principle of centralization even in the smallest administrative unit.

Moreover, the Sublime Porte omits to state, as regards administrators and members of the Communal Councils, whether they will have a permanent or temporary tenure. Nor is it stated either with whom, in case of their unfitness, rests the right of dismissing them. Will this right belong to the Prefectural Council who appoints them, or to some other authority?

Again, as regards the gendarmerie of the commune, it does not appear to be distinguished from the provincial gendarmerie either in its recruitment or in any other respect, except that it is under the orders of the commune and not of the province. It is not recruited locally among the inhabitants belonging to the majority in creed, and no guarantees are given that it will be what it ought specially to be, namely, a local defensive force.

Nor does the organization of the provincial gendarmerie meet the local wants of the provinces specially mentioned in Article LXI, the clause, according to which both officers and men are to be recruited "from all classes of the Sultan's subjects," being of the vaguest character. Both the officers and men of the gendarmerie of the province should be recruited from the gendarmerie of the commune, that is to say, from among the rural constabulary chosen by the communes themselves. The rural constabulary, whose duty it would be to defend the villages against Kurdish incursions, would furnish to the gendarmerie of the province a contingent in proportion to the population of each commune. The principle of election would, if substituted for the arbitrary provincial administration, in itself constitute a strong guarantee for the effective organization of the forces intended to insure public safety.

The value of the provisions as regards the creation of a Court of Assize will, in the first place, depend on its constitution, with regard to which the note of the 5th July is silent. Looking to the predominance of the Armenian element in certain provinces, special provision appears to be necessary in order to give to that element a proportionate share in the new judicial organization.

Here again certain questions present themselves, to the solution of which the Ottoman note gives no clue. Are the Judges to be irremovable, or to be nominated for a fixed term? Which Code of Laws are they to execute? Will it be the Cheri or some other Code? How are the Courts of Assize to make the Kurds, who are semi-independent or quite wild, obey their verdicts? This last question proves conclusively how necessary it is to exclude the Kurds from the reforms intended for the population of Armenia, and to give them a separate administration suitable to their warlike and primitive habits.

In treating this question of the relations between the sedentary and nomadic populations, the Undersigned must express their conviction that the burthens and forced labour imposed by the Kurds on the Armenians should be abolished; they do not exist by any right, but are an abuse of long-standing.

They also consider that the benefit of the reforms agreed to in favour of the Armenians should, in common justice, be extended to the numerous Nestorians who inhabit the central and southern parts of Kurdistan (Caza of Joulamerik).

It is to be regretted that the paragraph in the note relating to a certain sum to be set aside for local purposes, such as the maintenance of schools and the execution of public works, is not more clearly expressed. It may be admitted, however, that it includes the germ of a financial principle of some value, and this principle, the Powers think, may be laid down in the following terms: the taxes will be divided into two branches; the one branch, including the customs and the salt tax, will be applied to Imperial purposes; the other, derived from the revenues of the vilayet, will be applied, in the first instance, to meet the administrative service of the province. Of the balance a portion would be retained for local purposes, and the remainder remitted to Constantinople. If this is the correct interpretation of the proposal contained in the note of the 5th July, it corresponds more or less with Article 19 of the draft Organic Statutes for the provinces of European Turkey presented by the Sublime Porte to the Eastern Roumelian Commission for examination. So far as it establishes the principle that the provincial expenditure is a first charge on a portion of the taxes the reform is certainly valuable, but the principle would require to be surrounded by the same safeguards as those that have been elaborated by the Commission for Administrative Reforms.

The Undersigned must, moreover, remark that such revenues as have been already hypothecated cannot be applied to other purposes.

The principle of decentralization, which is especially necessary in provinces inhabited by a population of a different creed from that of the central authority, is not treated in a satisfactory manner in your Excellency's note.

No effectual reforms can be expected until the position of the Governors-General is thoroughly changed. It is true that the note admits that their duties will be extended and their functions guaranteed, but assurances of such a general character leave the question quite unsolved. Unless the increase of power and responsibility, which is absolutely indispensable to a proper discharge of the duties of a Governor-General, is clearly defined; unless formal guarantees are given to this important functionary as to the tenure of his term of office, no opinion can be formed of the value of the proposed reforms. It is clear that the Governors-General should have some definite understanding as to the period during which they will hold office, and they must be released from the constant interference with the minutest details of their administration which has hitherto paralyzed their action.

It is needless to add that if this increased independence of the Valis is desirable everywhere, it is absolutely necessary in the case of provinces inhabited by the Armenians.

The Powers are therefore of opinion that the proposals of the Ottoman Government are inadequate to their object, that greater attention must be paid to the local wants of these provinces, that a greater development must be given to the two great principles of equality and decentralization, that more effective arrangements must be made for the organization of the police and for the protection of the populations exposed to the molestations of the Circassians and Kurds, and, lastly, that the tenure of office and extent of the functions of the Governors-General must be clearly defined. In this way, and in this way only, can full satisfaction be given to the rights and expectations created by the LXIst Article of the Berlin Treaty.

The Sublime Porte seeks to modify the bearing of this Article by quoting the alleged percentage of the Armenians, and of the Christian population in general, on the whole population. The percentage quoted by the note differs so widely from that given by other authorities that the Powers are quite unable to accept it as accurate.

The inclosed figures of the population, supplied by the Armenian Patriarch, will show the wide difference that exists between the various estimates. The note of the 5th July only gives the proportion of the Mussulman and Christian populations. The Powers would wish to know the basis on which this calculation is made. They consider it essential that an approximative census of the respective numbers of the Mussulmans and Christians inhabiting the provinces mentioned in Article LXI should be made with as little delay as possible by an impartial Commission, the composition of which will be hereafter determined.

It must be distinctly understood that the Porte will accept the result of a census, made under circumstances that would guarantee its being thoroughly impartial, and frame the organization of the provinces accordingly.

It will probably be found on adopting this plan that, in order to meet all the local wants, the present geographical limits of the various vilayets will have to be recast.

The Porte cannot take advantage of the delay occasioned by the taking of the proposed census for putting off the execution of measures of an urgent character.

It is absolutely necessary to carry out without loss of time the reforms intended to secure the life and property of the Armenians, to take immediate measures against the incursions of the Kurds, to carry out at once the proposed system of finance, to place the gendarmerie provisionally on a more satisfactory footing, and, above all, to give to the Governors-General greater security of office and a more extended responsibility.

In conclusion, the Powers once more recall to the Sublime Porte the essential fact that the reforms to be introduced into the provinces inhabited by the Armenians are, by Treaty engagements, to be adapted to local wants, and to be carried out under the supervision of the Powers.

The Undersigned, &c.

(Signed)

HATZFELDT.
NOVIKOW.
G. J. GOSCHEN.
CORTI.
TISSOT.
CALICE.

No. 2.

The Earl of Kimberley to Sir P. Currie.

Sir,

Foreign Office, February 7, 1895.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 19th ultimo, forwarding a scheme which you have drawn up as a basis for reforms in the Armenian provinces of Turkey.

I have no objection to your Excellency discussing these proposals with your French and Russian colleagues.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

KIMBERLEY.

No. 3.

The Earl of Kimberley to Sir P. Currie.

Sir,

Foreign Office, March 16, 1895.

ATTENTION has been called on several recent occasions, both in Parliament and in the public press, to the great number of Armenians and other Christian subjects of the Sultan who have been arrested on suspicion of political or other offences, and who are detained for an indefinite time without trial, being thus subjected to long terms of imprisonment without the opportunity of proving their innocence.

Your Excellency reported, at the end of last month, the arrest of some eighty Armenians in Constantinople on no more serious charge than the collection of subscriptions for the relief of those who had suffered from the occurrences in the Sasun district. A certain number of these have been released, but the despatches from Her Majesty's Consular officers, forwarded by you to this Office, contain frequent reports of wholesale arrests made on grounds which appear to be altogether insufficient, of prolonged imprisonment of persons thus arrested without investigation of the charges against them, and too often of their eventual condemnation to severe penalties on evidence which cannot be regarded as conclusive.

Such sentences are no doubt from time to time reversed upon revision at Constantinople, or by the merciful intervention of His Majesty the Sultan, but the accused have in the meanwhile suffered grave injustice, and the most shocking reports have on many occasions been received of the treatment to which they are subjected while in prison. Indeed, the state of the prisons themselves appears in some cases to be such as to make mere confinement in them a punishment little short of torture.

Her Majesty's Government are confident that these proceedings are contrary to the wishes and intentions of His Majesty the Sultan and his Ministers, both on grounds of humanity and because of the feelings of resentment and discontent which they must produce among the Sultan's Christian subjects. But they are still further to be regretted as tending necessarily to strengthen the impression that the Porte is failing to act up to the engagements contracted by it under the LXIst Article of the Treaty of Berlin, and that the intervention of the Powers is called for to secure the observance of those engagements.

I request your Excellency to call the serious attention of the Turkish Ministers to this latter aspect of the question, and to the suggestions that have already been made

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in various quarters for some joint supervision by the foreign Consuls of the trials of Christians imprisoned on suspicion. Her Majesty's Government have for the present refrained from making proposals of this nature to the other Signatories of the Treaty of Berlin, but they would earnestly press that instructions should be sent to restrain the provincial authorities from making indiscriminate arrests, and that arrangements should be made for a speedy and impartial investigation of the charges against persons now detained, and for the liberation of those against whom no substantial evidence can be produced.

I leave it to your Excellency's discretion to make this representation either in a note, or by communicating to the Turkish Government a copy of this despatch.

I am, &c.

(Signed) KIMBERLEY.

No. 4.

The Earl of Kimberley to Sir P. Currie.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, March 18, 1895, 7:30 p.m.

A DESPATCH was sent to your Excellency on the 16th instant respecting the large number of Armenian and other Christian subjects of the Sultan who are detained in prison on suspicion, and you were instructed to make representations on the subject to the Porte, and to urge that the charges against them should be speedily and impartially investigated, and that the prisoners, against whom there is no substantial evidence, should be set at liberty.

The feeling in this country is very strong in favour of attempting to obtain the consent of the Powers to take joint action in the matter, and Her Majesty's Government will be pressed in Parliament to make proposals in this sense to the other Governments.

I shall be glad to know whether the attitude and language of your colleagues lead you to think that their Governments would be likely to give their support to such a proposal if put forward by Her Majesty's Government.

No. 5.

Sir P. Currie to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received March 19.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, March 19, 1895.

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram of the 18th instant:

The French and Russian Ambassadors would deprecate any joint representation until it can be made in the shape of a demand for a general amnesty, and can form part of the scheme of proposed reforms.

In any case, before inviting the other Powers to join us, it would, in my opinion, be well to await the result of the representations which I am to make.

No. 6.

Sir P. Currie to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received March 19.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, March 19, 1895, 7:30 p.m.

MR. BLOCK, by my instructions, made a communication to Saïd Pasha in regard to the danger of fanatical outbreaks in Asia Minor at various places.

His Excellency replied that the Porte was aware of the serious consequences to Turkey if such outbreaks occurred, and that efforts would be made to prevent them. He said that assurances had been given to the United States' Minister recently in regard to the subject in writing; also that when Her Majesty's Embassy on a former occasion had made representations the Porte has telegraphed for information, and had learned that every precaution was being taken by the Valis.

Sir P. Currie to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received March 21.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, March 21, 1895, 5 P.M.

POLITICAL prisoners in Asia Minor: Your Lordship's despatch of the 16th March. The Sultan sent orders to the Porte on the 14th instant that all Armenian ecclesiastics now undergoing sentences should be at once brought to the capital, together with the documents which related to their case; and that they should all be set at liberty, with the exception of those imprisoned for murder or other crimes, after they had given an oath not to engage in such work again.

The Grand Vizier informed me of above to-day when I called to speak to him on the subject, and stated that it might be made public.

Sir P. Currie to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received March 21.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, March 21, 1895, 6 P.M.

WITH reference to my immediately preceding telegram, I urged the Grand Vizier this afternoon in the strongest terms to advise the Sultan to carry out the recommendations contained in your Lordship's despatch of the 16th March, and at the same time I handed him an extract from the despatch in Turkish.

His Highness promised me that he would use his utmost endeavours to obtain the issue of similar orders in regard to all the political prisoners to those which had been given in regard to the ecclesiastics, and of which he had previously informed me officially, as reported in my telegram of to-day.

I urged on his Highness the advisability of the issue of instructions at the same time to the authorities in the provinces to cease from arresting Armenians without grounds or discrimination.

The Earl of Kimberley to Sir P. Currie.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, March 22, 1895.

I HAVE received your Excellency's telegram of yesterday, and have heard with much satisfaction of the orders given by the Sultan for the release of the Armenian ecclesiastics now in prison on political grounds.

Her Majesty's Government entirely approve your action and language on behalf of the Armenians, as reported in your subsequent telegram of the same day.

Sir P. Currie to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received March 23.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, March 23, 1895, 6.50 P.M.

I HAVE been informed by the Grand Vizier that telegraphic orders have been sent to the Government authorities in Asia Minor to report immediately on the number of Armenians who are imprisoned there. The reports are to give the reasons for such imprisonment, and the grounds of condemnation in cases where they have been condemned.

After the Feast of Baïram, which ends on the 29th instant, the Commission mentioned by the Sultan will, the Grand Vizier states, immediately commence its investigation.*

The Earl of Kimberley to Sir P. Currie.

Sir,

Foreign Office, March 28, 1895.

RUSTEM PASHA called upon me yesterday for the first time after his long illness, and spoke at some length concerning the Armenian question. He repeated to me what he had so often said before, that the difficulties respecting the Armenians were entirely caused by the action of revolutionary agents and Societies in this country by which they were encouraged.

I said that I could only repeat to his Excellency my opinion that, although there undoubtedly were some revolutionary agents at work, the causes were far more deep-seated, and arose from the maladministration in Turkey itself.

His Excellency spoke with much bitterness of what he considered were the exaggerated and unfounded statements of the atrocities alleged to have been committed by the Turkish soldiers in the Sasun district.

I said that, without committing myself to a belief in the various statements which had appeared in the public press, I felt bound to tell him that information which had reached me, the authenticity of which I could not doubt, showed that there was only too much foundation for the belief that terrible atrocities had been perpetrated, and it was perfectly clear that it would be necessary when the inquiry was concluded that effective remedial measures should be introduced, and that security should be taken for the better administration of the country in future.

Rustem Pasha asked me upon what grounds we based our right to interfere in the internal affairs of Turkey.

I expressed some astonishment at this inquiry, as I said I thought he must be aware that, as regards the Armenians, we had the most plain and undoubted right, based upon the Treaty of Berlin and the Cyprus Convention of 1878, and not only had we, in common with the other Powers, a right to interfere, but those Treaties laid upon us most serious obligations that we could not neglect.

I could not, I said, disguise from him that the state of affairs in Asia Minor was becoming more and more unsatisfactory. Reports reached us from our Consuls that increasing bitterness of feeling showed itself between the Christian and Mussulman populations; and I feared that, if this continued, it might give rise to serious events. Sir P. Currie had recently, under my instructions, brought before the Sultan the continued numerous arrests of Armenians in all parts of the country, their detention for long periods without trial, and, I regretted to say, in some cases, the cruel treatment to which they had been subjected in the prisons.

His Majesty had expressed his surprise at these statements, and, I was glad to say, had promised immediate inquiry into the grievances of the Armenians and the means of remedy.

I said I had also received with much satisfaction the announcement that the Armenian ecclesiastical prisoners, with the exception of those who had been guilty of murder or other grave offences, would be released, and I trusted that this indicated that the Sultan was becoming alive to the dangerous state of affairs.

I am, &c.
(Signed) KIMBERLEY.

Sir P. Currie to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received April 1.)

My Lord,

Pera, March 27, 1895.

ON Thursday last, the 21st instant, I was invited to take "iftar" (the evening meal during Ramazan) at the Palace of Yildiz, and was subsequently received in private audience by the Sultan, who honoured me with a long conversation on Armenian affairs.

His Imperial Majesty began by saying he had heard with much surprise that it was generally believed that large numbers of Armenians were in prison on political charges. As far as he knew, the only places where political disturbances had occurred and arrests been made were Yozgat, Cæsarea, and Tokat. He had, however, pardoned most of those implicated, and imagined that the present number of political prisoners was about 30,

certainly not 700, as was represented. He was naturally inclined to clemency. He had pardoned men who had made attempts on his life, and had in the last few days issued orders for the release of all Armenian ecclesiastics imprisoned for political reasons.

I congratulated His Majesty on this wise measure, but said he was misinformed as to the number of Armenians in prison. The provincial authorities were in the habit of making wholesale arrests on utterly frivolous and baseless charges, and many persons remained in prison for long periods without knowing of what they were accused. The effect on public opinion was naturally deplorable.

His Majesty said he could not believe that such a state of things existed. Political arrests could only be made after political disturbances, and such disturbances, as he had already said, had only occurred in three towns. Neither could he believe that the authorities would allow Armenians to remain in prison without trial. Such a proceeding would be distinctly illegal. In spite of my reiterated statements that there was hardly a town in Asia Minor where the prison was not full of Armenians, His Majesty merely repeated that he was lost in astonishment, and felt it was like a dream.

I then said I had that morning received an instruction from Her Majesty's Government to remonstrate against the arrests which were daily taking place, and handed to His Majesty a Turkish translation of an extract of your Lordship's despatch of the 16th March.

The Sultan read this document attentively, and again expressed his astonishment, saying that if such things occurred it was without his knowledge. He was convinced there was great exaggeration in the stories circulated by Armenians, and believed in England. He then asked what your Lordship meant by the expression "other offences." Naturally, Armenians must be punished for offences against common law.

I said that persons were often arrested for non-political offences on insufficient evidence, and detained in prison merely because they were Armenians. As an instance, I mentioned a case of which I had only heard that morning, though it had occurred a few years ago, in which the whole male population of an Armenian village in the Government of Van had been arrested because the bodies of two Kurds had been found in the neighbourhood. No evidence was ever produced against any of the men, yet they remained in prison for a long period, and some of them died there. His Majesty said that of course malefactors must be punished. The Turks could not sit with folded hands while the Armenians broke their heads, and the authorities must do their best to discover the guilty. He would, however, inquire into this case, and punish any official who should prove to have acted illegally.

I then referred to the Armoudan prisoners, and specially to the case of Dr. Pashayan, which has recently been brought to my notice. I pointed out to His Imperial Majesty that these prisoners had been arrested two or three years ago; that they had been detained in prison without trial till December last, and that their case had not yet come before the Court of Cassation. The Sultan again expressed incredulity, but I assured him that reports of similar cases reached me almost daily from Her Majesty's Consular officers, who could have no object in making unfounded charges. In the face of these reports, it was impossible not to believe that the Armenians suffered from oppression and injustice.

His Majesty assured me that they had always been treated with clemency and justice by himself and his forefathers; but I replied that, while doing full justice to the humane intentions of the Ottoman Sovereigns, I feared that those intentions were not always executed by the provincial authorities.

The Sultan then said that of late years the Armenians had not behaved well, but that, unfortunately, the false or exaggerated statements they circulated met with full credence in England. He warned me that the present state of things would be fatal to the continuance of good relations between the two Powers. His Mussulman subjects could not remain indifferent to the injuries they received at the hands of Armenians, encouraged and protected, as it seemed, by England. They were deeply affected by our hostility, and he himself, as a Mussulman, could not but resent the attitude of Her Majesty's Government. He desired me to let your Lordship know that it would be well to contradict the false intelligence which appeared in the press, and to cease from protecting the Armenians.

I replied that public indignation in England had been aroused by these continual arrests of Armenians without cause. I believed that the release of the ecclesiastics would have a good effect, and I trusted that His Imperial Majesty would extend the measure to the other political prisoners.

The Sultan then recounted to me the recent incident at Tokat. According to his information, the Armenians began the disturbance in the bazaar; they then collected in

the church and fired on the Moslems, twenty of whom were wounded, one Armenian being killed. Order had been restored with difficulty by the Military Commandant. He had commanded the Governor of Sivas to proceed to the spot, make an impartial inquiry, and punish the guilty.

He then spoke at great length of his relations with the Armenian Patriarch, and of the complaints made by the latter. He had been urged not to confirm the election on account of the unwise utterances of the Patriarch when a Bishop, but had thought it better to forget the past, and had received his Beatitude in audience with every consideration, bidding him exhort his flock to loyalty to their Sovereign. Subsequently, he had sent to ask him what were the grievances of which the Armenians complained.

His Beatitude had replied that there were three:—

1. That the Censor had tampered with the text of the Bible.
2. That a chalice had been broken by soldiers.
3. That some Armenians had been beaten in prison, though innocent of the crimes of which they were accused.

The Sultan said all good Moslems regarded the Bible as a sacred book, as well as the Koran, and it was highly improbable that any one would venture to alter the text; should he find any one had done so, he would "take him by the ear" and see he was properly punished.

With regard to the desecration of the chalice, he said such vessels were generally kept in churches. How could soldiers get at them there? No doubt the sacred vessel had been broken by some drunken rascal.

If, however, there had been a disturbance in the church, and soldiers who had been called in to restore order had broken the chalice in the general confusion, the Armenians could not complain; such incidents were unavoidable.

As for the Armenians said to have been beaten in prison, His Majesty simply said the case was impossible.

"I am lenient as a Sovereign," he said, "and a humane man. I have abolished corporal punishment in my army, though it still exists in European countries. How is it possible that any one should be beaten in prison? If any scoundrel has dared to do this he shall be punished. I am inquiring into the case, but have not yet heard the result from the Porte."

I replied that I thought His Majesty had misunderstood the Patriarch's statements. According to a report I had heard, he had divided his grievances under three heads:—

1. Those concerning religious matters;
2. Those connected with the ancient privileges of the Church; and
3. The general condition and treatment of the Armenians.

His Beatitude had, no doubt, given the three cases mentioned by His Majesty as examples of the three classes of grievances, but did not, I felt sure, intend them to be taken as an exhaustive list.

The indignation aroused in England by recent events was, I continued, strong and sincere. The English people felt they could no longer share the responsibility for such a state of things, and Her Majesty's Government would be obliged to insist on the introduction of reforms which would secure a better administration, and protect the Armenians from the Kurds.

His Majesty replied that the laws promulgated by his uncle and grandfather were amply sufficient to insure good government, if properly executed. He proposed, however, to improve the existing administration in three ways: Firstly, by increasing the number of gendarmes or soldiers in places where Kurds and Armenians were in conflict; and, secondly, by sending better men as Judges. Formerly, few Turks went abroad to study, and in Turkey they had hitherto had no opportunity of acquiring a proper judicial training. Such training was, however, now provided in the schools he had established. He added that he feared the indolence of his officials was responsible for much maladministration. In Europe he had heard the Courts sometimes sat till late at night, whereas Turkish Judges were always anxious to leave early. He would, however, see to this. Thirdly, he proposed to introduce a certain number of Armenian functionaries into the public service in some parts of the Empire, but the execution of this reform must be gradual, and depend on the good behaviour of the Armenians themselves. Under these circumstances, there would be no necessity to demand reforms of the Porte.

I replied that we considered in England that no class was likely to obtain the treatment to which it was entitled unless it had some voice in the direction of affairs. For this reason we had gradually extended the suffrage in England, and we felt that in Turkey the Armenians would never be justly treated until they were admitted to a larger share in the Administration. I accordingly ventured to represent to His Majesty that

they ought to receive appointments in all branches of the Administration in proportion to their numbers.

The Sultan said that this was already the case. There were Armenian Mudirs and Kaïmakams, Armenians in the police—in fact, they had more than their proper share in the Administration. He had had more than one Christian Minister for Foreign Affairs; his Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs was an Armenian. Every day in his Palace he saw forty or fifty Armenian employés. He offered to give a statement showing the number of Armenians in the public service.

I said I feared the practice in the provinces did not agree with theory, and that the number of Armenian officials was small. Unless guarantees were given for the execution of reforms, I could hold out no hope that Her Majesty's Government would be satisfied.

His Majesty said that after Baïram he intended to appoint a Commission to inquire into the grievances of the Armenians, and consider what reforms were necessary.

I explained to His Majesty that my object in speaking so plainly with him had been to fulfil the duty of a Representative of a friendly Power, and that my only desire was to promote the welfare of his Empire.

His Majesty thanked me, and said he had taken my advice about the Sasun Commission, although its departure had been delayed in order to choose good men. But he again urged me to tell your Lordship that the question should be treated with greater moderation, and an attempt made to restrain the violent attacks of the press. What had already occurred was a source of grief to His Majesty, and a continuation of such a policy would inevitably alienate the sympathy of Turkey. As long as the Armenians, encouraged as they were by England, maintained their present attitude, it would be impossible to give them any share in the Administration. Before that could be done, they must behave properly.

His Majesty then thanked me again for what I had said, and asked me to reflect on what had passed between us. He would do the same, and, after Baïram, intended to have a further long conversation with me.

I have, &c.
(Signed) PHILIP CURRIE.

No. 13.

Sir P. Currie to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received April 1.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, March 28, 1895.

I CALLED on the Grand Vizier on the afternoon of the 21st, and drew his Highness' attention to the bad effect produced in England by the wholesale arrests of Armenians, which for some time past have been usual. I stated it was high time the Turkish Government should understand the danger of the situation, and seriously endeavour to stem the tide of popular opinion in England and Europe generally, where the Porte had hardly a friend left.

His Highness said he quite understood the danger of the situation, and asked what could be done to satisfy the British public.

I handed him a translation of parts of your Lordship's despatch of the 16th March, and urged upon him the necessity of liberating the Armenians now in prison without delay, and of ceasing to make further wholesale arrests.

He replied that the Sultan had already issued an Iradé ordering that all Armenian ecclesiastics now under sentence should be brought to Constantinople with the papers relating to their cases, and that all who were not found guilty of murder or other non-political crimes should be set at liberty. They would have to take the oath of allegiance, and it would be intimated that they should not be appointed to important posts. The Iradé was dated the 14th March, and had already been communicated to the Minister of Public Worship and Justice. He added that he was taking steps to advise the Sultan to grant a general amnesty to all Armenian political offenders, and had some hopes of success.

I replied that justice rather than clemency was required, and suggested that a Commission should, without delay, visit all the prisons, and be given full powers to discharge all persons detained on frivolous charges or on insufficient evidence.

The Grand Vizier said he preferred his own plan because immediate action was necessary, whereas the measure I suggested would involve months of delay.

His Highness then said he could not understand how England could continue to

vilify Turkey, her traditional friend and ally. I reminded him I had warned the Porte as early as November last of the tremendous effect which the Sasun occurrences would have in England, and had advised that immediate measures should be taken to reassure public opinion.

His Highness replied that my advice had been followed, and the Commission sent, but the attacks in the press still continued, and Her Majesty's Government were dealing very hardly with the Porte.

I replied we could do nothing unless Turkey would help herself: "Aide-toi et Dieu t'aidera." He admitted this, but again begged I would endeavour to prevent the growth of hostile feeling in England.

We then spoke of the Sasun Commission, and his Highness asked if I was convinced that massacres had taken place. I said that, without wishing to prejudice the finding of the Commission, I could feel little doubt that helpless and unarmed Armenians had been killed in cold blood by Turkish soldiers. His Highness seemed much disconcerted by this answer, and inquired if the Commission was working well. I replied that the Turkish members seem to raise unnecessary delays and obstacles, and that it would be better if the Commission would listen to the suggestions of the Delegates with regard to witnesses and other matters. The object of the inquiry was rather to find out whether massacres had taken place, and, if so, who was responsible for them, than to ascertain whether there had been Armenian agitators, such as Murad, at Talori and Sasun.

The Grand Vizier then asked me to recall, in accordance with the prohibition issued by the Ottoman Government, two correspondents who were now telegraphing false news from Erzeroum. I replied that I had never undertaken to enforce that ill-advised prohibition, and had no power to recall the gentlemen in question.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PHILIP CURRIE.

No. 14.

Sir F. Lascelles to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received April 1.)

My Lord,

St. Petersburg, March 28, 1895.

I CALLED upon Prince Lobanoff this afternoon, and read to him Sir Philip Currie's telegrams forwarded to me by your Lordship.

Prince Lobanoff followed them with interest, and thanked me for communicating them to him. He was awaiting a report from the Russian Ambassador at Constantinople, who had, as his Excellency had informed me on a previous occasion, reported that he was in consultation with his English and French colleagues as to the best method of introducing reforms into Armenia. His Excellency was anxious to learn the proposals which the Ambassadors would make to settle this very difficult question. He believed that he was right in stating that there were but three districts in Asia Minor where the Armenians formed the majority of the population, viz., Bitlis, Angora, and Alexandretta. But these places were far apart, and could scarcely be united in one province. Armenians were scattered throughout the country, indeed, throughout the world, and there was no one locality which could be described as Armenia.

In the case of the Lebanon, it had been found possible to delimitate a province and to appoint a Christian Governor, but the analogy did not apply in the case of the Armenians, and he did not at present see how it would be possible to introduce reforms which would satisfy the Armenians, unless, indeed, we were prepared to undertake the reform of the administration of the whole of Turkey in Asia. The Hatti-Humayoun of 1856, and more especially the Treaty of Berlin, gave the Powers the right to insist on reforms, but the difficulty was to give practical shape to these reforms, and he was, therefore, very much interested to know the result of the consultation of the Ambassadors at Constantinople on the subject.

I have, &c.

(Signed) FRANK C. LASCELLES.

Sir P. Currie to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received April 1.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, April 1, 1895, 7:35 P.M.

MR. BLOCK received yesterday a letter from Tahsin Bey, the Sultan's Chief Secretary, asking him to come and see him at the Palace. On his repairing thither Tahsin Bey read him the following communication from the Sultan:—

"The British Ambassador, at his audience on the 21st March, handed to His Imperial Majesty an extract of a despatch from Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. After careful perusal, His Majesty had come to the conclusion that certain of the statements contained in this extract were exaggerated and deeply to be regretted. By order of the Sultan a list of Armenian prisoners had been drawn up at the Porte, but, unfortunately, the names of persons who had already been pardoned by His Majesty figured on this list, as well as the names of some ordinary criminals. A Commission had therefore been appointed by the Sultan to draw up a complete and impartial list of all Armenians who are at present in prison for political offences. This Commission consists of the Ministers of Justice, Police, and the Interior, under the presidency of the former.

"The Sultan is every day sending verbal and written messages pressing for the list, which he expects will be ready very shortly.

"At his last audience, the Sultan had mentioned to the Ambassador his intention of appointing a Commission of Inquiry into the Armenian question after Bairam. The President has now been appointed" (Tahsin Bey did not give Mr. Block his name), "and the Sultan was at present occupied in choosing the other members of the Commission. They would inquire into the alleged grievances of the Armenians, and would suggest remedial measures, as far as possible without any alteration of existing laws and regulations.

"Should it, however, be found that the existing laws do not suffice, they will suggest such modifications as may be necessary.

"His Majesty proposes to grant the Ambassador another audience after the Selamlık on Friday, when they will be able to resume their conversation on the Armenian question.

"His Majesty, in the full conviction that his Excellency is well disposed both towards himself personally and towards his country, trusts that his Excellency will redouble his efforts to assist him. He is convinced that the Ambassador will approve of the measures he is taking, and that they will produce an excellent effect in England both on the Government and on the general public."

Tahsin Bey then said, as if on his own account, that the attitude I had adopted had been a source of considerable annoyance and distress to the Sultan. The interests of Turkey and England were identical, and it was most important that they should remain firm allies. He knew that I entertained friendly sentiments towards the Sultan, and he hoped that at my next audience I would give His Majesty some proof of this feeling.

No. 16.

The Earl of Kimberley to Sir P. Currie.

Sir,

Foreign Office, April 9, 1895.

I HAVE received and laid before the Queen your despatch of the 27th ultimo, giving a full report of the discussion on Armenian affairs which took place at your audience of the Sultan on the 21st ultimo.

Her Majesty's Government entirely approve your Excellency's language to the Sultan on that occasion.

I am, &c.

(Signed) **KIMBERLEY.**

No. 17.

Sir P. Currie to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received April 10.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, April 10, 1895, 7.45 P.M.

I HEAR that the Grand Vizier and Minister for Foreign Affairs were summoned to the Palace on Monday to consider what answer should be returned to our programme of reforms when presented, and to consider the question of the reforms which are to be elaborated by the Turkish Commission of Reform.

I have received a message from the Sultan that the Turkish Commission will commence its labours very shortly.

No. 18.

Sir F. Lascelles to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received April 15.)

My Lord,

St. Petersburg, April 10, 1895.

I HAVE the honour to report that I communicated to Prince Lobanoff this afternoon the substance of Sir P. Currie's telegram to your Lordship of the 5th instant, reporting the conversation his Excellency had had with the Sultan on that day on the subject of Armenian reforms.*

Prince Lobanoff repeated what he had said to me on a previous occasion, as reported in my despatch of the 28th ultimo, that he was waiting with interest to be made acquainted with the scheme of reforms which the Ambassadors at Constantinople might devise, as, although he was well acquainted with Armenians, he would be puzzled to say where Armenia was.

I have, &c.

(Signed) FRANK C. LASCELLES.

No. 19.

Sir P. Currie to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received April 19.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, April 19, 1895, 10.45 A.M.

YOUR Lordship ought to receive on Monday next the plan of reforms for Armenia prepared by my Russian and French colleagues and myself. It was sent off yesterday to London, Paris, and St. Petersburg.

No. 20.

Sir P. Currie to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received April 20.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, April 20, 1895, 7.45 P.M.

I RECEIVED a message yesterday from the Sultan to the effect that the Turkish Commission of Reforms would commence their work to-day. The President of the Commission, Turkhan Pasha, was at the Porte this afternoon, but, so far as I can ascertain, his colleagues are not yet chosen, and nothing seems to have been done.

No. 21.

Sir P. Currie to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received April 22.)

My Lord,

Pera, April 10, 1895.

I HAD the honour to be received in private audience by His Imperial Majesty the Sultan after the ceremony of the Selamlık on Friday last, the 5th instant. His Majesty plunged at once *in medias res*, and said that after reflection on our conversation of the

* See No. 21.

21st ultimo (reported in my despatch of the 27th March) he had appointed Turkhan Pasha, some time Ottoman Minister at Madrid, and lately Vali of Crete, as President of a Commission of Inquiry into the affairs of Armenia. The other members of the Commission would shortly be named, and he hoped it would be able to commence its labours in about ten days. He had selected Turkhan Pasha as an honest and intelligent official, who had given proof of his capacity when Governor-General in Crete.

His Majesty also said the Porte had given him a list of Armenians in prison, which was, however, unfortunately, incomplete and misleading.

He had observed with regret that the names of some political prisoners whose release he had ordered, still figured in this document, which also included persons condemned for ordinary crimes, such as murder and robbery. He had therefore ordered the preparation of a new and accurate list, and only the day before had personally desired the Minister of Justice and others specially occupied with the matter to lose no time in completing their labours.

I replied that I had already communicated to your Lordship, in my telegram of the 1st April, a message from His Majesty much to the same effect as what he had just said. In reply, I had been instructed to express the satisfaction of Her Majesty's Government at the action taken respecting Armenian prisoners. As to the introduction of reforms, Her Majesty's Government were gratified to hear that His Majesty proposed to deal seriously with the question. They were themselves elaborating a programme of reforms in concert with the Governments of France and Russia, and as soon as it was ready would communicate it to the Sublime Porte.

After a moment's reflection, the Sultan asked whether it would not be better for us to communicate directly with the Turkish Commission instead of preparing an independent scheme of reforms. I replied that I could express no opinion on the point without consulting my French and Russian colleagues. His Majesty pressed me to consult them on the subject, and repeated several times that he saw no need for our making a formal communication, and that it would be much simpler to come to an understanding by friendly discussion and unofficial exchange of ideas.

I said that I would of course mention His Majesty's views to the French and Russian Ambassadors, but that, in my opinion, it would be best to wait till the plan was complete, and then deal with it as a whole. When ready, it would be presented in the form most convenient to His Imperial Majesty.

The Sultan seemed disappointed, and wished to know the nature of the reforms contemplated. I replied that I was not at present at liberty to lay the details of the scheme before him, but that the guiding principle would be to give security and contentment to the Armenians by obtaining for them a fair share in the Administration. The reforms would be based mainly on existing Laws and Regulations, which were unfortunately now a dead letter, and they would contain nothing which would cause prejudice to the rights of the Moslem community.

The Sultan seemed relieved at this last statement, and said that under these circumstances he felt no cause for anxiety, as most of the Laws and Regulations had been made in his own reign. He also repeated several times that the Armenians had already a fair share in the Administration. I replied that this, though true in theory, was unhappily not true in practice, as was proved by the Returns sent me by British Consular officers.

His Majesty said he would send me a list of Armenian functionaries, and dilated at some length on the number who held appointments in the Civil List Administration or as servants in the Palace. I replied that I feared this was hardly enough to satisfy the Armenians. They required security for life, property, and honour in the provinces where they resided.

The Sultan insisted with some warmth that the continued existence of the Armenians was the clearest proof that they enjoyed that security; if the Ottoman Government in his reign and those of his ancestors had not followed this policy there would not be any Armenians left; as it was, they were rich and the Turks poor.

I said Her Majesty's Government had no doubt of the kind and benevolent intentions of His Imperial Majesty, but that, unfortunately, the local authorities were in the habit of sending false reports to Constantinople in order to conceal their own misdeeds. His Majesty expressed pleasure at the opinion entertained of his personal feelings, but asked whether my information respecting the conduct of the local authorities was based on conjecture or on accurate reports. I replied that for years I had been reading reports by Her Majesty's Consular officers, who had no bias against the Turks, and no object in misrepresenting the truth, and these reports had left no doubt in my mind that the Armenians were misgoverned and ill-treated. I then said, in corroboration of the statement that His

Majesty was deceived by the local authorities, that I had been instructed by Her Majesty's Government to call His Majesty's attention to the manner in which signatures were obtained by force to telegrams and addresses dispatched to Constantinople, thanking His Majesty for the good government enjoyed by Armenians. The Sultan said he was at a loss to understand such conduct; he always treated even his servants with consideration, and was pained by harsh conduct towards subordinates. The Commission should most carefully inquire into these stories of signatures being obtained by force.

I then said I trusted His Imperial Majesty would not suppose that my Government or myself were animated by any hostile intentions; on the contrary, our desire was to improve the relations existing between the two countries. His Majesty thanked me, and expressed the hope that Her Majesty's Government would publish some statement to correct the hostile attitude of the press. I replied that they had no power to correct it, and that its present tone was in a great measure due to the refusal of the Turkish Government to allow correspondents to enter the country. The Sultan said this was only a temporary measure while the Commission was sitting; foreigners ignorant of the country and language must inevitably be deceived, and would be likely to call white black and black white. He again requested me to render him a service by making every effort to remove the opinions hostile to himself and to Turkey now prevalent in England. He added a hope that the friendly disposition of Her Majesty's Government and my good-will might lead to a friendly settlement of the question.

I expressed the conviction that if His Majesty would adopt the advice which the three Powers would give him, the prosperity and stability of His Majesty's Empire and the well-being of his subjects would be materially increased.

I have, &c.
(Signed) PHILIP CURRIE.

No. 22.

Sir P. Currie to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received April 22.)

My Lord,

Pera, April 17, 1895.

I HAVE the honour to state that I went yesterday to the Porte, and called the attention of Saïd Pasha to the increasing violence of the Turkish authorities in the country districts of the Armenian provinces. I also called his attention to the statements contained in the despatches, copies of which I have the honour to inclose herewith. I endeavoured to impress upon his Excellency the extreme gravity of the situation, and the danger of forcing on a crisis which might prove disastrous to the Turkish Empire. I urged that the provincial authorities should be plainly given to understand that they must act with the greatest circumspection, and should treat all classes of the population with justice and moderation, and that they should be plainly told that every act of injustice and violence, and every irregularity on the part of the civil or military authorities, would place the Government in a difficult position, and would be visited with the severest condemnation.

In order to insure attention being paid to my communication, I left with Saïd Pasha a Memorandum giving the substance of my language.

Mr. Block, who accompanied me, read extracts from the despatches, and will furnish Saïd Pasha with a summary of them.

I have, &c.
(Signed) PHILIP CURRIE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 22.

Consul Graves to Sir P. Currie.

Sir,

Erzeroum, April 1, 1895.

I HAVE the honour to report that several bad cases of oppression and extortion on the part of the local authorities are announced from the Caza of Keghi, in the south-west of the Sandjak of Erzeroum, as having occurred within the past few weeks. On the plea of collecting taxes, and by order of the Keghi Kaïmakam and police officers, bodies of gendarmes are said to visit the Armenian villages, where they behave in the most brutal

manner, beating and torturing the men, and shamefully ill-using the women, while they live at free quarters upon the villagers.

The inhabitants of the villages Sevkili, Arikli, and Melikan have at last summoned courage to complain officially, and telegrams have been sent by them to the Vali, and to the Armenian Archbishop of Erzeroum. The Archimandrite Aristakes, Vicar of Keghi, has also complained that, on his making representations to the Kaïmakam on the subject of one of these acts of injustice, the latter only cursed and abused him, and publicly tore up the written application which he had presented to him.

My Russian colleague, during a recent interview with the Vali, mentioned these complaints to his Excellency, who, however, absolutely denied their truth, and declared that they had been trumped up by the Archimandrite for the purpose of giving trouble. Notwithstanding this denial, I learn that the chief of police, Servet Bey, has left Erzeroum with an escort of gendarmes, and it is believed that he has been ordered to proceed to Keghi to inquire into the alleged abuses. The Vali has also dispatched the Major of Gendarmerie, Mehmed Bey, to inquire into the outrage at Tchipod.

These and similar incidents are, no doubt, partly occasioned by the stringent orders from head-quarters to local authorities to collect whatever money can be extracted on account of taxes for the exhausted treasury, and by the way in which the latter now interpret such orders. The gendarmes have hardly returned from beating up the arrears of the past year, when they are sent back to the same village with orders to collect the full "verghi" tax for the year just begun, which is usually paid in instalments spread over the whole year. In cases of this kind, nearly the whole burden is, of course, made to fall upon the Christian minority, and since the Sasun massacres (the extent and nature of which are well known to every inhabitant of the country) have been allowed to go so long unpunished, the opinion has naturally gained ground with the worst class of Moslems, official and otherwise, that the Christians have been delivered into their hands to do with as they please.

This state of affairs, which extends to all the vilayets in this Consular jurisdiction, as your Excellency will have perceived from recent reports, may be expected to grow worse as the summer comes on. The Kurds will then come to take the little that the zaptiehs have left, and complete the ruin of the outlying Christian population, which is only to be averted by such strong and speedy action as the Turkish Government seems unwilling or unable to take.

I have, &c.
(Signed) R. W. GRAVES.

Inclosure 2 in No. 22.

Résumé of a Report received from Keghi (Vilayet of Erzeroum).

LES déprédations des Kurdes sont ici, plus que jamais, à l'ordre du jour; une bande de douze brigands Kurdes est entrée dans la nuit de 17 Octobre (v. s.) dans le couvent de Sourpe Garabeth, à dix-sept heures de distance du chef-lieu du caza, et après avoir lié le chef gardien et les domestiques, a complètement saccagé et pillé le couvent. La dite bande a aussi emmené les troupeaux du couvent. L'autorité Ecclésiastique Arménienne de Keghi a fait les démarches nécessaires, mais le Gouvernement ne s'est adressé à aucune mesure pour arrêter les brigands.

Tandis que, d'un côté, les Kurdes commettent toute espèce de cruauté, les Agents du Gouvernement, d'un autre côté, par les vexations qu'ils mettent en pratique dans la perception des impôts, rendent la vie impossible à la pauvre population.

Pressurer et maltraiter les Arméniens, sous prétexte de la perception des impôts, est érigé en système. On lie les Arméniens; on les bat et on les torture. Les gendarmes, délégués à la perception, obligent partout la population à fournir gratuitement la nourriture, à eux et à leurs chevaux.

Chaque jour des troupeaux appartenant à des Arméniens sont volés; les voyageurs allant d'une ville à l'autre rencontrent des voleurs en chemin. Si la misère causée par cet état de choses continue, la disparition de la race Arménienne dans ces parages n'est qu'une affaire de temps.

Comme preuve de l'état d'esprit ici, nous signalerons le fait suivant:—

Une bande de brigands a rencontré dernièrement quelques paysans, Arméniens et Musulmans, qui se rendaient de Keghi à Erzeroum pour vendre des bestiaux. Les brigands ont ordonné aux Musulmans de se retirer avec tout ce qu'ils avaient, et n'ont rien

pris de leurs bestiaux; tandis que les Arméniens ont dû laisser entre les mains de ces malandrins tout ce qu'ils possédaient.

Le 28 Octobre (v. s.), 1894.

Résumé of a Report received from Keghi.

Les vexations des Agents du Gouvernement en ce qui concerne la perception des impôts continue. On va jusqu'à pendre la tête en bas ceux qui ne peuvent s'acquitter de leur dette, à cause de leur misère.

Dernièrement la fièvre typhoïde et la rougeole régnaient ici en état épidémique. La maladie même n'a arrêté les Agents du Gouvernement. On est entré de force dans les maisons des malades et en plusieurs endroits on a vendu leurs matelas pour encaisser l'impôt.

Dans les quarante-six villages se trouvant aux environs de Tokat la cruauté des gendarmes dépasse toute narration.

Le Caïmacam de Keghi, qui montre une grande cruauté dans la perception des impôts du district, a été complimenté par le Vali d'Erzeroum pour son zèle! aussi il n'y a plus rien à espérer des autorités locale et provinciale, en ce qui concerne le soulagement de la population.

Le 4 Février (v. s.), 1895.

Telegrams received from Keghi.

Le 8 Mars (v. s.), 1895.

Tandis que nous nous trouvons incapables de nous acquitter des dîmes de moutons, cinq gendarmes, sont venus, le 3 Mars, dans notre village pour percevoir l'impôt militaire de l'année 1311. La perception se faisait régulièrement, pourtant les dits gendarmes, agissant contrairement à la volonté de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan, ont battus cruellement plusieurs personnes et brisant nos portes, ont capturé plus de vingt femmes, qu'ils ont emprisonnées dans un endroit situé dans le bazar, insultées et tenté d'outrage; ils ont exigé de ces pauvres femmes le paiement des dettes.

La majorité des personnes battues se trouve mortellement malades, par suite des blessures reçues.

Ces cruautés des gendarmes ont été rapportées au Caïmacam pour demander justice, mais le Caïmacam, au lieu de faire le nécessaire, nous a fait emprisonner. Le dit Caïmacam ainsi que le caissier du Gouvernement travaillent à dessein à envenimer la situation. Leurs agissements sont la conséquence de cette politique.

En nous vouant à la justice Impériale nous demandons l'envoi d'un fonctionnaire chargé d'enquête.

(Suivent les signatures.)

Le 10 Mars (v. s.), 1895.

Les gendarmes avaient déjà fait vendre nos semences, matelas, &c., pour encaisser le reliquat de nos impôts de l'année financière, qui vient de finir. Le 5 Mars quatre gendarmes sont arrivés dans notre village pour percevoir les impôts de l'année 1311, qui a commencé le 1^{er} Mars, et après avoir proféré des paroles outrageantes contre notre religion et nos honneurs ont cruellement battu nos enfants, dont l'un se trouve en état d'agonie.

Ces gendarmes ont crié qu'en agissant ainsi ils exécutaient les ordres du Caïmacam et des agents de police; ces faits ont été rapportés au Caïmacam mais il n'a attaché aucune importance à nos plaintes. Nous nous vouons à la clémence Impériale pour porter plainte contre ces faits iniques.

(Suivent les signatures.)

Le 9 Mars (v. s.), 1895.

Le montant de nos impôts pour l'année 1310 était de 40,000 piastres ; 36,000 piastres en avait été payés ; il ne restait que 4,000 piastres, représentant la dette des indigents et des habitants absents du village. Pourtant les zaptiés se sont emparés de nos meubles et même de nos moutons ; nous avons été conduits au Commissariat de Police ; là, le Chef de Police, sans s'enquérir de la quantité de la dette et de la valeur des objets saisis, a fait vendre à 700 piastres les dits objets, qui avaient une valeur de 3,000 piastres. Cette somme a été retenue pour compte de l'année 1310.

Pour les redevances de l'année financière 1311, qui a commencé le 1^{er} Mars, quatre gendarmes sont arrivés le 3 et ont commencé la perception forcée des impôts, en proférant des paroles outrageantes contre notre religion et nos honneurs. Ils ont fait coucher plusieurs d'entre nous par terre et nous ont fait battre avec une cruauté inouïe avec des gourdins.

Ces gendarmes déclarent que ces agissements ont été ordonnés par le Caïmacam et par les agents de police du chief-lieu du district. Ces gens veulent produire quelque nouvel incident pour couvrir les preuves de leur cupidité.

(Suivent les signatures.)

Le 11 Mars (v. s.), 1895.

La conduite du Caïmacam du Keghi, en ce qui concerne la perception des impôts, est contraire tant à la conscience qu'aux prescriptions de la loi.

Des 45,000 piastres, somme totale des impôts de notre ville pour l'année financière 1310, 4,000 piastres, représentant les dettes des indigents et de ceux des habitants qui se trouvent dans de villes éloignées, n'ayant pu être payés, le Caïmacam nous fait emprisonner trois ou quatre fois par semaine. Sans prendre en considération la sainteté de ces jours de Carême, il a fait prendre des dits indigents les seuls matelas qu'ils possédaient pour coucher dessus. Il a fait signer de force un écrit dans lequel il fait déclarer à la population que les dits indigents sont capables de s'acquitter de leurs dettes mais qu'ils ne paient pas par esprit d'opposition et de résistance.

(Signature.)

Le 14 Mars (v. s.), 1895.

Cinq gendarmes, préposés à la perception des impôts, s'étaient depuis longtemps installés dans notre village, où ils invitaient les habitants des villages environnants, et où ils obligeaient la population de les nourrir, hommes et montures. Tandis que les exigences de ces gendarmes formaient une charge bien lourde pour nous et causaient notre ruine, sept autres gendarmes sont arrivés, il y a déjà quelque temps, avec mission d'encaisser les impôts ; et entre autres méfaits, se sont permis des outrages à l'honneur des femmes, ainsi qu'à notre religion ; ils ont violemment battu plusieurs habitants, et ont pendu, la tête en bas, les nommés Boghoss, Mardik, Kirkor en les liant d'une double chaîne. Ces pauvres gens, qui ont perdu beaucoup de sang par leur nez, se trouvent actuellement au lit.

Les gendarmes déclarent ouvertement avoir agi par l'ordre des agents de police. Nous nous adressons à la justice de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan, pour que le nécessaire soit fait.

(Suivent les signatures.)

Le 14 Mars (v. s.), 1895.

Quelques gendarmes étant arrivés, à 5 heures (à la Turquie) de la nuit, à notre village, pour percevoir les impôts, ont brisé les portes et, entrant dans nos demeures, ont obligé nos femmes et nos enfants à quitter leurs lits ; ils ont jeté nos couvertures et autres meubles dans la rue, battu sans cause plusieurs d'entre nous et affolé nos femmes et enfants ; ils ont emprisonné, dans un endroit choisi par eux, une trentaine de femmes, qu'ils ont insultées.

Ces gendarmes ne paient pas la contre-valeur de leur nourriture et des fourrages de leurs chevaux ; comme il n'y a aucun arriéré d'impôt, ils déclarent ouvertement qu'ils sont venus par esprit de vexation. En annonçant ces faits, nous nous vouons à la justice Impériale.

(Suivent les signatures.)

(Translation.)

PILLAGING by Kurds is more prevalent than ever here. On the night of the 17th October (o. s.) a band of twelve Kurdish brigands entered the monastery of Surp Garabed, seventeen hours from the chief town of the caza, and, after binding the head watchman and the servants, completely sacked and pillaged the monastery. The band also carried off the flocks belonging to the monastery. The Armenian ecclesiastical authorities at Keghi made the necessary representations, but the Government has taken no action with a view to the arrest of the brigands.

While, on the one hand, the Kurds commit every kind of cruelty, on the other, the agents of the Government, by their vexatious proceedings in connection with the levy of taxes, make life impossible for the poor inhabitants.

The oppression and ill-treatment of the Armenians, on the pretext of the levy of the taxes, has become a system. The Armenians are bound; they are beaten and they are tortured. The gendarmes employed in levying the taxes everywhere force the people to provide food for them and their horses gratuitously.

Every day flocks belonging to Armenians are stolen; travellers going from one town to another meet robbers on the way. If the destitution caused by this state of things continues, the disappearance of the Armenian race in these districts is only a question of time.

The following incident shows the spirit prevailing here :—

A band of brigands lately met some peasants, Armenians and Mussulmans, who were going from Keghi to Erzeroum to sell cattle. The brigands ordered the Mussulmans to go away with all their property, and did not take any of their cattle; the Armenians, on the other hand, had to leave all they possessed in the hands of these scoundrels.

October 23 (o. s.), 1894.

Résumé of a Report received from Keghi.

The vexatious proceedings of the agents of the Government in connection with the levy of taxes continue. They go so far as to hang up, head downwards, those who, from poverty, cannot pay what is due.

Epidemics of typhoid fever and measles lately raged here. Even illness did not stop the Government agents. They forced their way into the houses of the sick, and in several places sold their mattresses to recover the tax.

In the forty-six villages in the neighbourhood of Tokat the cruelty of the gendarmes is beyond description.

The Kaïmakam of Keghi, who exhibits great cruelty in levying the taxes of the district, was complimented for his zeal by the Vali of Erzeroum. There is therefore nothing to hope for from the local and provincial authorities as regards the relief of the people.

February 4 (o. s.), 1895.

Telegrams received from Keghi.

March 8 (o. s.), 1895.

While we were unable to pay the sheep tax, five gendarmes came to our village, on the 3rd March, to levy the military tax for the year 1311. The levy was proceeding regularly, nevertheless the aforesaid gendarmes, acting in opposition to the wishes of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, cruelly beat several persons, and, forcing our doors, captured more than twenty women, whom they imprisoned in a place in the bazaar, insulted and attempted to outrage; they exacted payment of the debts from these poor women.

Most of the persons who were beaten are dangerously ill from the wounds which they received.

These cruelties practised by the gendarmes were reported to the Kaïmakam with a request for justice, but the Kaïmakam, instead of taking the necessary steps, had us imprisoned. The Kaïmakam and the Government Treasurer are trying to make the situation worse. Their proceedings are the consequence of this policy.

We appeal to the justice of His Imperial Majesty, and ask that an official may be sent to make an inquiry.

(Signatures follow.)

March 10 (o. s.), 1895.

The gendarmes had already caused our seeds, mattresses, &c., to be sold to recover the balance of our taxes for the financial year just ended. On the 5th March four gendarmes came to our village to collect the taxes for the year 1311, which began on the 1st March, and, after using language insulting to our religion and our honour, cruelly beat our children, one of whom is now at the point of death.

These gendarmes declared that in acting thus they were carrying out the orders of the Kaïmakam and the police; these facts were reported to the Kaïmakam, but he attached no importance to our complaints. We bring these iniquitous deeds to the notice of His Imperial Majesty and appeal to his clemency.

(Signatures follow.)

March 9 (o. s.), 1895.

The amount of our taxes for the year 1310 was 40,000 piastres; of this, 36,000 piastres had been paid; there remained only 4,000 piastres, being the amount owed by the indigent and the inhabitants absent from the village. Nevertheless, the zaptiehs seized our furniture and even our sheep; we were taken to the Police Office; there the Head of the Police, without inquiring into the amount of the debt or the value of the articles seized, had the latter sold for 700 piastres, although they were worth 3,000 piastres. This sum was retained on account of the year 1310.

As regards the taxes due for the financial year 1311, which began on the 1st March, four gendarmes arrived on the 3rd and began to levy the taxes by force, making use of language insulting to our religion and our honour. They made several of us lie on the ground and had us beaten with sticks with unheard-of cruelty.

These gendarmes state that these proceedings were ordered by the Kaïmakam and the police agents of the chief town of the district. These men wish to bring about some fresh incident in order to conceal the proofs of their cupidity.

(Signatures follow.)

March 11 (o. s.), 1895.

The conduct of the Kaïmakam of Keghi in regard to the collection of the taxes is contrary to conscience and law.

Of the sum of 45,000 piastres, the total amount of the taxes of our town for the financial year 1310, it has been found impossible to pay 4,000 piastres, being the amount owed by the indigent and those of the inhabitants who are now in distant towns; the Kaïmakam consequently has us imprisoned three or four times a-week. Without considering the sanctity of these days of Lent, he has caused the above-mentioned indigent persons to be deprived of the only mattresses they had to sleep on. He has obtained by force signatures to a paper in which the people are made to declare that the said indigent persons are able to pay their debts but will not do so from a spirit of opposition and resistance.

(Signature follows.)

March 14 (o. s.), 1895.

Five gendarmes, employed in the collection of the taxes, had long been residing in our village, where they sent for the inhabitants of the surrounding villages, and where they forced the people to feed them and their horses. While the exactions of these gendarmes were pressing very heavily on us and ruining us, seven other gendarmes arrived, some time ago, with instructions to levy the taxes. Among other misdeeds, they have outraged women and insulted our religion; they have severely beaten several inhabitants, and have hung up, head downwards, Boghoss, Mardik, and Kirkor, chaining them with a double chain. Those poor men, who lost much blood through the nose, are now confined to their beds.

The gendarmes declare openly that they have acted on the orders of the police agents. We appeal to the justice of His Imperial Majesty to cause the necessary steps to be taken.

(Signatures follow.)

March 14 (o. s.), 1895.

Some gendarmes having come to our village at 5 o'clock at night (Turkish time), to collect the taxes, broke open the doors, and, entering our houses, forced our women and children to leave their beds. They threw our blankets and furniture out into the street, beat several of us without cause, and terrified our women and children. They imprisoned, in a place chosen by them, about thirty women, whom they insulted.

These gendarmes do not pay for their food or their horses' forage. As there are no arrears of taxes, they declare openly that they have come to annoy us. In stating these facts, we appeal to the justice of His Imperial Majesty.

(Signatures follow.)

Inclosure 3 in No. 22.

Consul Graves to Sir P. Currie.

Sir,

Erzeroum, April 2, 1895.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Excellency copies of an extract from a private letter, dated Bitlis, the 19th March, which contains some interesting details as to the state of affairs in that city, and the action of the Acting Vali, Eumer Bey.

I have communicated to Mr. Shipley the part relating to the imprisonment of Sasun Armenians for having attempted to present themselves before the Commission, as well as the report that some of the Kurd Chiefs and officers were ready to produce Government orders for their action if their subsequent safety were guaranteed by the Consuls.

I have, &c.

(Signed) R. W. GRAVES.

Inclosure 4 in No. 22.

Extract from a Private Letter from Bitlis, dated March 19, 1895.

ON Thursday, the 14th, a Sasun girl was brought to Court, that she might formally declare her acceptance of the Moslem faith. Formerly in such cases the person changing faith was handed over to those to whose faith he belonged, that the priest and others might make sure that he had accepted the other faith of his own free will, and could not be induced to remain a Christian; but of late only a few minutes are allowed in which the priest can converse with the supposed proselyte—at the most half-an-hour. In this case it was thought to embarrass matters if the Gregorians were called in, so the girl was called a native of the Catholic village of Norshen, on the Mush plain, and the Catholic priest was called to see her. He saw her for a little while, and signed the required certificate. Afterwards he confessed in private that he had not done the right thing; that he was sure from her speech that she was not a native of Norshen, nor a Catholic, and mistrusted that she was from the Sasun region. However that may be, we are quite sure that there are a number of such young women in the Moslem houses of the city.

Friday, Eumer Bey made an address in one of the mosques, exhorting the people to make every effort to keep the peace and to refrain from acts of violence. The week before a street crier gave notice that no one was to wear arms on penalty of a fine. That notice and this address have tended to quiet things a good deal.

Friday evening, the 15th March, three men and a boy, natives of Aghpik, in Sasun, were brought here from Mush and put in prison. Sunday morning they were sent on southwards under escort. While they were here, the people got up quite a collection for them in the market, some 600 piastres, for their road expenses, &c. Their story is that

they went to Mush to present a Petition to the Commission. That the three men were arrested and put in prison; that the boy, whose dress made him appear more like a Mushli, was not molested, and happening to have the Petitions by him went to where the Commission sits, and, after considerable difficulty, succeeded in getting a hearing and giving his papers in; after he went out, he was also arrested and imprisoned with his three companions. There they were kept sixteen days before being sent on here.

We have heard on pretty good authority, also, that some of the Kurdish Chiefs and officers were willing to produce Government order for what took place last summer, provided that the Consuls would guarantee their safety.

It seems that help is coming in slowly for the poor refugees. One man of the Ghelieguzan is said to have starved to death, but this is not likely to happen again. And yet in such a case it seems as if help might come in and be applied openly to the homeless sufferers. There are between 500 and 1,000 in the Mush plain, and probably a good many more than that south in the Diarbekir Vilayet. Taxes are already being collected around here in advance in three instalments for the year. Usually they are not collected in advance, and then in from six to fifteen instalments for the year.

There is some talk among the Turks that after Bairam the reserve troops will be collected—for what purpose remains to be learned. Probably it is only talk.

On Sunday, the 17th March, a delegation of Armenians waited on Eumer Bey to ask about the imprisoned Notables. They reminded him that some five Armenians, at considerable risk, had gone to Mush in their behalf; that he had not allowed them to remain there, but had brought them back with him, promising that the matter of the prisoners would soon be attended to; that during all this time nothing had been done, the guiltless Notables staying in prison, while the guilty henchmen of Tahsin still held office as before, and so on.

In reply, he said that the Armenians had been to blame in sending unreasonable and severe complaints to Constantinople; that the officials in question were the children whom the Government had brought up; and it was out of the question for it to go back on them; that Tahsin was not inactive in Constantinople now, and that he did not really dare to press matters further, so the probability is that nothing will be done. Only one hearing has been given them in Court, since a Turkish member has been ill, and though now better, probably will not attend till after Bairam. Then some other excuse will probably be found to delay proceedings, and keep the Notables in prison. Eumer said the case was now in the Court, and if by any possibility the case should go against them, he would assure them that he would procure an Imperial pardon.

No. 23.

Sir P. Currie to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received April 22.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, April 18, 1895.

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith a Memorandum and project of reforms for the Armenian provinces, which have been drawn up under the direction of my French and Russian colleagues and myself, and which were finally agreed to at a meeting held yesterday at the French Embassy.

These papers, which we now submit for the approval of our respective Governments, contain, in our opinion, the minimum of the measures and reforms which it appears to us necessary to apply in the provinces disturbed by recent events with the view of re-establishing order and security, and guaranteeing the Armenian population against a return of the late disorders.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PHILIP CURRIE.

Inclosure in No. 23.

Memorandum and Project of Reforms for the Armenian Provinces.

[See Inclosure 1 in No. 45.]

No. 24.

Sir P. Currie to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received April 22.)

My Lord,

Pera, April 18, 1895.

THE proposals for Armenian reforms which are submitted in my despatch of this day, although they do not contemplate the appointment of a Governor-General, which is regarded as indispensable by most authorities on the Armenian side of the question, contain provisions which I believe are sufficient to give security for life and property to the Armenians, provided that they can be really enforced. How to effect this is the problem. I have done my utmost to introduce provisions which will enable the Powers to exercise an efficient control, but my colleagues have been afraid that if these were of too stringent a nature, it would be impossible to induce the Turkish Government to agree to them without resorting to means which they are unwilling to employ.

The Règlement is based almost entirely on Laws and Regulations which are to be found in Aristarchi's "Législation Ottomane," but which had never been put in force or have fallen into abeyance. A few points are taken from the "Project of Law for the European Vilayets of Turkey" ("Turkey No. 16: 1880").

It may, therefore, be assumed that they contain nothing at variance with the principles recognized by Mussulman law or with the interests of the Moslems. The provisions, that at least one-third of the Mutessarifs, Kaïmakams, and Mudirs should be Christians, that a proportion of the gendarmerie should be Christian, that the police should be localized and placed under the control of the Mudirs, whether Christian or Mussulman, ought to enable the Armenian communities to secure themselves against any ordinary attack or pillage.

It cannot be expected, however, that the reforms will be considered adequate by the Armenians. No plan that does not put into their hands the domination now exercised by the Turks would satisfy their aspirations.

Our proposals do no more than endeavour to secure for them a position in which they will be able to hold their own against their oppressors, and gradually, by their superior culture and intelligence, to win for themselves a position of equality, if not of superiority.

I cannot end this despatch without bearing testimony to the friendly and straightforward manner in which my French and Russian colleagues have dealt with the question of reforms. M. Cambon's experience as Governor-General of Tunis made his opinion especially valuable on questions of administrative detail. M. de Nélidoff has shown a sincere desire to put matters in the Turkish provinces on a footing that will content Armenians and secure tranquillity on the frontier.

I beg leave to bring to your Lordship's notice the valuable assistance I have received from Colonel Chermiside. His practical experience of the Asiatic provinces has been of great use in the preparation of the Articles of the Memorandum and Règlement. I wish also to express my sense of the admirable manner in which M. Margérie and M. Maximow, who acted as French and Russian Delegates, performed their duties.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PHILIP CURRIE.

No. 25.

Sir P. Currie to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received April 25.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, April 25, 1895, 7.45 P.M.

I HAVE just been informed by the Russian Ambassador that the reform proposals have been approved by his Government.

No. 26.

Sir P. Currie to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received April 26.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, April 22, 1895.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith translation of the official communication inserted in the Turkish newspapers of the 21st April, giving the composi-

tion of the Turkish Commission appointed to inquire into the present state of affairs in the vilayets of the Empire.

The Commission will be occupied entirely with the affairs of the Armenian provinces.

I have, &c.
(Signed) PHILIP CURRIE.

Inclosure in No. 26.

Official Communication inserted in the Turkish Newspapers of April 21, 1895.

(Translation.)

THE Commission instituted for the purpose of inquiring into the present state of affairs in the vilayets of the Empire, and placed under the presidency of his Excellency Turkhan Pasha, is composed of their Excellencies Hachim Bey and Ahmed Refik Bey, Under-Secretaries of State (Musteshars) of the Ministries of Justice and Interior respectively; Chevki Bey, President of the Criminal Section at the Court of Cassation; the Grand Logothète; Nichan Effendi, Director of the Local Foreign Press; Sirri Bey, Head of the Correspondence at the Ministry of Public Instruction; and Husni Effendi, Head of the Police.

The Commission will hold its first meeting to-day (Sunday), and will meet every day, except on Fridays and Sundays.

No. 27.

Sir P. Currie to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received April 27.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, April 27, 1895, 12.45 P.M.

MY Russian and French colleagues consider that the reform proposals should in the first instance be presented unofficially to the Sultan. We should then communicate them to the Porte and to our colleagues. The French Government have accepted our scheme of reforms.

No. 28.

The Earl of Kimberley to Sir P. Currie.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, April 28, 1895.

HER Majesty's Government are considering the reform scheme drawn up by you and your French and Russian colleagues, and I hope to be able to announce their decision very shortly.

The general conception of the scheme seems good, but it will be subjected to severe criticism in this country on the ground that, unless the appointment of Valis is made subject to the consent of the Powers, no reform can be effective.

Failing the appointment of a Governor-General, it might be stipulated that the appointment of the High Commissioner should be subject to the approval of the Powers, and should be for a fixed term of some duration. These amendments might go some way towards satisfying public opinion in this country.

No. 29.

Sir P. Currie to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received April 29.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, April 29, 1895, 5.50 P.M.

THE following is in reference to your Lordship's telegram of the 28th instant:—

I did my utmost, in a long conversation which I had with my colleagues, to induce them to agree to the modifications which your Lordship suggested.

Their objections in regard to the Valis are insurmountable. It was only after long debate that the wording of the second Article of the Memorandum was adopted, and they did not agree to its being strengthened.

They would not oppose the insertion in the fourth paragraph of Article 7 of the Memorandum of the following words in regard to the High Commissioner: "et dont le choix serait approuvé par les Puissances," on the understanding that their respective Governments are prepared to adopt your Lordship's suggestion in regard to the matter. However, they consider that any such additions will make it very difficult to obtain the Sultan's acceptance without exerting more pressure than they would wish.

In view of the state of affairs here, my colleagues lay great stress on the importance of presenting the proposals without delay, and all our friends counsel promptitude.

No. 30.

The Earl of Kimberley to Sir P. Currie.

Sir,

Foreign Office, April 29, 1895.

I HAVE received and laid before the Queen your Excellency's despatch of the 10th instant, reporting your audience with the Sultan on the 5th instant, when His Majesty spoke of the intended Turkish Commission of Inquiry into Armenian affairs, and discussed generally the condition of his Armenian subjects and the question of reforms.

Her Majesty's Government entirely approve the language employed by your Excellency on this occasion.

I am, &c.

(Signed) KIMBERLEY.

No. 31.

The Earl of Kimberley to Sir P. Currie.

Sir,

Foreign Office, April 29, 1895.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 17th instant, reporting the steps taken by your Excellency at the Porte with a view of checking the violent and oppressive conduct of the Turkish officials in the country districts of the Armenian provinces, and I approve your Excellency's proceedings in this matter.

I am, &c.

(Signed) KIMBERLEY.

No. 32.

Sir P. Currie to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received April 30.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, April 30, 1895, 12.5 A.M.

I HAVE just been informed by the Sultan that he has received a Report from his Commission of Reforms, and that he has decided to adopt their recommendations. His Imperial Majesty hopes that this decision will be acceptable to Her Majesty's Government. The Report recommends the appointment of Christian assistants to the Governors and of a certain number of Christian Kaimakams and Mudirs not only in the provinces inhabited by Armenians, but throughout Asia Minor, the admission of some Christians to the gendarmerie, and the appointment of a permanent Commission at the Porte to superintend the execution of these reforms.

I only expressed the hope that his decision would facilitate the execution of the proposals which we were about to lay before him.

No. 33.

The Earl of Kimberley to Mr. Howard.

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 2, 1895.

THE French Ambassador inquired of me to-day what decision had been arrived at by Her Majesty's Government on the project of reforms for the Armenian provinces which had been drawn up by the three Ambassadors at Constantinople.

I told his Excellency that we were generally favourable to it, but that there were certain points upon which we thought that it required strengthening. I was about to instruct Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople to communicate on these points with his French and Russian colleagues, and I would also send you a despatch giving a detailed explanation of our views in regard to them.

I am, &c.
(Signed) KIMBERLEY.

No. 34.

The Earl of Kimberley to Sir P. Currie.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 3, 1895.

THE scheme of reforms for the eastern provinces of Asia Minor, which was forwarded in your despatch of the 18th ultimo, has been carefully considered by Her Majesty's Government.

They cannot but feel apprehension that the proposed guarantees for the execution of the reforms and for just administration in the future will, in practice, be found inadequate.

They understand from your telegram of the 29th ultimo that your French and Russian colleagues are willing, subject to the approval of their Governments, to agree that the selection of the High Commissioner shall be approved by the Powers, and they gladly accept this additional stipulation.

They consider it important that in the case of the President of the Permanent Commission of Control a similar provision should be introduced, and they also think that the High Commissioner should be appointed for a minimum term, and that the appointments of the Valis should be subject to the consent of the Powers. A precedent for these two last conditions may be found in the arrangements for the government of the Lebanon.

Her Majesty's Government earnestly hope that your Excellency may be able to persuade the French and Russian Ambassadors to agree to these proposals. They trust to have an early report from you of the result of your deliberations. They attach the greatest value to unanimity on the part of the three Powers, and are fully alive to the advantage of speedy action.

No. 35.

The Earl of Kimberley to Mr. Howard.†*

Foreign Office, May 3, 1895.

Sir,

I TRANSMIT herewith copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople,† inclosing a Memorandum and Project of Reforms for the Armenian provinces of Turkey, which have been drawn up under the direction of his French and Russian colleagues and himself, and approved by them after discussion.

In a second despatch, of which an extract is also inclosed,§ Sir P. Currie offers some explanations of these projects, and comments upon them.

Her Majesty's Government have given these papers their attentive consideration. They understand that the Governments of France and Russia have already expressed approval of them. In the general purport and tendency of the proposals Her Majesty's Government equally concur, but they cannot help feeling apprehensive that in practice the guarantees which are provided for the carrying out of the reforms and for securing just administration in the future may be found inadequate.

In reply to a message which I sent some days ago to Sir P. Currie upon this point, his Excellency reported that, after further discussion with his colleagues, they had expressed their willingness, subject to the approval of their Governments, to insert a further stipulation that the selection of the High Commissioner, who is to be charged with the supervision of the reforms, shall be approved by the Powers. This, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, would be a material improvement of the scheme, and they gladly give their assent to it. They consider that it would be of great importance that

* Also to Sir F. Lascelles.

† No. 23.

† Substance telegraphed.

§ No. 24.

a similar provision should be inserted with regard to the selection of the President of the Permanent Commission of Control which it is proposed to establish at Constantinople, and with regard to the appointments of the Valis. It appears to them further that it would be advantageous that the appointment of the High Commissioner, which in the project is of indefinite duration, should be made for a minimum term of years, which might be exceeded if circumstances seemed to render it advisable. For the general principle of these provisions a precedent would be found in the plan framed for the Lebanon, though the details of these arrangements need not be closely followed.

Sir P. Currie has been instructed to discuss these proposals with his colleagues, and Her Majesty's Government trust that he may be able to induce them to give their adhesion to them. Her Majesty's Government are, however, aware that the three Ambassadors consider it important to proceed without delay in laying the scheme before the Sultan and the Porte, and his Excellency has been instructed to report promptly the result of his discussions.

I should wish you to mention the proposals to the French Minister for Foreign Affairs. Her Majesty's Government hope that they may be favourably received by the French and Russian Representatives, but they think it desirable to acquaint the two Governments of the view they take. You may assure his Excellency that Her Majesty's Government attach the greatest value to unanimity on the part of the three Powers, and you may state that on this account, and in view of the expediency of speedy action, I have refrained from bringing forward some other suggestions on less material points which Her Majesty's Government would otherwise have wished to discuss.

I am, &c.

(Signed) **KIMBERLEY.**

No. 36.

Sir P. Currie to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received May 3.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, May 3, 1895, 10 p.m.

MY colleagues regret that they cannot support the stipulations proposed in your Lordship's telegram of to-day, for the following reasons:—

1. They consider that these modifications would render it more difficult to obtain the Sultan's consent.

2. They consider that, as regards the Valis, it is impossible for the Embassies to judge of qualifications of Valis, except in case of notorious unfitness, when the Memorandum already gives us the right to object. Moreover, the right of approving their appointment would diminish our power of criticizing their acts.

3. They consider that the President of the Commission stands in a different category from the High Commissioner, the Commission being a permanent institution sitting at Constantinople, and that it would be practically useless to reserve the right of approving the President; and the same arguments in regard to criticism used in the preceding paragraph applies equally to the President.

4. My colleagues are unwilling to fix a term of duration of the High Commissioner's appointment, as they consider that it would weaken rather than strengthen his authority. It would also be a pretext for delay.

The case of the Lebanon stands, in the opinion of the Ambassadors, on a footing totally different from that of the Armenian provinces. As regards the approval by the Powers of the High Commissioner, it will be necessary to communicate directly with St. Petersburg and Paris.

No. 37.

*The Earl of Kimberley to Mr. Howard.**

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 4, 1895.

I HAVE repeated to you Sir P. Currie's telegram of yesterday, giving the opinion of his French and Russian colleagues on the modifications which Her Majesty's Government desire to see introduced into the scheme of reforms for the provinces inhabited by Armenians.

* Also to Sir F. Lascelles.

Her Majesty's Government have learnt with great regret that these modifications have not been adopted. In their opinion they would have afforded valuable security for the efficient application and good working of the reforms. In view, however, of the importance which they attach to action being taken immediately, and to unanimity being maintained among the Powers, Her Majesty's Government are prepared to waive their proposals. But they trust that authority will be given to the French and Russian Ambassadors to insert in the scheme the proviso that the selection of the High Commissioner who is to supervise the execution of the reforms shall be approved by the Powers. Both Ambassadors have already expressed their personal assent to such a proviso.

As soon as Her Majesty's Government are informed that this addition has been agreed to they will authorize Sir P. Currie to concert with his French and Russian colleagues for the presentation of the scheme to the Sultan and the Turkish Government.

No. 38.

Sir P. Currie to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received May 6.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, May 6, 1895, 3.10 P.M.

IN an audience which he had with the Sultan yesterday the Austrian Ambassador gave unofficial advice to His Majesty, counselling him to accept the proposals of the three Powers, and so arrive at a speedy understanding in regard to the Armenian question, and prevent it from becoming a European one.

The Sultan's reply conveyed the impression that he was not unfavourably disposed to the views of the Ambassador.

No. 39.

The Marquess of Dufferin to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received May 6.)

(Telegraphic.)

Paris, May 6, 1895.

I THIS morning laid before Minister for Foreign Affairs the substance of your Lordship's telegram to Mr. Howard of the 4th instant as to the Armenian reforms, after giving him a brief explanation of the modifications in the scheme desired by Her Majesty's Government.

M. Hanotaux replied that he would at once communicate what I had said telegraphically to M. Cambon, who had his entire confidence in this affair. He also expressed a hope of a speedy and satisfactory solution of the question.

No. 40.

The Earl of Kimberley to Sir P. Currie.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 6, 1895.

I HAVE repeated to you the instructions which I sent to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Paris and St. Petersburg on learning from your Excellency's telegram of the 3rd instant that your French and Russian colleagues could not support the modifications which Her Majesty's Government wished to introduce into the scheme of Armenian reforms.

Your Excellency is authorized to concert with your colleagues for the immediate presentation of the scheme to the Sultan and the Porte as soon as the French and Russian Governments have agreed to the insertion of the proviso that the selection of the High Commissioner shall be approved by the Powers.

No. 41.

Sir F. Lascelles to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received May 7.)

(Telegraphic.)

St. Petersburg, May 7, 1895.

PRINCE LOBANOFF, on my communicating to him the substance of your Lordship's telegram of the 4th instant, informed me that he was awaiting a report on the subject from M. de Nélidoff, adding that the French Ambassador had also spoken to him in the same sense about the matter. His Excellency has, I gathered, little hope that the scheme of reforms will be successful, but he is inclined to leave the question in the hands of the Ambassadors.

No. 42.

Sir P. Currie to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received May 9.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, May 9, 1895, 5.40 P.M.

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram of the 6th instant, I have the honour to state that the French and Russian Governments have instructed their Ambassadors here to insert in the project of reforms the stipulation by which the choice of the High Commissioner's appointment is subject to the assent of the Powers.

We have decided to present the proposal to the Sultan on the 11th and to the Porte on the 13th.

No. 43.

Sir P. Currie to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received May 11.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, May 11, 1895, 5 P.M.

THE three Dragomans presented the reforms this afternoon to the First Secretary of the Sultan. They also communicated a joint instruction from their Ambassadors, dwelling on the necessity of the reforms being accepted, and asking for a reply at an early date.

No. 44.

Sir F. Lascelles to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received May 13.)

(Extract.)

St. Petersburg, May 8, 1895.

I CALLED upon Prince Lobanoff this afternoon, and read to him your Lordship's despatch of the 3rd instant on the subject of the project of reforms for the Armenian provinces of Turkey, which has been drawn up by the English, French, and Russian Ambassadors at Constantinople.

Prince Lobanoff said that he could in the first place tell me that he had telegraphed to M. de Nélidoff, authorizing him to insert in the scheme of reforms a proviso that the selection of the High Commissioner who is to be charged with the supervision of the reforms shall be approved by the Powers.

His Excellency also said that he agreed with your Lordship in attaching great value to unanimity on the part of the Powers, and he was disposed to leave the question to be dealt with by the Ambassadors.

His Excellency then went on to say that he had carefully read the Memorandum and project of reforms which were included in your Lordship's despatch, and he would not conceal his personal opinion that they were open to objection. In the first place, they were to apply to a far greater extent of territory than he anticipated. He had recently had a conversation with an Armenian dignitary, who, in reply to his question as to what constituted Armenia, had indicated the Provinces of Erzeroum, Van, and Mush. The Ambassadors, however, proposed that the reforms should apply to six vilayets, or nearly the half of Asia Minor. Again, he thought it would have been better to have proposed some measures of control, such as the approval by the Powers of the selection of certain Governors, rather than to have drawn up a scheme of administration. As a matter of fact, the proposals are taken almost entirely from Aristarchi's "Législation Ottomane," and nominally form part of the law of the country at the present day. The Powers, he thought, would assume a very heavy responsibility if they were to insist on these reforms being carried out, and they could only do so by direct interference in the internal affairs of the country.

No. 45.

Sir P. Currie to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received May 15.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, May 11, 1895.

THE Dragomans of the British, French, and Russian Embassies presented to-day at the Palace a copy and translation of the Memorandum and Project of Reforms for the Eastern Provinces of Asia Minor, as approved by the three Governments.

I have the honour to inclose a copy of this paper and of a joint instruction addressed by my French and Russian colleagues and myself to our respective Dragomans, and of which they were instructed to deliver a translation in handing in the documents in question.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PHILIP CURRIE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 45.

Memorandum.

Mars-Avril 1895.

LE projet ci-annexé contenant l'ensemble des dispositions qu'il serait nécessaire d'introduire dans l'organisation administrative, financière, et judiciaire des vilayets mentionnés, il a paru utile d'indiquer dans un Mémoire séparé certaines mesures qui dépassent le cadre d'un Règlement administratif, mais qui sont la base même de ce Règlement et dont l'adoption par la Sublime Porte est d'une importance primordiale.

Ces différents points sont :—

1. La réduction éventuelle du nombre des vilayets.
2. Les garanties pour le choix des Valis.
3. L'amnistie des Arméniens condamnés ou détenus pour faits politiques.
4. La rentrée des Arméniens émigrés ou exilés.
5. Le règlement définitif des procès pour crimes et délits de droit commun, actuellement en cours.
6. L'examen de l'état des prisons, et de la situation des prisonniers.
7. La nomination d'un Haut Commissaire de surveillance pour la mise en application des réformes dans les provinces.
8. La création d'une Commission Permanente de Contrôle à Constantinople.
9. La réparation des dommages subis par les Arméniens victimes des événements de Sassoun et de Talori, &c.
10. La régularisation des affaires de conversion religieuses.
11. Le maintien et la stricte application des droits et privilèges concédés aux Arméniens.
12. La situation des Arméniens dans les autres vilayets de la Turquie d'Asie.

1. Réduction Éventuelle du Nombre des Vilayets.

Pendant dix ans antérieurement à 1875 l'Eyalet d'Erzeroum comprenait les districts de Tchildir, Kars, Erzeroum (vilayet actuel), ainsi que Van, y compris Hekkiari, Bitlis, et Mouch. Cet Eyalet fut ensuite divisé en cinq vilayets, après la guerre de 1877-78; la partie de ce territoire qui restait à la Turquie fut divisée en Vilayets: Erzeroum, Van,

Les réformes devant être appliquées dans les six vilayets d'Erzeroum, Bitlis, Van, Sivas, Mamouret-ul-Aziz, et Diarbékir, il y aurait lieu d'étudier la réduction du nombre de ces provinces. Une nouvelle répartition, qui permettrait de réaliser une certaine économie dans les dépenses générales de

l'Administration, faciliterait peut-être le choix des Valis en en diminuant le nombre et fortifierait leur autorité en améliorant leur situation matérielle. Elle devrait être faite de façon que les populations fussent réparties en groupes ethnographiques le plus homogènes possible dans les différentes unités administratives de chaque province.

2. *Nomination des Valis garantie.*

Les Puissances, attachant la plus grande importance au choix des Valis, dont dépendra essentiellement l'efficacité des réformes prévues par le Traité de Berlin, sont résolues à faire à la Sublime Porte des représentations chaque fois que le choix se porterait sur des personnes dont la nomination pourrait présenter des inconvénients ; c'est pourquoi elles trouveraient nécessaire que le Gouvernement Impérial Ottoman, afin d'éviter sur ce point des malentendus fâcheux, voulût bien tenir officiellement les Représentants des Puissances au courant des choix qu'il aurait l'intention de faire.

3. *Amnistie.*

Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan accordera une large amnistie aux Arméniens accusés ou condamnés pour des faits politiques et qui ne seraient pas convaincus de participation directe à des crimes de droit commun.

4. *Rentrée des Émigrés.*

Tous les Arméniens à quelque religion qu'ils appartiennent, qui auraient été exilés sans jugement soit hors du territoire de l'Empire Ottoman, soit hors des provinces qu'ils habitaient, ou qui auraient été forcés d'émigrer à l'étranger poussés par la misère ou par crainte des événements, sans y avoir pris une part criminelle, pourront librement rentrer en Turquie ou dans des provinces qu'ils avaient dû quitter, sans être inquiétés par les autorités. Ils rentreront en possession des biens qu'ils possédaient avant d'avoir quitté le pays.

5. *Réglement des Procès.*

Tous les procès pour crimes ou délits de droit commun, actuellement en cours d'instruction ou de jugement, devront être réglés sans retards. Des Commissions Judiciaires, déléguées spécialement

Hekkiari, Mouch. Depuis lors le district Hekkiari a été rattaché au Vilayet de Van, et le district de Mouch au Vilayet de Bitlis nouvellement créé. Depuis lors aussi le Sandjak de Mamouret-ul-Aziz est devenu vilayet avec l'addition de quelques territoires voisins, tandis que le Vilayet de Deyrsim est redevenu sandjak.

de Constantinople, seront envoyées dans chaque vilayet et procéderont rapidement, au chef-lieu de chaque sandjak, au règlement de toutes les instances en suspens.

Leurs décisions ne seront susceptibles d'aucun recours.

Ces Commissions se composeront d'un Président et de deux Assesseurs, dont l'un Musulman et l'autre Chrétien. Elles seront accompagnées d'un Juge d'Instruction et d'un Procureur. L'un des deux sera Chrétien.

6. *État des Prisons.*

De hauts fonctionnaires seront délégués de Constantinople pour inspecter les prisons dans chaque Vilayet, se rendre compte de leur état matériel, de la situation des prisonniers, et du traitement dont ils sont l'objet. Ils s'enquerront de la conduite des Directeurs et des gardiens des prisons et pourront proposer la révocation immédiate et la mise en jugement de ceux qui n'auraient pas observé, à l'égard des condamnés ou des détenus, les prescriptions de la loi.

Chacun de ces hauts fonctionnaires sera accompagné d'un adjoint, qui sera Chrétien s'il est Musulman, et inversement.

Ils devront, dans un délai de quatre mois au plus, rédiger un Rapport où ils consigneront toutes leurs observations sur le résultat de leur mission, ainsi que sur les modifications et améliorations à introduire dans le service et l'aménagement des prisons.

7. *Haut Commissaire de Surveillance pour l'Application des Réformes.*

Dès que les nouveaux Valis auront été nommés, ils se rendront au chef-lieu de vilayet, en vue d'organiser l'administration de la province sur les bases nouvellement adoptées.

Ils procéderont à l'installation des Mutessarifis et des Caïmacams nommés par le Gouvernement, à la répartition territoriale des nahiés dans chaque caza; ils feront dresser les listes électorales et procéder à l'élection des Conseils de Nahiés, ainsi qu'à celle des Mudirs.

Ils veilleront à ce que les Collecteurs d'impôts soient élus sans retard et à ce que le budget de la province et la répartition des charges entre les différentes subdivisions administratives soient établis dans le plus bref délai possible.

Un Haut Commissaire, délégué spécialement par Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan, et dont le choix serait approuvé par les Puissances, sera chargé de surveiller l'exécution prompte et exacte de ces réformes. Pendant toute la durée de sa mission, il aura pleine et entière autorité sur les Valis qui le tiendront au courant de toutes les mesures qu'ils prendraient pour l'application des nouveaux Règlements.

Note d'Assim Pacha du 3 Octobre 1880 (Réformes en Arménie, Art. 1, para. 1.)

Le Haut Commissaire Impérial recevra les Pétitions et les vœux des habitants et devra en tenir compte dans les limites des nouveaux Règlements. Il terminera sa mission par une inspection générale des vilayets et aura le pouvoir de réformer les mesures qui n'auraient pas été prises en conformité avec la loi et les nouveaux Règlements.

Le Haut Commissaire Impérial sera accompagné dans sa mission par un adjoint qui sera Chrétien s'il est Musulman, et inversement.

8. *Commission Permanente de Contrôle.*

Il sera institué à la Sublime Porte une Commission Permanente de Contrôle, chargée de surveiller l'exacte application des réformes.

Cette Commission sera présidée par un haut fonctionnaire de l'Empire, civil ou militaire. Elle se composera de six membres pris parmi les hauts fonctionnaires civils de l'État compétents en matières administrative, juridique, et financière; trois d'entre eux seront Musulmans et les trois autres Chrétiens.

Elle se réunira à la Sublime Porte au moins une fois par mois.

Elle aura pour mission de surveiller la stricte application des Lois et Règlements, de signaler à la Sublime Porte les irrégularités qu'elle constaterait dans l'Administration ainsi que les fonctionnaires qui manqueraient à leurs devoirs; de recevoir les Pétitions et d'examiner les vœux et doléances de la population ainsi que tous les rapports qui pourraient lui être adressés par les représentants des communautés.

C'est à elle que les Ambassades feront parvenir directement par l'intermédiaire de leurs Drogmans, tous les renseignements et communications qu'elles jugeraient nécessaires.

Elle pourra demander aux Valis des rapports sur les questions qu'elle serait ainsi appelée à examiner. Deux fois par an, les Gouverneurs - Généraux devront lui adresser une note détaillée sur l'état des prisons et la situation des prisonniers.

Elle pourra déléguer, quand elle le jugera à propos, un ou plusieurs de ses membres pour faire des tournées d'inspection dans les vilayets.

Elle présentera à la Sublime Porte des rapports sur toutes ces questions et aura le droit de correspondance directe avec les Valis et les Départements Ministériels compétents.

9. *Réparations à accorder aux Arméniens Victimes des Événements de Sassoun, Talori, &c.*

Les Arméniens qui auraient eu à souffrir soit dans leurs personnes, soit dans leurs biens des événements de Sassoun, Talori, &c., recevront des indemnités et réparations convenables.

Le Haut Commissaire Impérial de surveillance sera chargé de faire les investigations et de prendre les mesures nécessaires à cet effet.

10. *Conversions Religieuses.*

La Sublime Porte veillera à ce que les conversions religieuses soient entourées de toutes les garanties découlant des principes établis par le Hatti-Houmayoun de 1856 (Articles 10, 11, et 12) et trop souvent éludés dans la pratique.

Les personnes qui voudraient changer de religion devront être majeures et ne pourront être autorisées à faire leur déclaration de changement de religion qu'après un délai d'une semaine pendant laquelle elles seront placées sous la surveillance du chef de leur culte.

11. *Maintien des Privilèges des Arméniens.*

La Sublime Porte donnera des instructions précises aux autorités pour empêcher le retour des infractions contraires aux droits et privilèges découlant pour le clergé Arménien et la communauté du Sahmanatroutioun de 1863 (Statut Organique des Arméniens) et des Bérats octroyés par les Sultans.

12. *Situation des Arméniens dans les autres Vilayets de la Turquie d'Asie.*

Dans les autres vilayets de la Turquie d'Asie où la population Arménienne de certains sandjaks forme une partie notable de la population générale, il sera nommé auprès du Vali un fonctionnaire Chrétien spécial chargé des intérêts des Arméniens.

Ce fonctionnaire recevra les Pétitions et réclamations de la population Arménienne et les fera connaître au Vali qui leur donnera, d'accord avec lui, la suite qu'elles comportent.

Ce fonctionnaire adressera en outre régulièrement des Rapports à la Commission Permanente de Contrôle à Constantinople.

Dans ces vilayets, s'il se trouve certaines localités (telles que Hadjin (Vilayet d'Adana) ou Zeitoun (Vilayet d'Alep), &c.), où les Arméniens forment la majorité de la population, la division administrative actuelle sera modifiée et les prescriptions du projet de réformes sur la constitution des nahiés seront appliquées aux localités ainsi érigées en unités administratives séparées.

(Translation.)

March-April 1895.

THE scheme annexed to this paper enumerates the measures which it is necessary to introduce in connection with the administrative, financial, and judicial organization of the vilayets mentioned. It has seemed expedient to indicate in a separate Memorandum certain measures which are outside the scope of administrative Regulations, but which constitute the very basis of such Regulations, and the adoption of which by the Sublime Porte is of the first importance.

The different points are:—

1. The eventual reduction of the number of the vilayets.
2. Guarantees in connection with the selection of the Valis.
3. An amnesty for Armenians condemned or under arrest for political offences.
4. The return of Armenians who have emigrated or who have been exiled.
5. Final settlement of pending proceedings for crimes and offences against the common law.
6. Inquiry into the state of the prisons and the condition of prisoners.
7. The appointment of a High Commissioner to superintend the execution of the reforms in the provinces.
8. The creation of a Permanent Commission of Control at Constantinople.
9. Compensation for losses sustained by the Armenians who suffered in the occurrences at Sasun and Talori, &c.

10. Regulations concerning religious conversions.

11. The maintenance and strict enforcement of the rights and privileges granted to the Armenians.

12. The condition of the Armenians in the other vilayets of Turkey in Asia.

1. *Eventual reduction of the Number of the Vilayets.*

For the ten years previous to 1875 the Eyalet of Erzeroum comprised the districts of Childir, Kars, Erzeroum (the present vilayet), as well as Van, including Hekkiari, Bitlis, and Mush. This Eyalet was divided subsequently into five vilayets, after the war of 1877-78; the portion of this territory which remained to Turkey was divided into vilayets: Erzeroum, Van, Hekkiari, Mush. Since then the district of Hekkiari has been included in the Vilayet of Van, and the district of Mush in the newly created Vilayet of Bitlis. Since then also the Sandjak of Mamouret-ul-Aziz has become a vilayet, with the addition of some adjacent territories, whilst the Vilayet of Dersim has again become a sandjak.

As the reforms are to be introduced in the six Vilayets of Erzeroum, Bitlis, Van, Sivas, Mamouret-ul-Aziz, and Diarbekir, it would be advisable to consider the question of the reduction of the number of these provinces. A new distribution, making it possible to effect certain economies in the general administrative expenses, would perhaps facilitate the selection of Valis by diminishing their number, and strengthen their authority by improving their material position.

The redistribution should be effected in such a way as to divide the populations into ethnographical groups of as homogeneous a character as possible in the different administrative divisions of each province.

2. *Guarantees in connection with the appointment of Valis.*

The Powers, attaching the greatest importance to the selection of the Valis, on whom will depend essentially the efficacy of the reforms provided for in the Treaty of Berlin, are determined to address representations to the Sublime Porte whenever choice is made of individuals whose appointment might be open to objections; for this reason they consider it necessary that the Imperial Ottoman Government, in order to avoid regrettable misunderstandings on this point, should acquaint the Representatives of the Powers unofficially with the names of the persons whom it may be proposed to appoint.

3. *Amnesty.*

His Imperial Majesty the Sultan will grant a liberal amnesty to Armenians accused of, or condemned for, political offences, who are not convicted of direct participation in crimes under the common law.

4. *Return of Emigrants.*

All Armenians, to whatever religion they belong, who have been exiled, without trial, either from the territory of the Ottoman Empire, or from their native provinces, or who have been forced to emigrate abroad through poverty, or through fear caused by recent events without having criminally participated in these, shall be free to return to Turkey, or to the provinces they had been forced to leave, without molestation on the part of the authorities. They shall re-enter into possession of the property which belonged to them before they left the country.

5. *Settlement of Pending Proceedings.*

All proceedings for crimes or offences against the common law, in which examination or trial is still pending, must be brought to a conclusion without delay.

Judicial Commissions, with special powers from Constantinople, shall be sent to each vilayet, and shall promptly settle, in the chief town of each sandjak, all the pending cases.

There shall be no appeal from their decisions.

These Commissions shall be composed of a President and two Assessors—one a Mussulman and the other a Christian. They will be accompanied by a Juge d'Instruction and a Procureur. One of these shall be a Christian.

6. *State of the Prisons.*

High officials shall be delegated from Constantinople to inspect the prisons in each vilayet, ascertain their material condition, the state of the prisoners, and their treatment. They shall inquire into the conduct of the Directors and keepers of the prisons, and shall be empowered to propose the immediate dismissal and trial of such as have not acted in accordance with law in their treatment of persons under sentence or awaiting trial.

Each of these high officials shall be accompanied by an assistant, who must be a Christian if the high official is a Mussulman, and *vice versa*.

They shall, within four months at most, draw up a Report containing all the observations they have to make on the result of their mission, as well as on the changes and improvements which should be made in the service and management of the prisons.

7. *A High Commissioner to superintend the execution of the Reforms.*

As soon as the new Valis are appointed each shall proceed to the chief town of his vilayet for the purpose of organizing the administration of the province on the newly-adopted bases.

They shall proceed to instal the Mutessarifs and Kaïmakams appointed by the Government, and to fix the limits of the nahiés in each caza; they shall cause electoral lists to be prepared, and proceed to the election of the Councils of Nahiés, and also of the Mudirs.

They shall see that the collectors of taxes are elected without delay, and that the budget of the province and the allocation of expenses amongst the various administrative sub-divisions are settled with as little delay as possible.

Note of Assim Pacha of October 3, 1880.
(Reforms in Armenia, Art. I, para. 1.)

A High Commissioner, specially appointed by His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, and whose selection shall be approved by the Powers, shall be intrusted with the duty of superintending the prompt and strict execution of these reforms. During the whole term of his mission he shall exercise full and entire authority over the Valis, who will keep him informed of all the measures they may take for the execution of the new Regulations.

The Imperial High Commissioner will receive the Petitions and expressions of the wishes of the inhabitants, and take the same into consideration as far as the new Regulations allow. He will bring his mission to a close by a general inspection of the vilayets, and will be authorized to amend any measures not in conformity with the law and the new Regulations.

The Imperial High Commissioner will be accompanied on his mission by an assistant, who must be a Christian if the High Commissioner is a Mussulman, and *vice versa*.

8. *Permanent Commission of Control.*

A Permanent Commission of Control shall be appointed at the Sublime Porte, who shall superintend the strict application of the reforms.

This Commission shall have as its President a high official of the Empire, either civil or military. It shall be composed of six members, selected from among the high civil officials of the State, com-

petent to deal with administrative, judicial, and financial matters; three of these shall be Mussulmans and the other three Christians.

The Commission shall meet at the Sublime Porte at least once a month.

Its duties will be to superintend the strict execution of the Laws and Regulations, to call the attention of the Sublime Porte to any irregularities it may find in the administration, and to any cases in which officials fail in their duties; to receive the Petitions and to inquire into the wishes and complaints of the people, and to examine all Reports made to it by the representatives of the communities.

The Embassies shall address to this Commission directly, through their Dragomans, all information and communications they may consider necessary to lay before it.

The Commission shall be empowered to ask for Reports from the Valis on questions it may thus be called upon to examine. Twice a year it will be the duty of the Governors-General to furnish the Commission with a detailed Report on the state of the prisons and the condition of the prisoners.

The Commission shall be authorized when considered advisable to send one or more of its members to make tours of inspection in the vilayets.

It shall submit reports on all these questions to the Sublime Porte, and shall have the right of corresponding directly with the Valis and the Ministries concerned.

9. Compensation to be granted to the Armenians who suffered in the Events at Sasun, Talori, &c.

Armenians who suffered injury to their persons or property in the events at Sasun, Talori, &c., shall receive adequate indemnity and compensation.

The Imperial High Commissioner of Supervision shall be charged with making the necessary investigations and taking the requisite steps for this purpose.

10. Religious Conversions.

The Sublime Porte will take care that religious conversions are surrounded with all the safeguards

which follow from the principles laid down by the Hatti-Houmayoun of 1856 (Articles 10, 11, and 12), which in practice have been too often evaded.

Persons desirous of changing their religion must be of age, and shall not be authorized to make their declaration of change of religion until after the lapse of a week, during which they shall be placed under the supervision of the Head of their faith.

11. *Maintenance of the Privileges of the Armenians.*

The Sublime Porte will issue strict instructions to the authorities with a view to prevent the recurrence of infractions of the rights and privileges enjoyed by the Armenian clergy and community under the Sahmanatroutioun of 1863 (Armenian Organic Statute) and the Berats granted by the Sultans.

12. *Condition of the Armenians in the other Vilayets of Turkey in Asia.*

In the other vilayets of Turkey in Asia, where the Armenian population of certain sandjaks forms a considerable portion of the total population, a Christian official specially charged with the care of the interests of the Armenians shall be attached to the Vali.

This official shall receive the Petitions and complaints of the Armenian population, and bring them to the knowledge of the Vali, who, in consultation with him, shall give them proper attention.

This official shall, besides, send Reports regularly to the Permanent Commission of Control at Constantinople.

If, in these vilayets, there are places (such as Hadjin, in Vilayet of Adana, and Zeitoun, in that of Aleppo, &c.) where the Armenians form the majority of the population, the existing administrative division shall be altered, and the provisions of the scheme of reforms for the constitution of the nahiés shall be applied to these places, which will thus become separate administrative divisions.

Inclosure 2 in No. 45.

Scheme of Administrative Reforms to be introduced in the Eastern Provinces of Asia Minor: the existing Vilayets of Erzeroum, Bitlis, Van, Sivas, Mamouret-ul-Aziz, Diarbekir.

Chapitre I.—*Valis.*

Article 1^{er}. Les Valis seront choisis parmi les hauts dignitaires de l'État, sans distinction de religion, présentant les plus grandes garanties d'intelligence, de capacité, et de probité. On s'abstiendra en conséquence de nommer aux fonctions de Valis des personnes dont la désignation présenterait, de notoriété générale, des inconvénients d'ordre public ou politique.

Aristarchi, Vol. v, p. 12, Art. 39; Vol. v, pp. 50, 51, Art. 5.

La Sublime Porte, convaincu que l'application efficace des mesures et réformes qui suivent dépend essentiellement des hautes qualités des personnes qui seront placées à la tête de l'Administration des Vilayets, se fera un devoir de veiller à ce que les fonctionnaires que le Gouvernement aurait l'intention de désigner possèdent les capacités requises.

Aristarchi, Vol. v, p. 50 *et seq.*

Instructions sur les Vilayets, Chap. I et II.

Art. 2. Les Valis ainsi nommés ne pourront être révoqués ou changés que dans le cas où ils seront reconnus après constatation légale coupables d'actes contraires aux lois.

Aristarchi, Vol. v, p. 12.

Note d'Abedin Pacha du 5 Juillet, 1880.

Ils seront nommés pour cinq ans et leurs pouvoirs pourront être renouvelés.

Projet de Loi sur les Vilayets de la Turquie d'Europe, Titre II, Art. 27.

Art. 3. Les Valis seront assistés par les Adjoints (Moavins) qui seront Chrétiens lorsque le Vali sera Musulman, et Musulman lorsque le Vali sera Chrétien. Les Moavins seront, comme les Valis, nommés par Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan.

Aristarchi, Vol. iii, p. 13, Chap. II, Art. 17.

Ceux-ci seront spécialement délégués par le Vali pour la réception des Pétitions des habitants du Vilayet, pour la surveillance de la police et des prisons et pour le contrôle de la perception des impôts. Ils seront chargés de l'intérim du vilayet en l'absence du Vali. Les Valis seront assistés d'un Conseil-Général Provincial élu dans des conditions à déterminer et qui aura pour mission de délibérer sur les objets d'utilité publique tels que l'établissement de voies de communication, l'organisation de caisses de crédit agricole, le développement de l'agriculture, du commerce et de l'industrie, et la propagation de l'instruction publique.

Aristarchi, Vol. ii, p. 217, Titre I, Chap. III, Arts. 26 et 62 à 75; Vol. iii, p. 25, Titre IV, Chap. I; Vol. v, p. 23.

Vilayets de la Turquie d'Europe, Titre IV, p. 8, et Art. 71.

Chapitre II.—*Mutessarifs.*

Art. 4. Les Mutessarifs placés à la tête des sandjaks seront nommés par Sa Majesté Impériale

Vilayets de la Turquie d'Europe, p. 14, Art. 308.

le Sultan. Dans chaque vilayet, un certain nombre de postes de Mutessarifs seront occupés par des Chrétiens. Les Mutessarifs Chrétiens seront placés dans les sandjaks où se trouve le plus grand nombre de Chrétiens. Dans les vilayets où il n'y aurait qu'un seul Mutessarif celui-ci sera nécessairement Chrétien si le Vali est Musulman.

Le Mutessarif sera assisté d'un Moavin qui sera Chrétien si le Mutessarif est Musulman, et vice versa. Le Moavin sera chargé de l'intérim du sandjak en l'absence du Mutessarif.

Chapitre III.—*Caïmacams*.

Art. 5. Les Caïmacams seront nommés par Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan sur la désignation du Vali. Ils seront choisis par ce dernier parmi les personnes jouissant de la confiance de la population et remplissant les conditions requises par les Règlements en vigueur. Dans chaque sandjak un certain nombre de postes de Caïmacams seront occupés par des Chrétiens.

Les Caïmacams Chrétiens seront placés dans les cazas où se trouve le plus grand nombre de Chrétiens.

Art. 6. Dans tous les cas le nombre des Mutessarifs et des Caïmacams Chrétiens ne pourra être inférieur au tiers du nombre total des Mutessarifs et des Caïmacams du vilayet.

Le Caïmacam comme le Mutessarif sera assisté d'un Moavin, qui devra être Chrétien si le Caïmacam est Musulman, et vice versa.

Auprès des Mutessarifs et des Caïmacams siégera un Conseil analogue au Conseil-Général Provincial.

Le Conseil du caza sera élu par les Conseils des nahiés, le Conseil du sandjak par les Conseils des cazas.

Le Conseil-Général Provincial sera élu par les Conseils des sandjaks.

Aucun fonctionnaire ne pourra être membre de ces différents Conseils.

Ces Conseils seront présidés respectivement par le Vali, le Mutessarif, et le Caïmacam.

Ils sont composés de quatre membres sans compter le Président, dont deux Musulmans et deux Chrétiens.

Chapitre IV.—*Cercles Communaux* ("Nahiés").

Art. 7. Chaque caza sera subdivisé en un certain nombre de nahiés (cercles communaux).

Vilayets de la Turquie d'Europe, Titre VII,
Art. 132; Titre XVI, Art. 293.

Vilayets de la Turquie d'Europe, Titre VII,
Art. 132, p. 17.

Vilayets de la Turquie d'Europe, p. 20, Titre X,
Arts. 154, 168.

Le nahié est une subdivision territoriale qui comprendra plusieurs villages, avec leurs propriétés immeubles, terrains, pâturages, et autres terres, dont le plus important sera le chef-lieu. Aristarchi, Vol. ii, p. 283; Vol. iii, p. 22, Chap. III, Art. 50; Vol. v, pp. 60, 64.

La circonscription de chaque nahié sera autant que possible fixée de telle façon que les villages d'une même religion soient groupés dans un même nahié; d'une façon générale, il devra être tenu compte des conditions topographiques et ethnographiques, ainsi que des convenances des populations.

Le nahié comprendra 2,000 habitants au moins, et 10,000 au plus. Vilayets de la Turquie d'Europe, p. 12, Art. 103.

Tout groupe de villages faisant partie d'un nahié, et dont les habitants ne seront pas inférieurs en nombre à 1,000, pourra demander à être constitué en nahié séparé, à condition de prendre à sa charge les dépenses de la nouvelle Administration. Aristarchi, Vol. v, pp. 60, 61. Règlement, Art. 2.

Art. 8. Chaque nahié sera administré par un Mudir, assisté d'un Conseil élu par la population, et composé de quatre membres au minimum et huit au maximum. Aristarchi, Vol. iii, p. 22; Vol. v, p. 61. Règlement, Chap. II, Art. 7.

Ce Conseil choisira parmi ses membres le Mudir et un Adjoint. Le Mudir devra appartenir à la classe qui forme la majorité des habitants, et l'Adjoint à l'autre classe. Le Conseil aura, en outre, un Secrétaire. Aristarchi, Vol. v, p. 62. Règlement, Art. 13. Vilayets de la Turquie d'Europe, p. 20, Titre X, Art. 154.

Art. 9. Si les habitants d'un nahié sont d'une même classe, les membres du Conseil seront élus exclusivement parmi les habitants appartenant à cette même classe; si la population du Cercle Communal est mixte, la minorité devra être représentée proportionnellement à son importance relative à condition qu'elle comprenne au moins vingt-cinq maisons. Aristarchi, Vol. v, p. 62, Art. 13.

Art. 10. Les Mudirs recevront sur le budget du nahié une allocation convenable; des appointements fixes seront également alloués au Secrétaire du Conseil. Aristarchi, Vol. v, p. 61, Art. 9. Projet de Loi sur les Vilayets de la Turquie d'Europe, p. 22, Art. 168; p. 20, Art. 155.

Un local spécial sera affecté au Conseil du nahié et au siège de l'Administration du Cercle Communal.

Art. 11. Les membres du Conseil du nahié devront être sujets Ottomans, avoir des intérêts dans le nahié, être âgés de plus de 30 ans, et choisis parmi ceux qui paient à l'État une contribution annuelle de 100 piastres, et qui n'ont pas subi de condamnation. Aristarchi, Vol. v, p. 61, Art. 10 (textuel). Projet de Loi sur les Vilayets de la Turquie d'Europe, p. 24, Art. 185.

Art. 12. Dès que les membres du Conseil auront choisi parmi eux le Mudir, son nom sera communiqué au Vali, qui le confirmera officiellement. Aristarchi, Vol. v, p. 62, Art. 11.

Aristarchi, Vol. v, p. 62, Art. 12 (textuel).

Aristarchi, Vol. v, p. 62, Art. 16.

Aristarchi, Vol. v, pp. 63, 64.

Aristarchi, Vol. iii, p. 24, Art. 60; Vol. v, p. 61, Art. 8.

Aristarchi, Vol. v, p. 60, Art. 4.
Projet de Loi sur les Vilayets de la Turquie d'Europe, Art. 103, p. 13.

Aristarchi, Vol. v, p. 51, Chap. II, Art. 6.
Note d'Abidin Pacha du 7 Juillet, 1880.
Projet de Loi sur les Vilayets de la Turquie d'Europe, p. 34, Titre XVII, Arts. 314, 305.

Note d'Abidin Pacha du 5 Juillet, 1880.

Note de la Porte du 3 Octobre, 1880.
Projet de Loi sur les Vilayets de la Turquie d'Europe, Art. 168, p. 22.

Projet de Loi sur les Vilayets de la Turquie d'Europe, Titre XVII, Art. 308, p. 34.

après avoir constaté que les conditions légales ont été remplies.

Art. 13. Les Imams, les prêtres, les professeurs d'écoles, et tous ceux qui se trouvent au service du Gouvernement, ne pourront exercer les fonctions de Mudir.

Art. 14. Les membres du Conseil seront renouvelés par moitié chaque année; les Mudirs resteront en fonctions pendant deux ans. Le Mudir et les membres ne pourront être réélus qu'une seule fois de suite.

Art. 15. Les attributions du Mudir et des membres du Conseil, ainsi que le mode de leur élection et de leur remplacement, seront réglés suivant les prescriptions du Règlement sur l'Administration des Communes, Articles 14, 16, 17, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, et 26, et du "Projet de Loi sur les Vilayets de la Turquie d'Europe" (Titre 12).

Art. 16. Les villages compris dans le Nahié auront chacun un Mukhtar; si un village contient plusieurs quartiers, et si les habitants sont divisés en différentes classes, il y aura un Mukhtar pour chaque quartier et pour chaque classe d'habitants.

Art. 17. Aucun village ne pourra, pour partie, relever de deux Cercles Communaux à la fois quels que soient sa position et le nombre de ses habitants.

Chapitre V.—Police.

Art. 18. Les agents de police sont recrutés, sans distinction de religion, dans la population du nahié par le Conseil du Cercle Communal, en nombre suffisant pour les besoins locaux et pour la participation au service de la gendarmerie du vilayet.

Art. 19. Les agents de police du nahié sont placés sous les ordres du Mudir. Ils sont commandés par des Chefs qui exercent des fonctions semblables à celles de Tchaouchs et des On-Bachis. Ils seront armés, et porteront un uniforme à déterminer dans la suite. Ils seront rétribués sur le budget du nahié; en dehors de leur service ils pourront vaquer à leurs travaux ordinaires.

Ils seront montés ou non montés selon les besoins du service.

Les non-Musulmans astreints au paiement du Bedel-i-Askerie, qui se trouveront engagés dans la police, seront dispensés du paiement de cette taxe pendant toute la durée de leur service.

Art. 20. Les agents de police du nahié doivent en premier lieu assurer d'une façon permanente le

bon ordre et la sécurité sur le territoire et les routes du nahié. Ils doivent en outre, d'après les ordres du Mudir, contribuer à fournir l'escorte de la Poste et prêter main forte au Mudir pour l'exécution des sentences judiciaires et la mise en vigueur des prescriptions de la loi.

Chapitre VI.—Gendarmerie.

Art. 21. Il sera organisé dans chaque province en vertu d'un *Règlement spécial* un corps de gendarmerie provincial dont les officiers et soldats seront choisis parmi toutes les classes des sujets de l'Empire. Le recrutement de la gendarmerie est fait dans le vilayet parmi tous les habitants en état de servir et sans distinction de race ni religion. Elle est recrutée pour les deux tiers parmi les agents de police du nahié moitié parmi les agents Musulmans, moitié parmi les agents appartenant aux communautés non-Musulmanes. L'autre tiers sera composé de Tchaouchs, et de Bach-Tchaouchs, pris parmi les plus capables de l'armée régulière. Au point de vue de la discipline et de l'instruction la gendarmerie dépend du Ministère de la Guerre. Elle est entretenue et soldée aux frais du vilayet. La solde des officiers ne pourra être inférieure à celle des officiers du même grade de l'armée régulière.

Note d'Abedin Pacha (textuel).

Projet de Loi sur les Vilayets de la Turquie d'Europe, p. 34, Titre XVII, Art. 309.

Chapitre VII.—Prisons.

Art. 22. Dans les prisons, les individus arrêtés et soumis à la détention préventive ne devront pas être confondus avec les individus incarcérés à la suite d'une condamnation. Les prisons devront offrir aux détenus les conditions indispensables d'hygiène, et on veillera à ce qu'ils ne soient pas soumis à des traitements vexatoires.

Les Valis nommeront les Directeurs et les gardiens des prisons, parmi lesquels il y aura un certain nombre d'agents de police et de gendarmes.

Aristarchi, Vol. v, p. 53, Art. 10.

Chapitre VIII.—Comité d'Enquête Préliminaire.

Art. 23. Les Valis établiront dans les chefs-lieux des vilayets et des sandjaks des Comités d'Enquête Préliminaire composés d'un Président et de deux membres, Musulman et non-Musulman.

Aristarchi, Vol. v, p. 53, Arts. 11 et 12.

Ces Comités auront pour mandat de s'enquérir

des raisons qui ont motivé l'arrestation des prévenus par les gendarmes et d'ordonner qu'ils soient immédiatement interrogés et emprisonnés dans le cas où l'acte qui leur est attribué serait de nature à entraîner des pénalités édictées par les lois : de faire mettre en liberté immédiate, sous la surveillance de la police, ceux dont la conduite ne motiverait pas l'application de la loi, de veiller à ce que personne ne soit retenu sans nécessité et illégalement en prison. Ils visiteront dans ce but les prisons et surveilleront la situation des prisonniers.

Les Comités adresseront des Rapports qu'ils remettront aux Valis, indiquant parmi les individus amenés à la police, ceux qui ont été mis en liberté et ceux qui ont été maintenus en état d'arrestation.

Chapitre IX.—*Contrôle des Kurdes.*

Art. 24. Pour l'administration des Kurdes nomades, le Vali aura sous ses ordres, dans chaque vilayet, un Achiret-Memouri. Ce fonctionnaire aura le droit d'arrêter les brigands et autres malfaiteurs et de requérir leur comparution devant les Tribunaux ordinaires.

Il devra avoir sous ses ordres une escorte suffisante, et pourra en outre, requérir l'assistance de la police locale.

Un certain nombre de fonctionnaires placés sous son autorité accompagneront chaque tribu dans ses migrations annuelles. Ils exerceront sur elle un pouvoir de police, feront arrêter tous les malfaiteurs et les déféreront aux Tribunaux ordinaires. Les limites des campements et pâturages des Kurdes nomades seront nettement déterminées. Les migrations ne devront pas être la cause de dommages pour les habitants des territoires traversés ou occupés provisoirement par les tribus nomades. Si celles-ci commettent quelque empiètement ou excès sur les biens ou les personnes des villageois, toute migration leur sera désormais interdite.

Les Règlements existants sur le port d'armes seront strictement appliqués à toute la population Kurde, tant sédentaire que nomade. On s'efforcera d'inculquer aux populations nomades les principes de la vie sédentaire en les accoutumant aux travaux des champs, et à cet effet on leur assignera des lots de terrain dans les localités où leur instal-

Note de la Porte du 3 Octobre, 1880.

Exemple : Des Circassiens du Caza de Azizie au Vilayet d'Adana, 1880.

Projet de Loi sur les Vilayets de la Turquie d'Europe, p. 18, Art. 137.

Cf. les résultats obtenus par trois Commissions en 1880.

lation ne pourra nuire à la tranquillité et au bien-être des populations sédentaires.

Le droit d'élection et d'éligibilité n'appartient pas aux individus faisant partie des populations non sédentaires ou qui ne sont pas établies à titre définitif et permanent sur le territoire d'un nahié.

Aristarchi, Vol. ii, p. 284, Chap. I, Art. 63.

Projet de Loi sur les Vilayets de la Turquie d'Europe, p. 23, Titre XII, Art. 179.

Chapitre X.—*Cavalerie Hamidié.*

Art. 25. Dans le cas où il serait jugé nécessaire de se servir des régiments de la cavalerie Hamidié en dehors des périodes d'instruction prescrites par les Règlements en vigueur, ces troupes ne pourront être employées et cantonnées que conjointement avec les troupes de l'armée régulière dont elles ne devront pas dépasser le tiers.

En temps ordinaire et en dehors du service, les cavaliers Hamidiés ne doivent porter ni uniformes, ni armes. Dans les mêmes cas ils sont justiciables des Tribunaux ordinaires ainsi qu'il est déjà prescrit dans les Règlements Hamidiés en conformité avec les prescriptions en usage pour les Rédifs (Code Militaire Ottoman, Article 14).

Chapitre XI.—*Question des Titres de Propriété.*

Art. 26. Des Commissions spéciales composées d'un Président et de quatre membres, deux Musulmans et deux Chrétiens, seront chargés de reviser les titres et droits de propriété et de redresser les injustices et les irrégularités qu'elles pourront constater.

Une Commission spéciale élaborera le mode le plus propre à garantir dans l'avenir les droits de propriété.

Chapitre XII.—*Perception des Dîmes.*

Art. 27. Tous les impôts y compris la dîme, seront perçus directement sous l'autorité du Mudir par des Percepteurs élus par les Conseils des nahiés.

Aristarchi, Vol. v, pp. 30, 51, 63.

Projet de Loi sur les Vilayets de la Turquie d'Europe, p. 21, Titre X, Arts. 160, 163, 164.

Tous les habitants du nahié sont solidairement responsables du paiement de la totalité de l'impôt qui lui est assigné.

Art. 28. L'affermage des dîmes et la corvée demeurent abolis.

Aristarchi, Vol. v, p. 81.

Chaque centre administratif, en commençant par le nahié, prélèvera sur les impôts qu'il aura recueillis les sommes nécessaires aux dépenses de son Administration, d'après un budget fixé

Aristarchi, Vol. iii, p. 33, Art. 104.

Projet de Loi sur les Vilayets de la Turquie d'Europe, p. 10, Arts. 83, 167, et 168.

Note de la Porte, le 3 Octobre, 1880.

Note d'Abedin Pacha.

et approuvé par le Gouvernement. De même l'Administration financière du vilayet prélèvera sur le total des impôts de la province les sommes nécessaires à l'administration du vilayet, y compris les dépenses des travaux publics et de l'instruction publique.

La population ne pourra en aucun cas être tenue de fournir gratuitement soit à la troupe, soit aux fonctionnaires en service, le logement et les provisions nécessaires à leur entretien.

Dans le cas de vente forcée pour non paiement des impôts, on veillera strictement à ne pas priver la population des objets de première nécessité ni de ses instruments de travail.

Chapter XIII.—Justice.

Aristarchi, Vol. iii, p. 34, Art. 107.

Art. 29. Il y aura dans chacune des localités du nahié un Conseil des Anciens présidé par le Mukhtar et dont la mission sera de concilier à l'amiable les contestations entre les habitants de la localité.

Art. 30. Il y aura dans chaque caza, proportionnellement au nombre des nahiés, un nombre suffisant de Juges de Paix nommés par le Ministre de la Justice sur la désignation du Vali. L'un d'eux devra nécessairement résider au chef-lieu du caza. Le tiers des Juges de Paix du caza devront être Chrétiens. Les Juges de Paix Chrétiens seront placés dans les centres où la population Chrétienne est la plus nombreuse.

Art. 31. Le Juge de Paix connaîtra—

1. En matière criminelle sans appel, des contraventions passibles de peines de simple police et à charge d'appel les délits n'entraînant pas une peine de plus de 500 piastres d'amende et de trois mois de prison.

2. En matière civile sans appel, toute action personnelle, civile et commerciale, jusqu'à concurrence de 1,000 piastres. Et à charge d'appel, les mêmes actions jusqu'à concurrence de 5,000 piastres.

Art. 32. Le Juge de Paix tiendra aussi son Tribunal en conciliation. Il pourra sur la demande des parties désigner des Arbitres pour décider des contestations dont l'objet dépasserait 5,000 piastres. Dans le cas de sentence arbitrale, les parties renonceront à tout appel.

Art. 33. Les Juges de Paix tenant lieu de Tribunaux de cazas, les appels de leurs décisions

en matière civile seront portés devant le Tribunal du sandjak.

Art. 34. Les condamnations à la prison prononcées en dernier ressort par les Juges de Paix seront purgées dans la prison du caza. Les Mudirs devront prêter assistance aux Juges de Paix pour l'exécution des sentences au civil comme au criminel.

Art. 35. Les Tribunaux du caza étant supprimés, les Tribunaux du sandjak connaîtront des affaires civiles dépassant 5,000 piastres, et des appels des décisions des Juges de Paix en matière civile. Ils n'auront qu'une Chambre Civile, la Chambre Criminelle devant être remplacée par la Cour d'Assises ambulante. Les Tribunaux du sandjak sont composés d'un Président Magistrat diplômé, nommé par le Ministre de la Justice, et de deux membres choisis par le Vali sur une liste dressée par les Conseils des sandjaks.

Aristarchi, Vol. ii, pp. 292, 293, Art. 11.

Projet de Loi sur les Vilayets de la Turquie d'Europe, p. 28, Art. 238.

Aristarchi, Vol. ii, p. 287, Art. 7.

Art. 36. Les sections criminelles des Tribunaux du sandjak sont ainsi remplacées par des Cours d'Assises ambulantes. Les Cours d'Assises sont composées d'un Magistrat Président pris parmi les membres de la Cour Supérieure du vilayet. Il leur sera adjoint deux membres désignés par la Cour d'Appel, parmi les Juges de Paix du sandjak, dont l'un Musulman et l'autre Chrétien. Les Juges de Paix recevront une indemnité spéciale pendant la tournée de la Cour d'Assises.

Note d'Abedin Pacha.

Art. 37. La Cour d'Assises siégera tour à tour dans tous les cazas, y compris le chef-lieu du vilayet et les chefs-lieux des sandjaks où sa présence sera reconnue nécessaire. Elle connaîtra, en appel, des décisions des Juges de Paix en matière de délit, et sans appel des crimes ainsi que des délits entraînant une peine de plus de 500 piastres d'amende et plus de trois mois de prison.

Les sentences rendues par la Cour d'Assises en matière de crime ne sont susceptibles que du recours en cassation.

Art. 38. En arrivant au caza le Président de la Cour d'Assises se fera remettre par le Juge d'Instruction un État des causes instruites susceptibles de lui être déférées immédiatement, et un État des causes en cours d'instruction. S'il constate au sujet de ces dernières quelques irrégularités ou des lenteurs non-motivées, il adressera immédiatement un Rapport au Ministère de la Justice.

A son arrivée au caza, comme à son départ, la

Cour d'Assises visitera les prisons, s'enquerra de la situation des prisonniers, et vérifiera les écoures.

Art. 39. La Cour Supérieure du Vilayet est composée d'un Président et d'un nombre de membres suffisant pour connaître des affaires civiles qui lui sont dévolues, et pour fournir des Présidents aux Cours d'Assises ambulantes.

Elle fonctionne en matière civile, comme Cour d'Appel, et en matière criminelle comme Cour d'Assises. Elle est régulièrement constituée dès qu'elle réunit deux membres et un Président. Elle comprend en outre un Procureur-Général et un nombre suffisant de Substituts.

Art. 40. Les décisions des Juges de Paix, et les Jugements des Tribunaux de tout ordre seront libellés en langue Turque. Le texte Turc sera suivant les localités et les parties en cause, accompagné d'une traduction en langue Arménienne.

(Translation.)

Chapter I.—*Valis*.

Article 1. The Valis shall be selected from those high dignitaries of the State, irrespective of their religion, who possess the highest qualifications of intelligence, capacity, and probity. Consequently, persons whose selection would notoriously be open to objections on public or political grounds shall not be appointed to discharge the functions of Vali.

The Sublime Porte, being convinced that the effective application of the measures and reforms hereinafter enumerated depends essentially on the high qualities of the persons to be placed at the head of the administration of the vilayets, will make it a duty to see that the officials whom the Government proposes to select possess the qualifications required.

Art. 2. The Valis thus appointed cannot be dismissed or changed unless they are found guilty, after legal trial, of acts contrary to the laws.

They shall be appointed for five years, and their appointments may be renewed.

Art. 3. The Valis shall be provided with assistants (Moavins), who shall be Christians when the Valis are Mussulmans, and Mussulmans when the Valis are Christians. The Moavins, like the Valis, shall be appointed by His Imperial Majesty the Sultan.

Aristarchi, Vol. v, p. 56, Art. 26.

Aristarchi, Vol. v, p. 12, Art. 39; Vol. v, pp. 50, 51, Art. 5.

Aristarchi, Vol. v, p. 50 *et seq.*
Instructions sur les Vilayets, Chap. I et II.

Aristarchi, Vol. v, p. 12.
Note of Abedin Pasha of July 5, 1880,

Projet de Loi sur les Vilayets de la Turquie d'Europe, Titre II, Art. 27.

Aristarchi, Vol. iii, p. 13, Chap. II, Art. 17.

The Moavins shall be specially intrusted by the Vali with the duty of receiving Petitions from the inhabitants of the vilayet, of superintending the police and the prisons, and of controlling the collection of taxes. They shall take charge of the vilayet *ad interim* in the absence of the Vali. The Valis shall be assisted by a Provincial General Council, elected under conditions to be hereafter determined, whose duty it will be to discuss matters of public utility, such as the establishment of ways of communication, the organization of agricultural loans banks ("caisses de crédit agricole"), the development of agriculture, commerce, and industry, and the spread of education.

Aristarchi, Vol. ii, p. 217, Titre I, Chap. III, Arts. 26 et 67 à 75; Vol. iii, p. 25, Titre IV, Chap. I.; Vol. v, p. 23.

Vilayets de la Turquie d'Europe, Titre IV, p. 8, Art. 71.

Chapter II.—*Mutessarifs*.

Art. 4. The Mutessarifs placed at the head of the sandjaks shall be appointed by His Imperial Majesty the Sultan. In each vilayet a certain number of posts of Mutessarifs shall be held by Christians. The Christian Mutessarifs shall be appointed to the sandjaks in which there are most Christians. In the vilayets where there is only one Mutessarif he must be a Christian if the Vali is a Mussulman.

Vilayets de la Turquie d'Europe, p. 14 Art. 308.

The Mutessarif shall be assisted by a Moavin, who shall be a Christian if the Mutessarif is a Mussulman, and *vice versa*. The Moavin shall take charge of the sandjak *ad interim* in the absence of the Mutessarif.

Chapter III.—*Kaïmakams*.

Art. 5. The Kaïmakams shall be appointed by His Imperial Majesty the Sultan on the nomination of the Vali. They shall be selected by the latter from among persons possessing the confidence of the people, and fulfilling the conditions required by the Regulations in force. In each sandjak a certain number of these appointments shall be held by Christians.

Vilayets de la Turquie d'Europe, Titre VII, Art. 132; Titre XVI, Art. 293.

The Christian Kaïmakams shall be appointed to the cazas in which there are the greatest number of Christians.

Art. 6. In any case the number of Christian Mutessarifs and Kaïmakams must not be less than a third of the total number of Mutessarifs and Kaïmakams in the vilayet.

The Kaïmakam, like the Mutessarif, shall be

Vilayets de la Turquie d'Europe, Titre VII, Art. 132, p. 17.

assisted by a Moavin, who must be a Christian if the Kaïmakam is a Mussulman, and *vice versâ*.

With the Mutessarifs and Kaïmakams shall be associated Councils similar to the Provincial General Council.

The Council of the caza shall be elected by the Councils of the nahiés, the Council of the sandjak by those of the cazas.

The Provincial General Council shall be elected by the Councils of the sandjaks.

No official can be a member of these Councils.

These Councils shall be presided over respectively by the Vali, the Mutessarif, and the Kaïmakam.

They shall be composed of four members, exclusive of the President, two of them Mussulmans, and two Christians.

Chapter IV.—Communal Districts ("Nahiés").

Vilayets de la Turquie d'Europe, p. 20,
Part X, Arts. 154, 168.

Aristarchi, Vol. ii, p. 283; Vol. iii, p. 22,
Chap. III, Art. 50; Vol. v, pp. 60, 64.

Art. 7. Each caza shall be subdivided into a certain number of nahiés (communal districts).

The nahié is a territorial subdivision, which shall comprise several villages with their real estate, fields, pasturages, and other lands, the most important of which shall be the chief village.

The boundaries of each nahié shall be fixed as far as possible in such a manner that villages of the same religion shall be grouped in one and the same nahié. Regard shall generally be paid to topographical and ethnographical conditions, as well as to the requirements of the population.

The nahié shall contain not less than 2,000 inhabitants, and not more than 10,000.

Any group of villages which forms part of a nahié, and the inhabitants of which number not less than 1,000, may request to be constituted a separate nahié, on condition of undertaking to defray the expenses of the new administration.

Art. 8. Each nahié shall be administered by a Mudir, assisted by a Council elected by the people, and composed of not less than four, and not more than eight members.

This Council shall choose among its members the Mudir and an assistant. The Mudir shall belong to the class forming the majority of the inhabitants, and the assistant to the other class. The Council shall, further, have a Secretary.

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Aristarchi, Vol. iii, p. 22; Vol. v, p. 61.
Règlement, Chap. II, Art. 7.

Aristarchi, Vol. v, p. 62.
Règlement, Art. 13.

Vilayets de la Turquie d'Europe, p. 20,
Titre X, Art. 154.

Art. 9. If the inhabitants of a nahié are all of one class, the members of the Council shall be elected exclusively from the inhabitants belonging to that class; if the population of the communal district is mixed, the minority must be represented in proportion to its relative importance, provided that it comprises at least twenty-five houses. Aristarchi, Vol. v, p. 62, Art. 13.

Art. 10. The Mudirs shall receive a suitable allowance out of the revenue of the nahié; a fixed salary shall likewise be assigned to the Secretary of the Council. Aristarchi, Vol. v, p. 61, Art. 9. .
Projet de Loi sur les Vilayets de la Turquie d'Europe, p. 22, Art. 168; p. 20, Art. 155.

Special premises shall be appropriated to the Council of the nahié, and to the Administration of the communal district.

Art. 11. The members of the Council of the nahié must be Ottoman subjects, possess interests in the nahié, and be over 30 years of age, and must be chosen among persons who contribute at least 100 piastres a-year to the State, and who have never been convicted. Aristarchi, Vol. v, p. 61, Art. 10 (textual).
Projet de Loi sur les Vilayets de la Turquie d'Europe, p. 24, Art. 185.

Art. 12. As soon as the members of the Council shall have chosen one of their number to be Mudir, his name shall be communicated to the Vali, who shall confirm the selection officially after satisfying himself that the legal conditions have been fulfilled. Aristarchi, Vol. v, p. 62, Art. 11.

Art. 13. Imams, priests, schoolmasters, and all persons in the service of the Government are not eligible for the post of Mudir. Aristarchi, Vol. v, p. 62, Art. 12 (textual).

Art. 14. Half the members of the Council shall retire each year; the Mudirs shall hold office for two years. Retiring Mudirs and members cannot be re-elected more than once without an interval intervening. Aristarchi, Vol. v, p. 62, Art. 16.

Art. 15. The functions of the Mudir and of the members of the Council, the method of their election, and the mode of choosing their successors, shall be as laid down in the "Règlement sur l'Administration des Communes," Articles 14, 16, 17, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, and 26, and the "Projet de Loi sur les Vilayets de la Turquie d'Europe" (Titre XII). Aristarchi, Vol. v, pp. 63, 64.

Art. 16. The villages comprised in the nahié shall each have a Mukhtar; if a village contains several wards, and if the inhabitants are divided into different classes, there shall be a Mukhtar for each ward and for each class of inhabitants. Aristarchi, Vol. iii, p. 24, Art. 60; Vol. v, p. 61, Art. 8.

Art. 17. No village can belong partly to one communal district and partly to another, whatever may be its position and the number of its inhabitants. Aristarchi, Vol. v, p. 60, Art. 4.
Projet de Loi sur les Vilayets de la Turquie d'Europe, Art. 103, p. 13.

Chapter V.—*Police.*

Aristarchi, Vol. v, p. 51, Chap. II, Art. 6.

Note of Abedin Pacha of July 7, 1880.

Projet de Loi sur les Vilayets de la Turquie
d'Europe, p. 34, Titre XVII, Arts. 304, 305.

Note of Abedin Pacha of July 5, 1880.

Note of the Porte of October 3, 1880.

Projet de Loi sur les Vilayets de la Turquie
d'Europe, Art. 168, p. 22.

Projet de Loi sur les Vilayets de la Turquie
d'Europe, Titre XVII, Art. 308, p. 34.

Art. 18. The police agents shall be recruited, irrespective of religion, from the population of the nahié by the Council of the communal district, in sufficient numbers for local requirements and for participation in the gendarmerie service of the vilayet.

Art. 19. The police agents of the nahié shall be placed under the orders of the Mudir. They shall be commanded by Chief Officers, who shall discharge duties similar to those of Chaushs and On-Bashis. They will be armed and wear a uniform to be settled later. Their pay will be provided out of the revenue of the nahié; when not on service they can engage in their ordinary occupations.

They will be mounted or not mounted according to the requirements of the service.

Non-Mussulmans who have to pay the Bedel-i-Askerie and who join the police, will be exempted from payment of this tax during all the time of their service.

Art. 20. It shall be the primary duty of the police agents of the nahié to preserve order and security in the district and on the roads of the nahié. They shall, further, when required by the Mudir, contribute to furnish the escort of the post, and assist the Mudir in executing judicial sentences and carrying out the provisions of the law.

Chapter VI.—*Gendarmerie.*

Note of Abedin Pasha (textual).

Art. 21. In accordance with special Regulations a corps of provincial gendarmerie shall be organized in each province, the officers and men of which shall be chosen from all classes of subjects of the Empire. The gendarmerie shall be recruited in the vilayet from all inhabitants qualified to serve without regard to race or religion. Two-thirds shall be recruited from the police agents of the nahié, half from Mussulman agents, and half from those belonging to non-Mussulman communities. The other third shall be composed of Chaushs and Bash-Chaushs, chosen from among the most capable of the regular army. As regards discipline and drill, the gendarmerie is under the Ministry for War. It is kept up and paid at the expense of the vilayet. The pay of the officers must not be less than that of officers of the same rank in the regular army.

Projet de Loi sur les Vilayets de la Turquie
d'Europe, p. 34, Titre XVII, Art. 309.

Chapter VII.—*Prisons.*

Art. 22. In the prisons persons arrested and provisionally detained must not be imprisoned with persons under sentence. Aristarchi, Vol. v, p. 53, Art. 10.

Proper sanitary arrangements must exist in the prisons, and care must be taken that prisoners are not subjected to vexatious treatment.

The Valis shall appoint the Governors and the warders of the prisons, among whom there shall be a certain number of police agents and gendarmes. Aristarchi, Vol. v, p. 53, Art. 11.

Chapter VIII.—*Committee of Preliminary Inquiry.*

Art. 23. The Valis shall establish in the chief towns of the vilayets and sandjaks Committees of Preliminary Inquiry, consisting of a President and two members, one a Mussulman and the other a non-Mussulman. Aristarchi, Vol. v, p. 53, Arts. 11 et 12.

The duty of these Committees shall be to investigate the reasons for the arrest of prisoners by the gendarmes, and to order their immediate examination and their imprisonment if the act of which they are accused is punishable by law; to set at liberty at once, under police supervision, those whose conduct does not entail punishment by law; to see that none are kept in prison unnecessarily or illegally. For this purpose they shall visit the prisons, and watch over the condition of the prisoners.

The Committees shall draw up Reports, which they shall submit to the Valis, stating which of the persons arrested have been set at liberty and which have been kept under arrest.

Chapter IX.—*Control of the Kurds.*

Art. 24. For the government of the nomad Kurds the Vali shall have under his orders, in each vilayet, an Ashiret-Memuri. This official shall have the power of arresting brigands and other malefactors, and requiring their appearance before the ordinary Tribunals. Note of the Porte of October 3, 1880.

He shall have under his orders a sufficient escort, and may, further, demand the assistance of the local police.

A certain number of officials, placed under his

Example: Migration of the Circassians of the
Caza of Azizie to the Vilayet of Adana,
1880.

Projet de Loi sur les Vilayets de la Turquie
d'Europe, p. 18, Art. 137.

Cf. the results obtained by three Commis-
sions in 1880.

Aristarchi, Vol. ii, p. 2, 1884, Chap. I, Art. 63.
Projet de Loi sur les Vilayets de la Turquie
d'Europe, p. 23, Titre XII, Art. 179.

authority, shall accompany each tribe in its annual migrations. These officials shall exercise over it a power of police, order the arrest of all malefactors, and bring them before the ordinary Tribunals. The boundaries of the encampments and pasturages of the nomad Kurds shall be exactly defined. The migrations must not be allowed to cause injury to the inhabitants of the districts traversed or occupied temporarily by the nomad tribes. If these latter commit any encroachment or excess against the property or the persons of the villagers, their migration shall for the future be prohibited.

The existing Regulations with regard to carrying arms shall be strictly applied to all the Kurdish population, sedentary and nomad. Efforts shall be made to impress on the nomad populations the principles of a sedentary life by accustoming them to agricultural labour, and, with this object, land shall be allotted to them in localities where their installation cannot interfere with the tranquillity and welfare of the sedentary populations.

Persons belonging to non-sedentary populations, or who are not finally and permanently established in the territory of a nahié, shall not be qualified to take part in an election or to be elected.

Chapter X.—*Hamidié Cavalry.*

Art. 25. In the event of its being found necessary to make use of the regiments of Hamidié cavalry at times other than the training periods prescribed by the existing Regulations, these troops must only be employed and quartered in conjunction with the troops of the regular army, and must not in number exceed a third of the latter.

At ordinary times, and when not on service, the Hamidié cavalry shall not wear uniforms or carry arms. At those times they shall be amenable to the ordinary Tribunals, as already laid down in the Hamidié Regulations in accordance with the rules in force for the Redifs (Code Militaire Ottoman, Article 14).

Chapter XI.—*Question of Titles to Property.*

Art. 26. Special Commissions, composed of a President and four members, two Mussulmans and



two Christians, shall be charged with the revision of titles and rights to property, and with the redress of cases of injustice and irregularity which may be proved.

A special Commission shall consider the best means of protecting rights to property in the future.

Chapter XII.—*Collection of Taxes.*

Art. 27. All taxes, including the tithe, shall be collected directly under the authority of the Mudir by collectors elected by the Councils of the nahiés.

All the inhabitants of a nahié are conjointly responsible for the payment of the whole of the taxes assessed on it.

Art. 28. The farming of the tithes and the corvée remain abolished.

Each administrative centre, commencing with ahié, shall appropriate from the taxes collected by it the amount necessary for the expenses of its administration, according to a budget fixed and approved by the Government. In the same way, the financial administration of the vilayet shall appropriate from the total of the taxes of the province the amount necessary for the administration of the vilayet, inclusive of expenses for public works and public instruction.

The population shall in no case be liable to furnish gratuitously, either to the military or to officials on duty, lodging or provisions for their maintenance.

In cases of forced sale on account of non-payment of taxes, care shall be taken not to deprive the people of the most necessary articles, or of their implements of labour.

Chapter XIII.—*Justice.*

Art. 29. In each village of the nahié there shall be a Council of Elders, presided over by the Mukhtar, the duties of which shall consist in settling amicably differences between the inhabitants of the village.

Art. 30. In each caza there shall be, proportionately to the number of the nahiés, a sufficient number of Magistrates appointed by the Minister

Aristarchi, Vol. v, pp. 30, 51, 63.

Projet de Loi sur les Vilayets de la Turquie d'Europe, p. 21, Titre X, Arts. 160, 163, 164.

Aristarchi, Vol. v, p. 81.

Aristarchi, Vol. iii, p. 33, Art. 104.

Projet de Loi sur les Vilayets de la Turquie d'Europe, p. 10, Arts. 83, 167, et 168.

Note of the Porte, October 3, 1880.

Note of Abedin Pasha.

Aristarchi, Vol. iii, p. 34, Art. 107.

of Justice on the recommendation of the Vali. One of them must reside at the chief town of the caza. A third of the Magistrates of the caza must be Christians. The Christian Magistrates shall be placed in the centres where the Christian population is the most numerous.

Art. 31. The Magistrate shall deal—

1. In criminal cases, without appeal, with offences punishable by police penalties; and, subject to the right of appeal, with offences entailing a punishment of a fine of not more than 500 piastres, or three months' imprisonment.

2. In civil cases, without appeal, with any personal action, civil or commercial, involving not more than 1,000 piastres; and, subject to the right of appeal, with similar actions involving not more than 5,000 piastres.

Art. 32. The Magistrate shall also sit as a Court of Conciliation. On the demand of the parties interested he may appoint Arbitrators to decide disputes where more than 5,000 piastres are in question. In cases of decision by arbitration there shall be no appeal.

Art. 33. As the Magistrates take the place of Tribunals of cazas, appeals from their decisions in civil matters shall be made to the Tribunal of the sandjak.

Art. 34. Sentences of imprisonment pronounced by Magistrates where there is no appeal shall be served in the prison of the caza. The Mudirs shall lend their assistance to the Magistrates in the execution of their decisions in both civil and criminal matters.

Art. 35. The Tribunals of the cazas being abolished, the Tribunals of the sandjaks shall deal with civil suits exceeding 5,000 piastres, and with appeals from decisions of Magistrates in civil matters. There shall only be a Civil Court, as the Criminal Court will be replaced by the movable Court of Assize. The Tribunals of the sandjak shall be composed of a President, who must be a Judge holding a diploma, appointed by the Minister of Justice, and two members chosen by the Vali from a list drawn up by the Councils of the sandjaks.

Art. 36. The criminal sections of the Tribunals of the sandjak are replaced by movable Courts of Assize. The Courts of Assize shall be composed of a Presiding Judge selected from the members of the High Court of the vilayet. Two members shall be added, selected by the Court of

Aristarchi, Vol. ii, pp. 292, 293, Art. 11.

Projet de Loi sur les Vilayets de la Turquie d'Europe, p. 28, Art. 238.

Aristarchi, Vol. ii, p. 287, Art. 7.

Note of Abedin Pasha.

Appeal from the Magistrates of the sandjak, one a Mussulman and the other a Christian. The Magistrates shall receive a special salary during the circuit of the Court of Assize.

Art. 37. The Court of Assize shall sit in turn in all the cazas, including the chief town of the vilayet, and the chief towns of sandjaks where its presence is deemed necessary. It shall deal, on appeal, with sentences of the Magistrates delivered in cases of offences, and, without right of appeal, with crimes and offences involving a fine of more than 500 piastres, and more than three months' imprisonment.

Appeal from sentences pronounced by the Court of Assize in criminal matters can only be made to the Court of Cassation.

Art. 38. On arrival at the caza the President of the Court of Assize shall call on the Juge d'Instruction for a statement of cases ready to be dealt with immediately by him, and a statement of cases still in course of preparation. If he discovers any irregularities or unreasonable delay with regard to the latter, he shall at once report on the subject to the Ministry of Justice.

On its arrival in the caza, and again before its departure, the Court of Assize shall visit the prisons, ascertain the condition of the prisoners, and verify the entries.

Art. 39. The High Court of the vilayet shall be composed of a President and a number of members sufficient to deal with the civil suits brought before it, and to furnish Presidents for the movable Courts of Assize.

In civil matters it shall act as a Court of Appeal, and in criminal matters as a Court of Assize. It shall be regularly constituted when a quorum of two members and a President are present. It shall comprise, further, a Procureur-Général and a sufficient number of Substitutes.

Art. 40. The decisions of the Magistrates, and the judgments of the Tribunals of every class, shall be drawn up in Turkish. The Turkish text shall be accompanied by a translation in Armenian where required in view of the locality and the parties concerned.

Aristarchi, Vol. v, p. 56, Art. 26.

Inclosure 3 in No. 45.

Joint Instruction to Dragomans.

THE Chief Dragoman of the British Embassy is instructed by Sir Philip Currie to deliver to His Imperial Majesty the Sultan a plan of reforms to be introduced into the eastern provinces of Asia Minor which Her Britannic Majesty's Government has thought it desirable to communicate to the Imperial Government.

This plan consists of a project of administrative, financial, and judicial reforms, conceived in accordance with the existing laws of the Empire, and of a Memorandum, in which are pointed out the measures which are considered indispensable to facilitate the practical working of these reforms, and to secure their exact execution.

These two documents constitute, in the opinion of Her Britannic Majesty's Government, the minimum of the measures and reforms which it is necessary to apply in the provinces that have been disturbed by recent occurrences, with a view to re-establishing order and security, and guaranteeing the Armenian population against a recurrence of the late disorders.

Her Britannic Majesty's Government, being convinced of the value and necessity of the reforms now presented, considers that they should be examined without delay, in order that they may be immediately put into practice. The British Ambassador requests, therefore, that he may receive information at as early a date as possible of the arrangements which His Imperial Majesty the Sultan may decide upon in order to insure the application of the measures and reforms contained in the accompanying Memorandum and project.

Péra, May 11, 1895.

No. 46.

Sir P. Currie to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received May 15.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, May 15, 1895, 8.15 P.M.

THE Sultan to-day sent Munir Bey to inform the three Ambassadors that His Imperial Majesty will shortly send an answer as to the reform proposals, which he is now examining.

No. 47.

Sir P. Currie to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received May 17.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, May 17, 1895, 10 A.M.

I HAVE the honour to state that our plan of reforms was communicated to the Austrian, German, and Italian Ambassadors on the 11th instant.

No. 48.

Sir P. Currie to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received May 20.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, May 11, 1895.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith copy of a Memorandum which I have received from Mr. Block, reporting that, in a conversation which he had had with Saïd Pasha on the subject of the representations made by Her Majesty's Embassy, based on Reports received from Consular officers, with regard to Armenian oppression and misgovernment, his Excellency showed him several letters from the Grand Vizier, in which his Highness, after inquiries which he had made by telegraph from the various local authorities, absolutely denied the truth of the Reports communicated.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PHILIP CURRIE.

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Inclosure in No. 48.

Memorandum by Mr. Block.

THE Foreign Minister has shown me several letters from the Grand Vizier, in which his Highness states he has made inquiries by telegraph from various provincial Governors with respect to the representations made by the Embassy, based on Consular Reports, upon Armenian oppression and misgovernment.

The daughter of the priest Daniel has accepted Mahomedanism in the proper legal form.

The disturbance at Chipod was an affray between two villages caused by a dispute about village pasturage lands. A Major of gendarmerie, the Juge d'Instruction, and an Armenian member of the local Court visited the village, took steps to restore order, and reported that no violence or arbitrary measures were resorted to.

There is no truth whatsoever in the story of the three men and a boy of Aghpih, Sasun district, who had difficulties in presenting Petitions to the Commission, and were exiled.

There is no truth in the report of disturbances between Mataalis and Christians at Sidon and Lattakia, and the authorities are doing all that they should to maintain order.

There is no truth in the statement that the villagers of Keghi are beaten and tortured by the authorities for refusal to pay taxes; the taxes in that district and elsewhere are collected in a legal manner.

The facts furnished by Mr. Barnham are also incorrect with regard to death of prisoners and frivolous charges against Armenians. Some of the Armenian prisoners died from natural causes, some on returning to their villages.

I said to Saïd Pasha that it was most unfortunate that everything we told the Porte for their guidance as a friendly "démarche" was looked upon by the Porte and the authorities as a hostile representation, and was always met with a flat denial, and the only conclusion to be arrived at was that either all Her Majesty's Consular officers were perverters of the truth, or all the authorities of the Porte were so.

No. 49.

Sir E. Malet to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received May 20.)

My Lord,

Berlin, May 18, 1895.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that Baron von Marschall told me yesterday, with reference to the scheme of reform in Armenia, which has been submitted to the Sultan by the Ambassadors of England, France, and Russia, that the Emperor had instructed Prince Radolin, before he quitted Constantinople, to give the Sultan good advice, and to recommend him to change his system of administration in his provinces in Asia Minor; but that the Sultan, instead of accepting this advice in the spirit in which it was tendered, regarded it as the result of an intrigue against him on the part of his own Grand Vizier.

Now, however, His Majesty had applied to the Emperor for his good offices to moderate the action of the three Powers; and Baron von Marschall said that a prompt answer had been sent to the effect that the Sultan had much better give way to their demands, and that Germany could not intervene.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 50.

Sir P. Currie to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received May 20.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, May 20, 1895, 6.30 P.M.

MR. BOYAJIAN reports by telegraph that fifty-five Armenian labourers of Sasun who lately left Diarbekir to return to their home under the protection of friendly Kurds were attacked on their way by Rushkotan Kurds, friends of the Sheikh of Zeilan, who

plundered them and carried them off captive. Four of the friendly Kurds were wounded and nothing is known of the fate of the Armenians.

The Kurds declare that they have permission to exterminate Christians, and Kurdish outrages are frequently reported in the district.

Mr. Boyajian adds that effectual and immediate action is necessary as the situation is grave, and the authorities are incapable of dealing with the existing evils.

The French and English Dragomans had, on the report of the French Vice-Consul at Diarbekir, already made representations at the Porte on the matter.

No. 51.

The Earl of Kimberley to Sir P. Currie.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 21, 1895.

I HAVE received your Excellency's telegram of yesterday, reporting the outrages which are being committed by Kurds upon Christians in the Diarbekir Vilayet.

The state of disorder and fanaticism, uncontrolled by the Turkish authorities, which is indicated by the report from Diarbekir, might, at any moment, culminate in a grave crisis.

It is advisable that you should press the Sultan and the Porte most strongly to take measures at once for keeping in order the Kurds and other excited Mussulmans, and that you should in particular urge that the Sultan should, without waiting to discuss the details of the scheme of Armenian reforms, proceed with the appointment of a competent officer as High Commissioner, who should be furnished with full powers to enable him to adopt any provisional measures that may be necessary to insure peace and security.

Before making this representation, your Excellency should endeavour to obtain the co-operation of your French and Russian colleagues.

I will communicate on the subject with Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Paris and St. Petersburg.

No. 52.

*The Earl of Kimberley to Sir F. Lascelles.**

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 21, 1895.

I HAVE repeated to your Excellency Sir P. Currie's telegram of yesterday, and my telegram to him of to-day, relative to the outrages which are being committed by Kurds upon Christians in the Diarbekir Vilayet.

I request that you will represent to the Government to which you are accredited the grave character of the situation as shown by the report from Diarbekir, and will urge them to instruct their Ambassador at Constantinople to join in the representations which Sir P. Currie has been directed to make. We may find ourselves in face of a serious crisis if proper measures are not speedily adopted for dealing with this state of affairs.

No. 53.

Sir P. Currie to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received May 22.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, May 22, 1895, 3:50 P.M.

I HAVE received your Lordship's telegram of yesterday's date, but before taking any action thereon I thought it best to send Mr. Block to see Saïd Pasha, to inquire whether he had taken any steps in consequence of the joint representations which he and the French Dragoman had made to his Excellency on the 19th instant.

Saïd Pasha informed him that it had been decided that Sirri Pasha, Governor-General of Diarbekir, who had come to Constantinople on leave, without any intention of returning, should be sent back to his post. Sirri Pasha, his Excellency added, was a tried and energetic man, who could be relied on to maintain order.

* Also to the Marquess of Dufferin.

This statement is confirmed by the information in the possession of Her Majesty's Embassy.

I would therefore suggest that I should postpone for the present doing anything further with regard to the dispatch of a High Commissioner, as the Sultan's answer may shortly be expected.

No. 54.

Sir F. Lascelles to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received May 22.)

(Telegraphic.)

St. Petersburg, May 22, 1895.

I HAVE communicated to Prince Lobanoff the substance of Sir P. Currie's telegram and your Lordship's reply according to the instructions contained in your telegram of yesterday.

His Excellency said he had received no news lately from Constantinople, but that the Minister of the Interior had informed him that there was great agitation among the Russian Armenians, who were purchasing arms, and who were in communication with Armenian Committees in London and other places. Their intention was to form a large Central Committee and Local Committees also in various places in Turkish territory, the object being to stir up a general insurrection.

Prince Lobanoff said that this information was causing him much embarrassment, and would probably entail a corresponding amount of activity on the part of the Russian police.

No. 55.

The Earl of Kimberley to Sir P. Currie.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 22, 1895.

IN view of your Excellency's telegram of to-day, reporting the steps about to be taken by the Porte for the maintenance of order in Diarbekir, I concur in your proposal to defer making representations to the Turkish Government with regard to the attitude of the Kurds towards the Christians in that vilayet.

No. 56.

The Marquess of Dufferin to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received May 25.)

My Lord,

Paris, May 23, 1895.

IN accordance with the instructions contained in your Lordship's telegram of the 21st instant, I yesterday communicated to M. Hanotaux the information received from Diarbekir, to the effect that some Armenian labourers of Sasun had been captured by certain Kurds.

At the same time, I also communicated the substance of your Lordship's telegram to Sir P. Currie, and represented to M. Hanotaux the desirability of immediate pressure being brought to bear upon the Porte by the three Powers, with a view to hastening the adoption of whatever measures might be best calculated to put an end to these dreadful occurrences.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND AVA.

No. 57.

Sir P. Currie to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received May 25.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, May 25, 1895, 6.45 P.M.

I HAVE just received a visit from Munir Bey, who came to tell me that the Ministers had drawn up a counter-project of reforms, which was ready for presentation to-day. The Sultan, however, had rejected it, and had given orders that a new reply to our proposals should be drafted, to be communicated to us by the middle of next week.

I repeated to him the warning which I had addressed yesterday to the Grand Vizier and Saïd Pasha, that there could be no question of any concession on the part of Her Majesty's Government in regard to the principle of the reforms or the guarantees proposed, though matters of detail were open to discussion. I had already sent Mr. Block to the Palace to communicate the substance of this warning to the Chief Secretary, for the information of the Sultan.

No. 58.

Sir P. Currie to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received May 25.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, May 25, 1895, 11 P.M.

MR. BLOCK was sent for this evening by Saïd Pasha to the Palace, where a Council of Ministers was sitting.

His Excellency sent me, by the Sultan's orders, the following official message:—

"The reason why the answer to the proposals of the three Powers, which was promised for to-day, has been delayed, is that sufficient time had not been allowed for the Ministers to examine them.

"His Majesty hopes that the British Ambassador will not be uneasy on that account, as he may expect an answer by the middle of the week.

"The project is now being examined by the Ministers, and their Report will be submitted without delay to the Sultan."

No. 59.

Sir F. Lascelles to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received May 27.)

My Lord,

St. Petersburg, May 22, 1895.

I CALLED upon Prince Lobanoff this afternoon to communicate to him Sir Philip Currie's telegram of the 20th instant, and your Lordship's reply of yesterday, on the subject of the state of disorder and fanaticism which existed in Armenia.

As soon as I mentioned Armenia, his Excellency said that he had received information from the Minister of the Interior of the existence of great agitation among the Armenians in Russia, who were purchasing arms, and were in communication with the Armenian Committees in London and elsewhere. They had proclaimed the intention of forming a large central Committee, with smaller local Committees in different districts in Turkey, for the purpose of stirring up a general insurrection in Turkey.

Prince Lobanoff was unable to say where it was proposed to form the large central Committee, whether on Turkish or Russian territory, or elsewhere, but it was evident that the Russian authorities would be compelled to take measures ("des mesures de police") to prevent their subjects from stirring up an insurrection in a neighbouring country. He had communicated this information to the Russian Ambassador at Constantinople, and he said that it caused him considerable embarrassment, not that he wished to attach undue political importance to it, but it was impossible not to take it into consideration, in view of the reports of further outrages being committed in the Armenian provinces.

I have, &c.

(Signed) FRANK C. LASCELLES.

No. 60.

The Earl of Kimberley to Sir P. Currie.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, May 27, 1895.

THE reports contained in your Excellency's telegrams of the 25th instant do not inspire us with any confidence as to the intentions of the Sultan in regard to the scheme of Armenian reforms presented by the Ambassadors.

You should suggest to your Russian and French colleagues that, if no answer is received from the Turkish Government by the 30th instant, a joint communication should be made by you insisting on a categorical reply before the 1st June, and stating that the

main provisions of the scheme of reforms are the minimum of what could be accepted as adequate by the three Governments.

Your Excellency should endeavour also to arrive at some agreement with your two colleagues as to the manner in which pressure should be exercised in the event of the answer not being favourable, for in that case it will be necessary to employ pressure, either joint or separate.

The first point, however, is that a date for the answer should be fixed.

The feeling in this country is becoming more acute every day.

No. 61.

Sir F. Lascelles to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received May 28.)

My Lord,

St. Petersburg, May 24, 1895.

I INFORMED Prince Lobanoff yesterday that your Lordship concurred in Sir P. Currie's suggestion to postpone until the end of the week any further communication to the Porte with regard to the immediate appointment of a High Commissioner to carry out the proposed reforms in Armenia.

Prince Lobanoff, in thanking me for this communication, said that he had heard from the Russian Ambassador at Constantinople that the Sultan did not seem indisposed to consent to the scheme of reforms, and had only so far raised objections to two points, one of which was that the appointment of the Valis should last for five years, and the other some point about the army, which was evidently the consequence of a misunderstanding.

On my referring to the information which he had communicated to me on the previous day with regard to the possibility of a general insurrection among the Armenians, Prince Lobanoff said that he felt considerable anxiety on the subject, as I could easily understand that a general rising of the Armenians would be most distasteful to the Russian Government, and might lead to serious complications.

I have, &c.

(Signed) FRANK C. LASCELLES.

No. 62.

Sir P. Currie to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received May 28.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, May 28, 1895.

I HAVE spoken to my French and Russian colleagues with reference to your Lordship's telegram of yesterday's date.

We have agreed that our Dragomans should go to the Porte to-morrow and state that the three Ambassadors have taken act of the Sultan's promise that they should have his answer by the middle of the week, and that it must be received to-morrow evening, or on Thursday at the latest.

If we do not receive the answer by Thursday, the question of the further joint communication will then be considered.

The French and Russian Ambassadors promised to make urgent representations at the Palace, in the sense of the message, to be delivered to the Porte, and against any modification of the main points of the scheme.

Neither of my colleagues was prepared to express any opinion as to the manner in which it might be possible to apply pressure at the Porte.

No. 63.

Sir P. Currie to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received May 30.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, May 30, 1895, 5.45 P.M.

FOLLOWING is a translation of the statement which Saïd Pasha delivered this afternoon to the three Dragomans:—

"We have not materially had time to examine the reform proposals, and you are therefore requested to ask your Ambassadors officially on the part of the Sultan to agree to our delaying the communication of our answer till after the Baïram fêtes."

No. 64.

Sir P. Currie to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received May 30.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, May 30, 1895, 6:35 P.M.

WITH reference to my previous telegram to your Lordship of to-day, my French colleague and I have agreed to send our Dragomans to Saïd Pasha at once with a message to the following effect:—

“Having communicated the request of the Sublime Porte for delay to my Ambassador I am now instructed to reply that, in view of the Sultan’s promise that his answer should be received by the middle of this week, my Ambassador expects the answer to-day. In the event of no communication being received from the Palace, his Excellency will consult with his colleagues as to what attitude they should adopt.”

I am sending a messenger to M. de Nélidoff, who is already at Buyukdéré, to ask him to make the same communication as soon as possible, and to come up to town for a meeting at the French Embassy to-morrow afternoon.

No. 65.

*The Earl of Kimberley to Sir F. Lascelles.**

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 30, 1895.

THE Russian Ambassador called here to-day, and informed me that he had received instructions from Prince Lobanoff to make the following communication to me:—

Her Majesty’s Ambassador at Constantinople had announced to his Russian colleague that, in the event of delay in the answer of the Porte to the project of reforms for the Armenian provinces of Asiatic Turkey, which had been submitted to the Sultan by the three Powers, the British Government, having regard to the excited state of feeling in this country on the subject of the Armenians, would be compelled to have recourse to measures of constraint.

Prince Lobanoff had in consequence telegraphed to M. de Nélidoff that in no case would the Russian Government associate itself with such measures.

I said that Sir Philip Currie had sounded his colleagues as to the steps which could be taken to put pressure upon the Porte, but that Her Majesty’s Government had not come to any decision as to the course which they should pursue if their demands were not complied with.

I am, &c.

(Signed) KIMBERLEY.

No. 66.

Sir P. Currie to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received May 31.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, May 31, 1895, 7:15 P.M.

WITH reference to my telegram of yesterday, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that this morning our three Dragomans were summoned to the Palace, where they were told by Tahsin Bey, the Sultan’s First Secretary, that Saïd Pasha had a communication to make to them. They thereupon called on his Excellency, who read them a message in Turkish, of which the following is a translation:—

“The Embassies will be unofficially informed before Monday morning, when Bâïram commences, what is to be done upon the Memorandum which the Dragomans communicated unofficially on the part of the three Ambassadors on the 11th instant.”

My French and Russian colleagues and myself met this afternoon to consider this answer. Their opinion was that we should await the receipt of the promised communication, as they considered that this message was in a more binding form than those previously sent, and their information led them to believe that His Imperial

* Substance telegraphed.

Majesty would accept the plan of reforms, subject to possible modifications on four points:—

1. The appointment of Valis for five years.
2. The subdivision of the vilayets.
3. The direct communication of the Dragomans with the proposed Commission.
4. The appointment of a number of Christian functionaries proportionate to the various creeds, instead of a fixed proportion of one-third.

My colleagues were not, under these circumstances, prepared to discuss the question of the pressure to be exercised, which your Lordship instructed me to raise in your telegram of the 27th instant. We are to have another meeting on Monday, when we shall consider the communication promised by the Sultan before that date.

No. 67.

The Earl of Kimberley to Sir P. Currie.

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 31, 1895.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 11th instant, inclosing a Memorandum by Mr. Block relative to the attitude of the Grand Vizier as regards the various cases of oppression and misgovernment on the part of Turkish officials, reported by Her Majesty's Consular officers in Asiatic Turkey, to which your Excellency had called the attention of the Porte.

I approve Mr. Block's remarks on the subject to the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, and I think it would be advisable that your Excellency should take an early opportunity of emphasizing them by informing the Porte that the answers given to the representations addressed to it by Her Majesty's Embassy are regarded with grave dissatisfaction by Her Majesty's Government, who desire to warn the Turkish Government of the serious impression made upon them by this constant disregard of their remonstrances.

I am, &c.

(Signed) KIMBERLEY.

No. 68.

Sir P. Currie to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received June 3.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, June 3, 1895, 2 A.M.

THE Sultan's answer to the reform proposals is contained in a Turkish document which Munir Bey brought at 2 A.M. this morning.

I hear that most of our demands are rejected.

We shall meet to examine it to-morrow.

No. 69.

Sir P. Currie to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received June 3.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, June 3, 1895, 7.45 P.M.

WITH reference to my telegram sent at 2 A.M. this morning, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that the reply of the Sultan to our reform proposals refuses all the proposed guarantees, the High Commissioner, the Commission of Control, the veto on Valis. The points taken from Aristarchi are, with some exceptions, accepted, and the reply states that they will be extended to all the provinces of the Ottoman Empire. The admission of Christians to the Administration is limited to the number proportionate to the total of Christians and Mussulmans in each vilayet; the provisional Councils-General are refused, and also the proposed reforms of the Tribunals, gendarmerie, and police.

The reply does not accept our proposals as to return of emigrants, Judicial Commissions, amnesty, reparation of victims of massacres, inspection of prisons, or provisions for Armenians in other provinces.

Nothing is said as to taxation or finances. I am sending a copy of the reply to your Lordship by to-morrow's post.

I met the Russian and French Ambassadors this afternoon. We intend to decline any discussion with the Turkish Government until we receive instructions, and we decided to send our Dragomans to inform the Sultan that as, in our personal opinion, the answer of His Majesty does not concede the guarantees nor admit the principles of the project of reforms drawn up by the three Powers, it cannot serve as a basis of discussion between the Ambassadors and the Ottoman Government, and that we have consequently referred His Majesty's reply to our respective Governments.

No. 70.

The Earl of Kimberley to Sir P. Currie.

Sir, *Foreign Office, June 3, 1895.*

I HAVE received your telegrams of the 30th ultimo, reporting the Sultan's request for a further delay in the reply to the scheme of Armenian reforms now under His Majesty's consideration, and the answer which, jointly with the French Ambassador, you returned to this communication.

The action taken by your Excellency in this matter has the approval of Her Majesty's Government.

I am, &c.

(Signed) KIMBERLEY.

No. 71.

Sir F. Lascelles to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received June 4.)

(Telegraphic.)

St. Petersburg, June 4, 1895.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's telegram of the 3rd instant.*

In conversation with me this afternoon, Prince Lobanoff, speaking very openly about Armenia, said he had never looked upon the presentation of the scheme of reforms as an ultimatum to the Sultan, or considered that, in the event of the Sultan declining to accept it or making counter-proposals, the Ambassadors would be justified in using threatening language. Russia would certainly not join in any coercive measures, and M. de Nélidoff had therefore been instructed to send home the full text of the Sultan's reply, and to take no further steps until he had received instructions.

His Excellency expresses the hope that your Lordship will consult him with regard to any measures that may become necessary after consideration of the reply of the Sultan; in no circumstances, however, will the Russian Government adopt coercive measures or consent to the creation in Asia Minor of a district in which the Armenians should have exceptional privileges, and which would constitute the nucleus of an independent kingdom of Armenia, such being evidently the object the Armenian Committees have in view.

No. 72.

The Earl of Kimberley to Sir P. Currie.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 4, 1895.

I HAVE received your Excellency's telegram of yesterday, communicating the substance of the Sultan's reply to the scheme of reforms for the Armenian provinces.

Before coming to a decision in the matter, Her Majesty's Government must await the receipt of your despatch inclosing the text of the reply.

* See No. 65.

No. 73.

Sir P. Currie to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received June 5.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, June 5, 1895, 7.30 P.M.

FOLLOWING with reference to my telegram of the 3rd instant:—

In accordance with the Sultan's orders Saïd Pasha has paid me two visits, and on both occasions attempted to induce me to enter into a discussion on the terms of His Imperial Majesty's answer to the reform proposals.

I positively refused to do so in accordance with the course agreed upon with the French and Russian Ambassadors.

Beyond this fact, there was nothing in the conversation of sufficient interest to be worth repeating to your Lordship.

I have communicated what passed to my French and Russian colleagues, who entirely concur in my language.

Saïd Pasha has not seen either of them, the former having been unable to receive his Excellency, and the latter being at his country house at Buyukdéré.

The consequences which may follow upon the refusal of the plan of reforms are evidently causing the Sultan some anxiety, and he may possibly withdraw it and substitute a favourable reply.

However, it is not possible for any one to foretell with any certainty what steps His Imperial Majesty may decide to take.

No. 74.

Sir P. Currie to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received June 8.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, June 4, 1895.

WITH reference to my telegram of the 3rd instant, I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith translation of the reply of the Sultan to the proposed Scheme of Armenian Reforms which was presented to His Imperial Majesty on the 11th ultimo.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PHILIP CURRIE.

Inclosure in No. 74.

Reply of His Majesty the Sultan to the proposed Scheme of Armenian Reforms.

(Traduction.)

LE projet de réformes administratives des vilayets présenté à Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan par leurs Excellences les Ambassadeurs, a fait l'objet d'une étude des plus attentives.

1. Le principal désir et les intentions du Sultan étant de faire accroître et développer d'une manière équitable la prospérité de tout son Empire et de ses sujets, Sa Majesté Impériale a jugé convenable de ne point restreindre l'application de ces réformes administratives à une seule partie de son Empire, mais d'en faire bénéficier tous les vilayets.

2. La plupart des points contenus dans le dit projet étant conformes aux dispositions du Règlement sur les vilayets, contenu dans le premier volume du "Destour," p. 680, et daté du 7 Djemazi-ul-Akhir, 1281, ainsi qu'aux dispositions du Règlement sur l'Administration Générale des Vilayets, daté du 29 Chewal, 1287, contenu dans le même volume du "Destour," p. 625, Sa Majesté Impériale, afin de pouvoir maintenir le principe de centralisation, veut assurer l'application de ces dispositions, sauf de celles qui ont trait au Conseil-Général, et décide que l'on exécute celles des dispositions qui n'ont pas été encore appliquées. Toutefois, comme dans les Règlements existants il n'y a pas de mention concernant le maintien pendant cinq ans des Valis à leurs postes, ni concernant les Conseils permanents à être formés sous la présidence respective des Valis, Mutessarifs, et Caïmacams, les attributions que l'on voudrait confier à ces fonctionnaires sont déjà comprises dans les attributions régulières des Conseils Administratifs. Ces Conseils ne sont pas dès lors matériellement nécessaires.

3. En ce qui touche les Articles concernant la formation de Tribunaux, de la gendarmerie, et de la police, ils ne sont pas conformes aux dispositions des Lois et Règlements en vigueur. Mais des Inspecteurs judiciaires seront nommés. On augmentera

la gendarmerie et la police dans les cazas afin de contrôler d'une façon permanente les Tribunaux et les prisons, d'assurer la prompte expédition des procès et l'ordre dans les nahiés et les villages. Il en sera détaché un nombre suffisant pour les affecter au centre des nahiés. On prendra toutes les mesures voulues pour soumettre à une discipline régulière les tribus nomades et dans chaque localité, où il existe un Tribunal de Première Instance, on y instituera aussi, en cas de besoin, un Tribunal Correctionnel de Première Instance.

4. Il a été décidé de nommer et d'employer dans les postes administratifs, dans la gendarmerie et la police, indépendamment des Musulmans, des sujets Ottomans non-Musulmans habitants de l'Empire, dans la proportion du chiffre total des populations Musulmanes et non-Musulmanes habitant dans chaque vilayet.

Considérations concernant le Mémorandum.

1. Sous le point de vue de la science ethnographique, il est recommandé d'amoindrir le nombre des vilayets Asiatiques, afin que les différentes classes des habitants soient groupées ethnographiquement dans un vilayet. Cependant, en vue de faciliter les procédés du Gouvernement, quant à ce qui regarde le choix des employés, et l'exécution de ses propres devoirs, le mode actuel de la formation des eyalets a été une fois adopté. Or, le changement proposé, loin de faciliter l'administration du pays, la rendra, au contraire, beaucoup plus difficile, et même impraticable du point de vue de la science ethnographique, attendu que dans chaque contrée les habitants sont mélangés.

2. Il est dit dans le Mémorandum que dans le choix et la nomination des Gouverneurs avis soit donné aux Ambassades d'une manière officielle. Cependant, comme il est arrêté que les Gouverneurs-Généraux soient élus parmi ceux qui se sont distingués en capacité, et que ceux qui sont considérés comme incapables de faire l'application des réformes soient changés, les Ambassadeurs admettront naturellement que la communication officielle demandée serait dérogoratoire à l'indépendance du Gouvernement Impérial garantie par les Traités.

3. Une partie des Arméniens qui étaient emprisonnés pour délits politiques, et qui n'ont pas été convaincus de crimes ordinaires par les Tribunaux, ont déjà obtenu le pardon Impérial, et comme il a été déjà décidé, la mise en liberté prochainement de ceux des Arméniens dont le pardon avait été demandé également, satisfaction est donnée sur ce point.

4. On recommande le rappel des Arméniens qui administrativement avaient été expulsés ou qui avaient été éloignés de leur patrie, ainsi que ceux qui par peur ont émigré en pays étrangers et que les immeubles et les terres qui leur appartenaient leur soient restitués. Or, parmi ces individus il y en a qui ne sont pas sujets de la Porte et d'autres qui sont reconnus comme nuisibles : Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan permettra le retour de ceux dont on dit qu'ils avaient été expulsés et éloignés de leurs pays, ou qui avaient déjà émigré en pays étrangers, après que leur identité, leur nationalité, et leur conduite seront examinées, et qui en pareil cas fourniront des garanties de leur future bonne conduite. D'un autre côté, comme les droits de propriété de tout sujet du Gouvernement Impérial sont garantis par la loi, on ne voit pas la raison de la demande de la restitution des immeubles aux individus susmentionnés.

5. Cet Article concerne l'envoi d'une Commission à chaque vilayet, pour interroger les personnes arrêtées et qui sont sous jugement, ainsi que d'accélérer le jugement des crimes et des délits ordinaires.

En effet, il a été toujours le désir de Sa Majesté que les procès et tous les procédés judiciaires soient poursuivis sans relâche, et il est naturellement nécessaire que les mesures à prendre ne dérogent à la procédure établie. Par conséquent, la compétence qu'on veut attribuer aux Commissions en question ne saurait concorder avec la procédure judiciaire en vigueur. En outre, les Inspecteurs, dont un Musulman et un non-Musulman, qui seront nommés pour chaque province avec mission d'accélérer le jugement de tous les procès, rendent naturellement inutile la nomination de pareilles Commissions.

6. Cet Article concerne la nomination de préposés pour l'inspection des prisons. Or, comme ce devoir est compris dans la mission des Inspecteurs susmentionnés, il n'y a plus nécessité d'envoyer à cet effet d'autres fonctionnaires.

7. Cet Article concerne l'envoi d'un Haut Commissaire aux provinces Asiatiques pour surveiller la mise en exécution des réformes : cependant, attendu que la fidèle exécution des réformes appartient au Gouverneur qui en a la responsabilité et qui sera choisi parmi les plus capables, et attendu que la Commission qui a été établi au Ministère de l'Intérieur est investie aussi de la mission de faire de pareilles enquêtes, et d'envoyer

immédiatement un ou plusieurs Inspecteurs partout où la nécessité l'exige, soit pour la formation du vilayet, soit pour quelque question de l'administration en prenant les susdits Inspecteurs dans le Département auquel appartient la question, on ne voit pas la nécessité de l'envoi d'un Haut Commissaire.

8. Cet Article concerne la formation d'une Commission permanente composée de six membres Musulmans et non-Musulmans avec un Président choisi parmi les hauts fonctionnaires civils ou militaires, et qui se réunira au moins une fois par mois à la Sublime Porte. Cette Commission aura les attributions d'inspecter l'exacte et fidèle exécution des Règlements, de dénoncer à qui de droit ceux des employés qui agissent dans l'administration du pays contrairement à la loi, et ceux qui ne remplissent pas leur devoir dans le temps voulu, d'entendre les plaintes des habitants, d'examiner les Rapports qui leur seront présentés de la part des Chefs de communautés, de recevoir les communications des Ambassades qui leur seraient faites en cas de nécessité par le moyen de leurs Drogmans respectifs, d'envoyer un ou plusieurs de ses membres pour faire une enquête dans une province et d'avoir le droit de correspondre avec les Départements de l'État ainsi qu'avec les Gouverneurs-Généraux. Or, le recours des Chefs de communautés en ce qui regarde leurs affaires religieuses est le Ministère des Cultes.

Quant aux affaires ordinaires intérieures, leur transaction entre la Sublime Porte et les Drogmans ne saurait que produire des controverses fréquentes, et il est à craindre qu'elle n'ait pour résultat de créer une question politique et des difficultés désagréables entre la Sublime Porte et les Ambassades. En dehors de ces inconvénients, MM. les Ambassadeurs savent bien que l'indépendance du Gouvernement Impérial a été garantie par les Traités de Paris et de Berlin, et spécialement dans le Traité de Paris il est clairement établi que les Puissances, ni seules ni en commun, n'interviendront dans les affaires de la Turquie, et cette clause a été confirmée et corroborée dans le Traité de Berlin.

Par conséquent, MM. les Ambassadeurs voudront bien admettre que le Gouvernement Impérial ne peut que repousser l'obligation proposée dans le 8^e Article de recevoir des communications par le moyen des Drogmans. En outre, les attributions de la Commission d'Enquête qui sera établie dans le Ministère de l'Intérieur étant de nature à produire le résultat désiré, la nomination d'une autre Commission n'est point nécessaire.

9. Il est suggéré de faire une enquête pour constater les pertes qu'ont subi des Arméniens dans les événements de Sassoun et de Talori afin de leur accorder des indemnités. Sa Majesté Impériale a donné jusqu'à présent pour eux la somme de £ T. 15,000. Cependant, lorsque le Gouverneur du pays rapportera qu'il y a des personnes qui mériteraient la libéralité Impériale elle ne leur manquera pas.

10. Cet Article concerne la condition à savoir que ceux qui veulent changer leur religion soient âgés de 21 ans, et qu'il ne leur soit accordé le changement avant qu'ils ne soient soumis pendant une semaine à la surveillance de la communauté.

La liberté des religions dans l'Empire se trouve sous la sauvegarde de la loi. Et attendu que le changement de religion est une question de conscience et qu'aucune violence n'est exercée de la part de qui que ce soit à cet égard, la procédure suivie jusqu'à présent est confirmée, et les personnes qui veulent accepter la religion de l'Islam devront être majeures suivant la loi et seront placées dans un local de confiance où il sera accordé pendant une semaine aux Chefs de la communauté de les visiter.

11. On demande l'observation complète des Règlements accordés aux Arméniens en 1863 et des clauses de tous les Bérats que leur avaient été octroyés. Les procédés du Gouvernement en ce qui concerne les concessions faites, soit aux Arméniens, soit aux autres communautés non-Musulmanes, sont connus par tout le monde, et le Gouvernement Impérial continuera à observer toujours ces concessions.

12. Cet Article concerne la nomination d'un Chrétien comme Mouavin du Vali pour la sauvegarde des intérêts des Arméniens qui se trouvent dans les autres provinces Asiatiques de l'Empire, ainsi que l'assimilation de l'Administration des districts de Hatchin et de Zeytoun à celle des six eyalets.

On fait observer qu'attendu qu'il y a des membres laïques et spirituels de la communauté Arménienne dans le Conseil Administratif et dans les Tribunaux Nizamés, ce serait contraire au Firman Impérial, qui établit l'égalité des sujets de Sa Majesté le Sultan, que d'accorder un privilège spécial aux Arméniens; ce serait provoquer une hostilité entre les communautés, et en outre, les réformes projetées étant basées sur leur application à tous les vilayets de l'Empire en conformité avec les Règlements sur l'administration des vilayets, il n'y a pas lieu de nommer spécialement des Arméniens et de faire l'application des réformes à un ou deux districts spécialement.

13. Suivant les Règlements et les décisions spéciales concernant les époques de l'instruction militaire des régiments des cavaliers Hamidiés et de l'invitation au service militaire, Sa Majesté confirme de nouveau le Règlement fait par une Commission de

l'Etat-Major, de laquelle Goltz Pacha était membre, d'après lequel ils sont obligés de se soumettre aux ordres qu'ils recevront, soit pour leur instruction, soit pour leur service, à des époques déterminées, ou bien en dehors de ces époques.

14. Les habitants de Mouch et d'Erzeroum et des environs, en vue d'assurer la conservation de leurs troupeaux, ont l'habitude, *ab antiquo*, d'aller pendant la belle saison là où il y a des pâturages et de retourner pendant l'hiver aux districts et aux villages, ceux-ci on ne saurait les appeler nomades, seulement comme il y a des "Achirets" parmi eux qui n'habitent que des tentes, dorénavant le Commandant Militaire de la province fera accompagner "l'Achiret" par un officier ayant à sa suite un nombre suffisant de soldats ; et de son côté le Vali enverra avec eux un Commissaire de Police.

Les localités qu'ils traverseront seront désignées d'avance et on aura tous les soins possibles de préserver les habitants de toute spoliation et de tout dommage qui pourraient être entrepris par ces "Achirets." En outre, on aura soin de leur faire observer le Règlement général en vigueur sur le port d'armes ; d'ailleurs, le Gouvernement Impérial a déjà décidé que ceux des "Achirets" qui sont habitants de tentes fussent fixés, si cela est possible, et dans le cas contraire on désignera leurs localités d'hiver et d'été ainsi que celles de leur passage.

En général il n'est pas vrai de dire que ces "Achirets" sont rien que des nomades.

15. Le Département du Defter-i-Hakani, en vertu d'un Iradé Impérial, enverra à chaque province un Inspecteur permanent ayant pour mission d'examiner les affaires de propriété immobilière, d'en assurer la propriété, d'empêcher le retard de procédures qui causent des dommages aux habitants, de découvrir et de mettre à la lumière les droits qui sont cachés, et d'agir en conformité des Règlements spéciaux.

Le Gouverneur de la province leur attachera des personnes, Musulmanes ou Chrétiennes, parmi les Notables, qui jouissent de la confiance des habitants et qui ont de l'expérience ; et soit le Vali, soit les autres fonctionnaires civils veilleront à ce que l'enquête en question soit faite convenablement et que le but désiré soit atteint.

Note.

Omitted :—

Chapitre VIII. Comité d'Enquête Préliminaire.

Chapitre XII. Perception des Dîmes.

Chapitre XIII. Justice.

Although it is to be presumed that what is taken from "Aristarchi" will be accepted on paper.

(Translation.)

THE scheme of administrative reforms for the vilayets presented to His Imperial Majesty by their Excellencies the Ambassadors has been most carefully considered.

1. The principal wish and the intention of the Sultan being to increase and develop, in an equitable manner, the prosperity of his whole Empire and of his subjects, His Imperial Majesty deems it advisable not to limit the application of these administrative reforms to one portion of his Empire, but to bestow them on all the vilayets.

2. Most of the points contained in the scheme being in conformity with the provisions of the Regulations concerning the vilayets contained in the first volume of the "Destur," p. 680, and dated the 7th Jemazi-ul-Akhir, 1281, and with the provisions of the Regulations concerning the general administration of the vilayets dated the 29th Shewal, 1287, contained in the same volume of the "Destur," p. 625, His Imperial Majesty, in order to uphold the principle of centralization, wishes to insure the execution of those provisions, with the exception of those relating to the General Council, and decides that those of the provisions which have not yet been executed shall be carried out. As, however, there is no mention in the existing Regulations of a five years tenure of office by the Valis, or of permanent Councils to be formed under the presidency of the Valis, Mutessarifs, and Kaimakams respectively, the functions which it is desired to assign to those officials already form part of the regular functions of the Administrative Councils. Hence these Councils are not materially necessary.

3. As regards the Articles concerning the establishment of Tribunals, of the gendarmerie, and the police, they are not in conformity with the provisions of the Laws and

Regulations in force. But Judicial Inspectors will be appointed. The gendarmerie and police in the cazas will be increased, in order to control permanently the Tribunals and the prisons, and to insure the speedy trial of prisoners, and order in the nahies and villages. A sufficient number of gendarmerie and police will be detached and posted in the chief village of each nahie. All the measures desired will be taken to subject the nomadic tribes to regular discipline, and in every place where there is a Tribunal of First Instance there will also be established, if necessary, a Correctional Tribunal of First Instance.

4. It has been decided to appoint and to employ for administrative posts, and in the gendarmerie and police, independently of the Mussulmans, non-Mussulman Ottoman subjects, inhabitants of the Empire, in proportion to the total numbers of Mussulman and non-Mussulman inhabitants of each vilayet.

Observations on the Memorandum.

1. From the point of view of ethnography, it is recommended that the number of Asiatic vilayets should be reduced, in order that the different classes of inhabitants may be grouped ethnographically in a vilayet. Nevertheless, in order to facilitate the action of the Government as regards the choice of employés and the performance of its own duties, the present arrangement of the eyalets was adopted. Now, the change proposed, far from facilitating the administration of the country, will, on the contrary, make it much more difficult, and even impracticable from the point of view of ethnography, seeing that in each district the inhabitants are mixed.

2. The Memorandum states that in the matter of the choice and appointment of Governors notice is to be given to the Embassies unofficially. Nevertheless, as it has been determined that the Governors-General are to be chosen among persons who have distinguished themselves by their ability, and that those who are considered incapable of executing the reforms are to be changed, the Ambassadors will naturally admit that the unofficial communication asked for would be derogatory to the independence of the Imperial Government guaranteed by Treaties.

3. A portion of the Armenians who were imprisoned for political offences, and who have not been convicted of ordinary crimes by the Tribunals, have already obtained the Imperial pardon, and as it has already been decided to set at liberty shortly those Armenians whose pardon had also been asked for, satisfaction is given on this point.

4. It is recommended that Armenians who had been expelled by administrative order, or who had been removed from their native country, and those who have emigrated to foreign countries through fear should be recalled, and that the land and other real property which belonged to them should be restored. Now among these persons there are some who are not subjects of the Porte, and others who are considered mischievous. His Imperial Majesty the Sultan will permit the return of those who are stated to have been expelled from or made to leave their country, or who had already emigrated to foreign countries, after their identity, nationality, and conduct have been inquired into; they will in that case give security for future good behaviour. On the other hand, as the rights of property of every subject of the Imperial Government are secured by law, the reason for requesting the restoration of their real property to the above-mentioned persons is not apparent.

5. This Article has reference to the dispatch of a Commission to each vilayet to examine persons arrested and undergoing trial, and to hasten the trial of ordinary crimes and offences.

It has always been the wish of His Majesty that trials and all judicial proceedings should be conducted without delays, and it is, of course, necessary that the measures to be taken should not interfere with the established procedure. Consequently, the jurisdiction which it is proposed to assign to the Commissions in question cannot be in accordance with the existing judicial procedure. Moreover, the Inspectors, one a Mussulman and one a non-Mussulman, who are to be appointed for each province, and whose duty it will be to expedite the trial of all cases, of course make the appointment of such Commissions unnecessary.

6. This Article relates to the appointment of officials for the inspection of prisons. Now, as this is one of the duties of the Inspectors mentioned above, it is unnecessary to send other officials for the purpose.

7. This Article relates to the dispatch of a High Commissioner to the Asiatic provinces to superintend the execution of the reforms. Nevertheless, as it is the duty of

the Governor, who is responsible for the execution of the reforms, and who will be chosen from among the ablest men, to see that the reforms are carried out faithfully, and as the Commission which has been established at the Ministry of the Interior is also intrusted with holding such inquiries, and with the immediate dispatch of one or more Inspectors wherever they are wanted, either for the formation of a vilayet or for some question of administration, the Inspectors referred to being taken from the Department which has to deal with the question, the necessity for the dispatch of a High Commissioner is not apparent.

8. This Article relates to the appointment of a Permanent Commission, composed of six Mussulman and non-Mussulman members, with a President chosen among the high civil or military functionaries, which shall meet at least once a-month at the Sublime Porte. It would be the duty of this Commission to see that the Regulations are strictly and faithfully carried out, to report to the proper authority any officials whose proceedings in the administration of the country are contrary to law, and any who do not perform their duties within the prescribed time, to hear the complaints of the inhabitants, to examine the Reports addressed to them by the Heads of communities, to receive the communications which the Embassies would make to them in case of necessity through their respective Dragomans, to send one or more of their members to hold an inquiry in a province, and to have the right to correspond with the Government Departments, and with the Governors-General. Now, the authority to which the Heads of communities should apply in religious matters is the Ministry of Public Worship.

As to ordinary internal business, its transaction between the Sublime Porte and the Dragomans could not but give rise to frequent controversies, and it is to be feared that the result would be to raise a political question and unpleasant difficulties between the Sublime Porte and the Embassies. Apart from these disadvantages, the Ambassadors are aware that the independence of the Imperial Government was secured by the Treaties of Paris and Berlin, that, in particular, it is clearly laid down in the Treaty of Paris that the Powers shall not interfere in the affairs of Turkey, either singly or together, and that this provision was confirmed and strengthened in the Treaty of Berlin.

Consequently, the Ambassadors will admit that the Imperial Government cannot do otherwise than reject the obligation, proposed in the 8th Article, to receive communications through the Dragomans. Moreover, the functions of the Commission of Inquiry to be established at the Ministry of the Interior being calculated to produce the result desired, the appointment of another Commission is unnecessary.

9. It is suggested that an inquiry should be held to ascertain the losses suffered by the Armenians in the occurrences at Sasun and Talori, with a view to the payment of indemnities to them. His Imperial Majesty has so far granted them £ T. 15,000. Nevertheless, if the Governor of the district reports that there are persons who deserve the Imperial liberality, it will be extended to them.

10. This Article relates to the condition that persons wishing to change their religion must be 21 years of age, and that permission to change it shall not be granted to them until they have been placed for a week under the supervision of the community.

Religious freedom in the Empire is under the protection of the law. And seeing that change of religion is a question of conscience, and that no violence is exercised by any one in regard to this matter, the procedure hitherto followed is confirmed, and persons who wish to accept the religion of Islam must be of age according to law, and will be lodged in a safe place where for a week the Heads of the community will be allowed to visit them.

11. It is asked that the Regulations granted to the Armenians in 1863 and the provisions of all the Berats issued to them may be fully carried out. The action of the Government as regards the concessions made to the Armenians and to the other non-Mussulman communities is known to everybody, and the Imperial Government will always continue to carry out those concessions.

12. This Article relates to the appointment of a Christian as Moavin of the Vali to protect the interests of the Armenians in the other Asiatic provinces of the Empire, and to the assimilation of the administration of the districts of Hadjin and Zeitun to that of the six eyalets.

Seeing that there are lay and ecclesiastical members of the Armenian community in the Administrative Council and in the Nizamé Tribunals, it would be contrary to the Imperial Firman establishing the equality of the subjects of His Majesty the Sultan to grant a special privilege to the Armenians; it would provoke hostility between the communities, and moreover, as the proposed reforms are based on the principle of their application to all the vilayets of the Empire in accordance with the Regulations con-

cerning the administration of the vilayets, there is no reason to make special mention of Armenians, or to apply the reforms specially to one or two districts.

13. In accordance with the Regulations and special decisions concerning the periods of training of the Hamidié cavalry regiments, and the call to military service, His Majesty again confirms the Regulations drawn up by a Commission of the General Staff, of which Goltz Pasha was a member, under which they are bound to obey the orders they receive in regard to their training or their service, at stated periods or outside those periods.

14. The inhabitants of Mush and Erzeroum and the surrounding country, in order to maintain their flocks, have from ancient times been in the habit of going during the fine season to places where there are pastures, returning in winter to their districts and villages; these cannot be called nomads, but as there are among them "Ashirets," who always live in tents, the Military Commander of the province will see that for the future the "Ashiret" is accompanied by an officer with a sufficient number of soldiers, and the Vali will send a Police Commissary with them.

It will be arranged beforehand what places they are to pass through, and all possible care will be taken to guard the inhabitants against plunder or damage from these "Ashirets." Care will also be taken that the general Regulations concerning the carrying of arms are observed by them. The Imperial Government has already decided that those of the "Ashirets" who live in tents shall, if possible, be induced to adopt fixed places of residence; if not, they will be directed as to where they shall pass the winter and the summer, and as to the route of their migrations.

Generally speaking, it is incorrect to say that these "Ashirets" are nothing but nomads.

15. The Department of the Defter-i-Hakani will, in virtue of an Imperial Iradé, send to each province a permanent Inspector, who will be charged with examining matters relating to real property, protecting the rights of proprietors, preventing the delay of proceedings by which the inhabitants are injuriously affected, discovering and bringing to light dormant rights, and acting in accordance with the special Regulations.

The Governor of the province will associate with them Mussulman or Christian Notables who enjoy the confidence of the inhabitants and who are persons of experience; and the Vali or other civil authorities will see that the inquiry in question is properly conducted, and that the desired object is attained.

No. 75.

The Earl of Kimberley to Sir P. Currie.

Foreign Office, June 8, 1895.

Sir,

THE Turkish Ambassador called here to-day, and said he was instructed to state that the Sultan was most anxious that there should be no interruption of the friendly relations which had so long existed between the Ottoman Empire and this country, to the maintenance of which His Majesty attached the highest importance.

The answer which had been returned by the Porte to the project of reforms for the Armenian provinces of Asiatic Turkey had been prepared in great haste in consequence of the pressure for a reply by a certain day. It was, like the communication made to the Porte by the Ambassadors of Great Britain, France, and Russia, an unsigned document, and should not be taken as the final and complete reply. The whole matter was receiving the most earnest consideration by the Sultan and his Ministers, and in these circumstances his Excellency was desired to express the hope that the instructions to Sir P. Currie would be such as to give time for the full consideration of questions so vitally affecting the interests of Turkey.

I expressed my thanks for the friendly assurances of the Sultan. I could not, however, enter into any discussion on the subject of the answer of the Porte to the project of reforms, the full text of which had only just reached me, until I had been able to consult with my colleagues upon it.

I am, &c.

(Signed) KIMBERLEY.

despatch of yesterday he had alluded in creation. According to this Report, the Armenians in Russia were in a very excited state, were in communication with the Armenian Committee in London, and were attempting to send arms and money to the Armenians in Turkish territory.

Sir F. Lascelles to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received June 10.)

My Lord,

St. Petersburg, June 4, 1895.

DURING a conversation which I had with Prince Lobanoff this afternoon I mentioned to his Excellency that your Lordship had informed me by telegraph that you had told M. de Staal, in reply to his communication that the Russian Government would in no case associate themselves with measures of constraint against Turkey with regard to the question of Armenian reforms, that Her Majesty's Government had not taken any decision as to the course to be pursued in the event of the Sultan refusing to comply with our demands.

Prince Lobanoff said that he would speak to me frankly on the subject. He said that although the three Ambassadors at Constantinople had elaborated and presented to the Sultan a scheme of reforms for Armenia, this by no means gave them the right of resorting to coercive measures, or indeed to threatening language, if the Sultan declined to accept it, or put forward counter-proposals. He had never concealed from me his opinion that the proposed scheme was open to objection, and he certainly never considered it in the light of an ultimatum to the Sultan which was to be followed by coercive measures if His Majesty refused to accept it. On learning, therefore, from the Russian Ambassador at Constantinople that Sir Philip Currie had consulted him as to the measures which might become necessary, his Excellency had instructed M. de Nélidoff to forward to St. Petersburg the full text of the Sultan's reply, and to take no steps until he should have received further instructions.

His Excellency hoped that a full consideration of the Sultan's reply might enable the three Governments, who were in a better position than their Ambassadors at Constantinople to consider the question calmly, to come to an understanding on the subject, and he trusted that your Lordship would consult him as to the course which should be pursued, but he feared that Her Majesty's Government, urged on by public opinion, or rather the so-called public opinion, which he believed had been the work of the Armenian Committees, would be inclined to adopt a course with which Russia could not associate herself. The fact was that the Armenian Committees in London and elsewhere aimed at the creation in Asia Minor of a district in which the Armenians should enjoy exceptional privileges, and which would form the nucleus ("noyau") of a future independent Armenian kingdom, and to this Russia would not and could not agree.

Prince Lobanoff added that he had already mentioned to me the agitation which existed among the Armenians in Russian territory, and he had now received a further report from the Minister of the Interior on the subject, which, however, he had not yet had time to read, as he had only just returned from his weekly audience of the Emperor at Tsarskoe Selo.

I thanked Prince Lobanoff for the very frank manner in which he had spoken to me on this subject, as a clear statement of the views of each Government was the only way of arriving at a satisfactory understanding, and I promised his Excellency to report at once to your Lordship the substance of the language he had used to me, which I attempted to embody in my telegram of this day's date.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

FRANK C. LASCELLES.

No. 77.

Sir F. Lascelles to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received June 10.)

My Lord,

St. Petersburg, June 5, 1895.

IN my interview with Prince Lobanoff this afternoon, I communicated to his Excellency the substance of Sir P. Currie's telegram of the 3rd instant, which your Lordship did me the honour to repeat to me in your telegram of yesterday.

Prince Lobanoff had received a telegram in the same sense, although not quite in such full detail, from M. de Nélidoff. He would now await the text of the Sultan's reply, but he was not astonished that His Majesty should have refused to accept the scheme of reforms elaborated by the Ambassadors, which he himself considered open to objection.

His Excellency went on to say that since seeing me yesterday he had read the Report from the Minister of the Interior, to which, as I had the honour to report in my

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despatch of yesterday, he had alluded in our conversation. According to this Report, the Armenians in Russia were in a very excited state, were in communication with the Armenian Committees in London, who, he regretted to see, had so much influence, and were attempting to send arms and money to the Armenians in Turkish territory.

It was impossible for Russia to allow her territory to be made use of for the purpose of stirring up an insurrection in a neighbouring State, and the local authorities had been instructed to take every precaution to prevent either arms or money being smuggled across the frontier.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

FRANK C. LASCELLES.

No. 78.

Sir P. Currie to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received June 10.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, June 10, 1895, 10.30 A.M.

PRINCE LOBANOFF'S impression as to the language I held to the Russian Ambassador here was incorrect, and M. de Nélidoff admits it to be so.

I said that I thought it likely that Her Majesty's Government would, if left to deal alone with the question of reforms, take active steps rather than commit themselves to a proposal for a Conference which all the Powers might not accept. This, however, I stated was only my personal opinion, and I had had no communication from my Government as to the mode in which pressure might be applied to Turkey in the event of our scheme of reforms being refused.

No. 79.

Sir P. Currie to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received June 10.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, June 10, 1895, 8.30 P.M.

THIS afternoon I had a long and interesting conversation about Armenian reforms with Saïd Pasha, the new Grand Vizier.

His Highness opened the conversation by asking that I should obtain some delay from Her Majesty's Government in communicating their decision on the answer returned by the Sultan to our scheme of reforms.

I replied that it was essential that the principles of the plan of reforms and the guarantees for their execution should be accepted, and that unless I could give Her Majesty's Government an assurance that the delay would lead to a modification of the answer in a sense that would be satisfactory to them, there would be no use in my attempting to comply with Saïd Pasha's request.

His Highness said that while agreeing that reforms were necessary, and while recognizing that the situation was extremely grave, yet time would be required for him to obtain the acceptance of the measures that would have to be adopted, of which he instanced as the points of most difficulty the admission of the Dragomans to the Commission of Control, and the veto by the Ambassadors on the appointments of the Valis. I replied that without the guarantees proposed by us, which were indispensable for the proper execution of the reforms, and without the support of the Powers, it would be impossible for him to carry out the scheme. In England the guarantees as they stood were held to be insufficient, and any proposals for their reduction would have no chance of obtaining the consent of Her Majesty's Government.

I finally assured him of the disinterestedness of our action, and of our sincere desire to promote the welfare of the Turkish Empire by introducing into the Administration reforms which were indispensable. His Highness listened to me with apparent satisfaction, and gave me to understand that he would do his best to obtain a solution that would be satisfactory. I consider that the attitude of the Grand Vizier justifies me in asking your Lordship that the consideration of the Sultan's reply should be postponed until the further communication which His Highness promises for Saturday has been telegraphed to Her Majesty's Government.

No. 80.

The Earl of Kimberley to Sir P. Currie.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 11, 1895.

AFTER consideration of your telegram of the 10th instant, the Cabinet have decided to await the further communication promised by the Grand Vizier for Saturday next, the 15th instant.

No. 81.

*The Earl of Kimberley to the Marquess of Dufferin.**

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 11, 1895.

THE question of the guarantees demanded in the scheme for Armenian reforms has formed the subject of a long conversation between the new Grand Vizier and Sir. P. Currie, and the former finally let it be understood that he would use his best endeavours to bring about a satisfactory solution.

A further communication is promised by the Grand Vizier on Saturday next, the 15th instant, and Sir P. Currie recommends that consideration of the Sultan's reply should be deferred pending receipt of that communication.

The Cabinet have agreed to this delay.

In informing the Minister for Foreign Affairs, you may avail yourself of the opportunity to inquire what view his Excellency takes of the Sultan's answer, which appears to Her Majesty's Government to amount practically to a rejection of the demands of the three Powers.

No. 82.

The Earl of Kimberley to Sir F. Lascelles.

Sir,

Foreign Office, June 12, 1895.

I TRANSMIT herewith a copy of a telegram from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople,† pointing out that he had made no such statement to his Russian colleague as that attributed to him by Prince Lobanoff on the question of applying pressure to Turkey if the Porte's answer to the proposal of reform were delayed.

Your Excellency should take an opportunity to explain the matter to Prince Lobanoff, and acquaint his Highness with the true version of the language used by Sir P. Currie to M de Nélidoff.

I am, &c.

(Signed) **KIMBERLEY.**

No. 83.

Sir F. Lascelles to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received June 13.)

(Telegraphic.)

St. Petersburg, June 13, 1895.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's telegram of the 11th instant.

Prince Lobanoff has sent the Sultan's reply to the Emperor, and cannot yet return a definite answer as to the view taken of it by the Russian Government. It is his Excellency's intention to compare carefully the Ambassador's scheme with the Sultan's reply, but, to make clear to me his point of view in considering the question, he spoke to me in the same sense as in the conversation I reported to your Lordship in my despatch of the 4th instant. Russia would, his Excellency said, gladly see reforms applied to all the subjects of the Sultan, but she could not consent to the creation of a territory in proximity to her frontier where the Armenians should possess exceptional privileges—to the creation, in fact, in Asia Minor of another Bulgaria.

* Also to Sir F. Lascelles.

† No. 78.

No. 84.

The Marquess of Dufferin to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received June 14.)

My Lord,

Paris, June 13, 1895.

IN accordance with instructions contained in your Lordship's telegram of the 11th instant, I yesterday informed M. Hanotaux that Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople recommended that the consideration of the reply of the Sultan should be postponed until the further communication promised by the Grand Vizier on Saturday next had been received; and I inquired of his Excellency what view he took of the Sultan's attitude.

His Excellency replied that his instructions to his Ambassador were to act in regard to the Armenian question in close harmony with Sir Philip Currie, and he had told M. Cambon that, provided the delay suggested was demanded on reasonable grounds, and was not a mere excuse for indefinite postponement, the matter might be allowed to stand over for a few days, but he agreed with your Lordship in regarding the Sultan's recent reply as most unsatisfactory.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND AVA.

No. 85.

The Earl of Kimberley to Sir F. Lascelles.

Sir,

Foreign Office, June 15, 1895.

THE Russian Ambassador called here this afternoon for the purpose of informing me that Prince Lobanoff had heard from Constantinople that the new Grand Vizier had requested a further delay before making his promised communication respecting the project of reforms for the Armenian provinces of Asiatic Turkey. Prince Lobanoff thought that it would be reasonable to agree to a further delay, but he wished to know whether Her Majesty's Government had received a similar communication, and what answer they had returned to it.

I said that Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople had received a private message from the Grand Vizier to the same effect, and had replied that he could not be the intermediary for a further demand for delay.

I had not thought it necessary to take any action with regard to this message, but, of course, if a formal application were received for more time, Her Majesty's Government would consider what answer should be given to it.

My own opinion was that the Grand Vizier would be more likely to induce the Sultan to take a favourable view of the proposals of the three Powers if these applications for delay were not too readily listened to.

I am, &c.

(Signed) KIMBERLEY.

No. 86.

Sir P. Currie to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received June 17.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, June 17, 1895, 2:30 p.m.

I HAVE just received a *note verbale* from the Sublime Porte, containing a further answer to the scheme of reforms. We have never made any such declaration as that attributed to the three Ambassadors in the first sentence. My two colleagues and I meet this afternoon to discuss this reply, and I shall then telegraph again.

(For copy of the *note verbale*, vide Sir P. Currie's despatch of the 19th June.)*

* See No. 95.

No. 87.

Sir P. Currie to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received June 18.)

(Telegraphic.) Constantinople, June 18, 1895, 1-10 A.M.

THIS afternoon, in a long and stormy interview with the Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Dragomans of the three Embassies unsuccessfully pressed for an intelligible statement as to which Articles of our reform proposals the answer received from the Porte yesterday accepts, and which Articles it reserves for discussion.

The Minister who said the Articles were still being studied was unable to give a distinct reply as to any one point. At last, Mr. Block insisted that an immediate answer to our inquiry should be obtained by Turkhan Pasha from the Grand Vizier.

Eventually Mr. Block had an interview alone with his Highness, and pressed upon him the various points. Said Pasha repeated his intention of doing his utmost to satisfy us, and promised that he would give an early reply.

No. 88.

The Earl of Kimberley to Sir P. Currie.

(Telegraphic.) Foreign Office, June 19, 1895.

HER Majesty's Government entirely approve the third portion of the message to the Porte, reported in your Excellency's telegram of the 17th instant,* in which the Ambassadors request explanations as to the portions of the scheme of reform which are stated to be accepted in principle, and those which require further discussion.

They do not, however, quite understand the two preceding statements, laying stress on the unofficial character of the Ambassador's communications, and stating that they were not based on the Treaty of Berlin. If it is meant that the previous communications with the Porte have been in a less formal shape than the Turkish *note verbale*, there can be no objection to the statement. But the communication of the scheme of reforms which was made with the approval of the three Governments after the scheme had been submitted to them cannot, in our opinion, be looked upon as unofficial.

Moreover, Her Majesty's Government would certainly not disguise the fact, that they base their claim to make representations of this nature to the Porte on the LXIst Article of the Treaty of Berlin.

Although the Porte seems inclined to argue that the rights of the Powers under this Article are limited by the stipulations of Articles VII and IX of the Treaty of Paris as to the independence of Turkey and her freedom from foreign interference, it is clear that the LXIIIrd Article of the Treaty of Berlin only confirms those stipulations in so far as they are not modified by the LXIst Article of this latter Treaty.

No. 89.

The Earl of Kimberley to the Marquess of Dufferin.†

(Telegraphic.) Foreign Office, June 19, 1895.

SIR P. CURRIE'S telegrams, reporting the latest communications between the three Ambassadors and the Turkish Government on the subject of the scheme of Armenian reforms, have been repeated to your Excellency.

I request you to communicate their substance to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and to state to his Excellency that Her Majesty's Government propose that instructions should be sent to the three Ambassadors at Constantinople to call upon the Turkish Government for a reply within forty-eight hours, explaining clearly their intentions with regard to the scheme, in order that the Governments may be in a position to decide what course they shall pursue.

* See No. 96.

† Also to Sir F. Lascelles.

No. 90.

Sir P. Currie to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received June 20.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, June 20, 1895, 12.45 A.M.

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram of the 19th instant, my colleagues, who were limited by their instructions to making unofficial friendly recommendations, insisted on the two observations made to the Turkish Government by our Dragomans as to the official form of the Porte's note, and as to the Treaty of Berlin.

In order that unity of action should be preserved, I agreed to join in the observations provided that they were limited to mere statements of facts, but I stated at the same time that I was not bound by any such restriction.

In appealing to the LXIst Article, the Porte's object is to show that with it alone rests the right to initiate reforms, and to contest our right to demand guarantees, and insist on a complete scheme.

In conversation this view has been repeatedly advanced.

No. 91.

Sir F. Lascelles to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received June 21.)

(Telegraphic.)

St. Petersburg, June 21, 1895.

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram of the 19th instant, Prince Lobanoff is unable, before taking the orders of the Emperor, to reply officially to your Lordship's proposal that a reply should be demanded from the Porte within forty-eight hours; but he does not personally see the use of thus pressing the Porte, and strongly objects to doing so.

His Excellency considers that, in view of the fact that the Grand Vizier has only lately come into office, and that he seems to favour the reforms, more time should be allowed him, especially as, from his past history, he offers better guarantees than any of his predecessors of being able to carry them out satisfactorily.

No. 92.

*The Earl of Kimberley to Sir F. Lascelles.**

Sir,

Foreign Office, June 22, 1895.

THE Russian Ambassadors called at this Office to-day, and made the communication, for which your telegram of the 21st instant had prepared me, with regard to the proposal to demand an explicit reply from the the Porte within forty-eight hours on the project of Armenian reforms.

M. de Staal said that the Emperor was unable to agree to this proposal, as His Majesty did not think there was sufficient ground for making a communication of such gravity, especially in view of the consequences which might result if the reply of the Turkish Government should prove unfavourable.

I am, &c.

(Signed) KIMBERLEY.

No. 93.

Sir P. Currie to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received June 23.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, June 23, 1895, 12.10 P.M.

NO explanation has as yet been received of the Turkish note of the 17th respecting the reform scheme.

I fear that unless greater pressure than the Powers are prepared to use is applied to the Turks, all hope of obtaining anything more than merely nominal reforms must be resigned.

* Substance telegraphed

As I have been waiting for your Lordship's instructions respecting the language I should hold, I have refrained from making any communication to the Porte since that reported in my telegram of the 18th instant.

No. 94.

Sir F. Lascelles to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received June 24.)*

My Lord,

St. Petersburg, June 14, 1895.

ON the 12th instant I communicated to Prince Lobanoff the substance of your Lordship's telegram of the previous day on the subject of Sir Philip Currie's conversation with the new Grand Vizier with regard to the guarantees in the proposed scheme of Armenian reforms.

Prince Lobanoff said that he had heard nothing of the further communication promised by the Grand Vizier, but was not sorry that Her Majesty's Government proposed to await the text of His Majesty's reply before replying to the Sultan's proposal.

His Excellency had not yet had time to study this document, which was now with the Emperor, but he was having a careful comparison made of the proposals contained in the scheme elaborated by the Ambassadors and those supported by the Sultan. He could not therefore, as yet, give me a reply as to the views of the Russian Government on the subject.

Prince Lobanoff then repeated to me at some length the language which he had held to me on the 4th instant, and which I had the honour to report in my despatch of that day's date. He said that Russia would only be too happy to see an improvement of the Turkish Administration, and greater security for the lives and property of the Christian subjects of the Sultan, but she would object to the creation in Asia of a territory where the Armenians should enjoy exceptional privileges. According to the scheme of the Ambassadors, this territory would be of very large extent, embracing nearly the half of Asia Minor. The Armenians in Russia, as he had before told me, were in an excited state, and the authorities had been obliged to take severe measures to prevent them from sending arms and money across the frontier.

He could understand that Her Majesty's Government, on account of the distance between England, or, indeed, any English possessions, and the territory in question, should view the matter with some indifference, but Russia could not consent to the formation of a new Bulgaria on her frontier.

I observed that I had fully reported to your Lordship the language which his Excellency had more than once held to me upon this subject, and that your Lordship was, therefore, in possession of his views.

Prince Lobanoff replied that he did not doubt that I had accurately reported his language, and his object in repeating it to me now was that I might understand the point of view from which he would consider the Sultan's reply.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

FRANK C. LASCELLES.

No. 95.

Sir P. Currie to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received June 24.)

My Lord,

Therapia, June 19, 1895.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of a *note verbale* which I have received from the Sublime Porte, and which contains a further answer to the scheme of reforms for the eastern provinces of Asia Minor presented by the Ambassadors of Russia, France, and Great Britain to His Imperial Majesty the Sultan. A similar *note verbale* has been received by M. de Nélidoff and M. Cambon. The substance of this answer has been already telegraphed to your Lordship.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

PHILIP CURRIE,

* Substance telegraphed.

Inclosure in No. 95.

Note Verbale.

IL ressort des déclarations faites précédemment et en dernier lieu par leurs Excellences MM. les Ambassadeurs d'Angleterre, de France, et de Russie, que ces trois Puissances se basant uniquement sur l'Article LXI du Traité de Berlin, ont fait connaître leur manière de voir au sujet des réformes; qu'en dehors de l'exécution des engagements contenus dans le dit Article, elles ne demandent pas du Gouvernement Impérial un nouveau droit de surveillance, et qu'il n'entre dans leur pensée de formuler aucune proposition qui ne serait pas conforme aux lois et règlements établis.

Le Gouvernement Impérial prend acte de ces déclarations et des assurances données par MM. les Ambassadeurs comme quoi leurs Gouvernements n'ont jamais songé à porter, par les réformes en question, la moindre atteinte aux droits souverains de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan, et en exprime ses remerciements aux Puissances.

Les dispositions et Articles du Mémoire et du projet présentés par les trois Ambassadeurs à la date du 11 Mai, 1895, et qui ne seraient pas contraires aux lois et règlements de l'Empire sont, ainsi que cela a déjà été arrêté et confirmé, acceptés en principe. Sont exceptés toutefois certains points et détails du Mémoire et du projet qui exigent examen et discussion. Seulement, si les Puissances précitées ont quelque observation justifiée à faire dans les limites de la faculté découlant de l'Article LXI du Traité de Berlin, au sujet de l'exécution des réformes et si, de même qu'elles s'adressent de tous temps au Ministre des Affaires Étrangères par l'entremise de leurs Drogmans, elles font leurs communications au dit Département suivant l'usage établi et en vigueur dans l'Empire, leurs Excellences les Ambassadeurs peuvent être assurés que les cas dont ils auront ainsi donné avis ou communication seront référés par le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères à qui de droit et poursuivis sans aucune négligence. Un fonctionnaire digne de considération à tous égards sera nommé et envoyé sur les lieux par le Gouvernement Impérial avec mission exclusive et spéciale d'inspecter et surveiller avec le plus grand soin l'exécution des réformes. Lors de l'application de ce projet de réformes les raisons plausibles motivant les modifications qui pourraient être nécessitées par les besoins locaux seront communiquées aux Puissances. Le Gouvernement Impérial déclare à leurs Excellences les Ambassadeurs qu'en vue de sauvegarder les droits souverains de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan et ceux de son Empire, il est prêt à procéder à l'exécution immédiate des réformes conformément à l'Article LXI du Traité de Berlin et en se basant sur l'Article LXIII de cet Acte.

En vue de maintenir d'une façon équitable le principe d'égalité et de justice, le Gouvernement Impérial, lorsqu'il aura à procéder à l'organisation, agira en tenant compte de la proportion du nombre de ses sujets.

Il est bien entendu que le Gouvernement Impérial ne donne aux Puissances d'autre attribution que la faculté qui leur est conférée par le Traité de Berlin.

Sublime Porte, le 17 Juin, 1895.

(Translation.)

IT appears from former and recent declarations of their Excellencies the Ambassadors of England, France, and Russia, that these three Powers, relying solely on Article LXI of the Treaty of Berlin, have made known their views on the subject of the reforms; that, apart from the performance of the engagements contained in the aforesaid Article, they do not ask from the Imperial Government any new right of supervision, and that they have no intention of making any proposal which would not be in conformity with the established Laws and Regulations.

The Imperial Government take note of these declarations and of the assurances given by the Ambassadors to the effect that their Governments, in proposing the reforms in question, never intended to encroach in the slightest degree on the sovereign rights of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, and they express their thanks to the Powers for these assurances.

The provisions and Articles of the Memorandum and scheme presented by the three Ambassadors on the 11th May, 1895, which are not contrary to the Laws and Regulations of the Empire, are, as already decided and confirmed, accepted in principle. Certain points and details of the Memorandum and scheme which require examination and discussion are, however, excepted. Nevertheless, if the above-mentioned Powers have any well-founded observations to make, within the limits of the power derived from

Article LXI of the Treaty of Berlin, regarding the execution of the reforms, and if, just as they communicate at all times with the Ministry for Foreign Affairs through the medium of their Dragomans, they will address their communications to the said Department in the manner established by custom in the Empire, their Excellencies the Ambassadors may rest assured that the cases to which they have thus called attention will be referred by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs to the proper authorities, and will be attended to without delay. An official worthy of consideration in every respect will be appointed and sent to the spot by the Imperial Government, charged exclusively and specially with the mission of inspecting and superintending with the greatest care the execution of the reforms. While this scheme of reforms is being carried out, valid reasons for introducing modifications which may be rendered necessary by local requirements will be communicated to the Powers. The Imperial Government declare to their Excellencies the Ambassadors that, with a view to protect the sovereign rights of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan and those of his Empire, they are ready to proceed to the immediate execution of the reforms, in accordance with Article LXI of the Treaty of Berlin, and on the basis of Article LXIII of that Treaty.

In order to uphold in an equitable manner the principle of equality and justice, the Imperial Government, when they proceed to organize, will take into consideration the relative numbers of their different subjects.

It must be clearly understood that the Imperial Government does not confer on the Powers any prerogative beyond the power granted to them by the Treaty of Berlin.

Sublime Porte, June 17, 1895.

No. 96.

Sir P. Currie to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received June 24.)*

My Lord,

Therapia, June 20, 1895.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith a copy of the instructions given to the Dragomans by the three Ambassadors respecting the representations to be made to the Sublime Porte with reference to the further reply given by the Turkish Government to the scheme of reforms.

I have, &c.
(Signed) PHILIP CURRIE.

Inclosure in No. 96.

Instructions.

L'AMBASSADEUR m'a chargé de vous dire qu'il transmettrait à son Gouvernement votre note de ce jour, et qu'il attendrait des instructions pour y répondre.

Dès à présent voici les observations que cette note lui suggère :—

1. Jusqu'à présent les communications entre Sa Majesté Impériale et les Ambassadeurs relatives à la question visée par la note étaient officieuses. En adressant une note verbale aux Ambassadeurs la Porte semble vouloir donner à la question un caractère plus officiel.

2. Les Ambassadeurs n'ont pas basé leur projet sur le Traité de Berlin, ils n'ont fait aucune déclaration à ce sujet et c'est la Porte elle-même qui vise le Traité dans sa note.

3. La note parle d'Articles du projet des Ambassadeurs qui seraient acceptés en principe et de points et détails pouvant donner lieu à discussion.

Pour éclairer son Gouvernement sur les intentions de la Porte, l'Ambassadeur demande quels sont les Articles acceptés en principe, et quels sont les points et détails pouvant donner lieu à discussion.

La réponse à ces questions implique la solution des autres points visés par la note.

(Translation.)

THE Ambassador has directed me to inform you that he will transmit to his Government your note of to-day, and will await instructions in order to reply to it.

* Substance received by telegraph.

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In the meantime, your note suggests to him the following observations:—

1. Hitherto the communications between His Imperial Majesty and the Ambassadors in regard to the question dealt with in the note have been unofficial. In addressing a *note verbale* to the Ambassadors, the Porte appears desirous to give the question a more official character.

2. The Ambassadors did not found their scheme on the Treaty of Berlin; they did not make any statement on the subject, and it is the Porte itself which refers to the Treaty in its note.

3. The note speaks of Articles of the Ambassador's scheme as accepted in principle, and of points and details which may give rise to discussion.

In order to make clear to his Government what the intentions of the Porte are, the Ambassador inquires which are the Articles accepted in principle, and which are the points and details which may give rise to discussion.

A reply to these questions will elucidate the other points referred to in the note.

No. 97.

Sir P. Currie to the Earl of Kimberley. — (Received June 24.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, June 24, 1895, 7:30 P.M.

TO-DAY I have learnt from the Russian and French Ambassadors that their Governments have instructed them to press for an early answer from the Porte in order that they may be in a position to consider the situation.

Communications respecting the reforms have been passing between the Palace and the Porte and the two Embassies, and there are grounds for hoping that in the next twenty-four hours a communication of a more satisfactory nature may be made to us.

No. 98.

The Earl of Kimberley to Sir P. Currie.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, June 24, 1895.

I HAVE received your Excellency's telegram of yesterday, pointing out the necessity of exerting further pressure with a view to obtaining an explanation from the Turkish Government in regard to the scheme of Armenian reforms.

The Ministry having tendered their resignation, which has been accepted by Her Majesty, I must leave it to my successor to decide what course is to be followed on this question.

No. 99.

Sir P. Currie to the Earl of Kimberley. — (Received June 26.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, June 26, 1895, 3:50 P.M.

WITH reference to my telegram of the 24th instant, Turkhan Pasha this morning summoned the three Dragomans to the Porte, and informed them that he expected to receive during the afternoon an Iradé from the Sultan, appointing an Inspector of Reforms—not a High Commissioner. He did not know who it would be, and his name would not be submitted to the approval of the Powers.

His Excellency also delivered to them the following message:—

“A Commission is to meet at once to examine and discuss which are the Articles of the Memorandum and project of the Ambassadors that are accepted in principle, and which are the points and details reserved for discussion. The Commission will consist of the Ministers of the Interior, of Justice, Public Instruction, and Foreign Affairs, and the Under-Secretary of the Grand Vizier.”

We can hardly expect any satisfactory results from a Commission so composed.

No. 100.

Mr. Howard to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received June 26.)

(Telegraphic.)

Paris, June 26, 1895.

DURING the interview which I had with M. Hanotaux to-day he said, with regard to Armenian reforms, that he had just informed the Turkish Ambassador that the Porte must not think that a separate policy would be adopted by France. She was, on the contrary, acting in entire accord with England and Russia, and it would be best to bring the matter to a speedy conclusion.

No. 101.

Sir P. Currie to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received June 28.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, June 28, 1895, 11.45 A.M.

THE Dragomans were yesterday informed by Turkhan Pasha that Marshal Shakir Pasha had been appointed by the Sultan as Inspector of certain localities in the provinces of Asiatic Turkey.

They inquired what was to be the nature of his functions, but his Excellency could give them no further information.

No. 102.

Sir P. Currie to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received July 1.)

My Lord,

Therapia, June 22, 1895.

ON the receipt of your Lordship's despatch of the 31st ultimo on the subject of Turkish misgovernment and oppression, I caused the Minister for Foreign Affairs to be informed of the serious impression produced upon Her Majesty's Government by the constant disregard of their remonstrances by the Turkish Government, and of the grave dissatisfaction with which they regarded the answers given by the Porte to the representations addressed by Her Majesty's Embassy on the subject.

I also expressed the hope that, with a new Minister for Foreign Affairs, and a new Grand Vizier, the Porte would no longer be satisfied with denials on the part of the authorities responsible for the incidents mentioned, but would seriously endeavour to investigate complaints and redress grievances.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PHILIP CURRIE.

No. 103.

The Marquess of Dufferin to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received July 3.)

(Telegraphic.)

Paris, July 3, 1895.

M. HANOTAUX thinks that, considering the unpleasant aspect of the situation in Macedonia, the Armenian question should be promptly concluded. He is of opinion that the Porte would yield to a combined and forcible representation.

No. 104.

The Marquess of Salisbury to Sir P. Currie.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, July 4, 1895.

I HAVE just repeated to your Excellency Lord Dufferin's telegram of yesterday, informing me of M. Hanotaux' opinion that, in view of the threatening aspect of affairs in Macedonia, it is desirable to settle the Armenian question without delay, and that, if concerted and vigorous action is taken by the Powers at Constantinople, the Sultan will now yield to their demands.

You should act in concert with your French colleague in any course he may take in pursuance of the views of his Government.

No. 105.

The Marquess of Salisbury to Sir P. Currie.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, July 4, 1895.

IN a conversation which I had with the Turkish Ambassador yesterday I earnestly represented to his Excellency that it was absolutely necessary that the Turkish Government should make concessions to public opinion, especially in England, in the matter of reforms in the Armenian provinces. I, at the same time, assured him that Her Majesty's Government were anxious to put a stop to abuses and disorder in those provinces without impairing the sovereign authority of the Sultan.

No. 106.

The Marquess of Salisbury to the Marquess of Dufferin.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, July 4, 1895.

I HAVE received your Excellency's telegram of yesterday, and I request you to inform the French Minister for Foreign Affairs that Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople has been instructed to concur in any course that his French colleague may take to give effect to M. Hanotaux' views with regard to the expediency of bringing the Armenian question to a prompt conclusion.

No. 107.

Sir P. Currie to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received July 5.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople July 5, 1895, 10.45 P.M.

THIS afternoon I went to see the French Ambassador with reference to your Lordship's telegram of the 4th instant. M. Cambon told me that nothing fresh had been received from his Government, but he considered that his previous instructions authorized him to press, in concert with the Russian Ambassador and myself, for an answer from the Turkish Government.

In order to ascertain if M. de Nélidoff would join in action at the Porte, the First Secretary of the French Embassy, M. Cambon being still confined to his bed, accompanied me to the Russian Embassy at Buyukdéré.

M. de Nélidoff stated that he should not feel justified in taking any formal step without authority, but that his Dragoman was making constant inquiries as to the progress of the Commission referred to in my telegram of the 26th ultimo. His Excellency added that the two written replies of the Turkish Government had been referred to Prince Lobanoff, and that the latter had reserved his opinion on these communications. The matter, therefore, was no longer in the hands of the Ambassador. M. de Nélidoff promised to telegraph at once to St. Petersburg, and we can, under the circumstances, do nothing until he has received an answer from the Russian Government.

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No. 108.

Sir F. Lascelles to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received July 5.)

(Telegraphic.)

St. Petersburg, July 5, 1895.

NO information concerning M. Hanotaux' proposal respecting the Armenian question has been received by Prince Lobanoff. His Excellency was pleased to learn that the language which your Lordship held to Turkish Ambassador corresponded exactly to that which he had held to the Turkish Representative at St. Petersburg.

No. 109.

The Marquess of Salisbury to Sir P. Currie.

Sir,

Foreign Office, July 6, 1895.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 22nd ultimo, reporting the representation you have made to the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs as to the systematic disregard by the Porte of the remonstrances made by Her Majesty's Government on the subject of Turkish misgovernment and oppression in the provinces of Asiatic Turkey.

I approve the terms of your Excellency's communication to Turkhan Pasha.

I am, &c.

(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 110.

Sir F. Lascelles to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received July 8.)

My Lord,

St. Petersburg, July 3, 1895.

IN the course of conversation this afternoon, Prince Lobanoff told me that he had seen a letter addressed by Mr. Gladstone to a correspondent whose name it was not necessary to mention, in which he had expressed his regret that there appeared to be a divergence of opinion between England and Russia as regards the Armenian question. Prince Lobanoff had informed Mr. Gladstone's correspondent, who had consulted him as to the reply which should be returned, that there certainly was a divergence of opinion between the two countries, and that it was impossible for Russia, on account of her geographical position and the large number of Armenians living on Russian territory to countenance any scheme which might lead to the creation of anything in the nature of an autonomous State in Asia Minor. Russia had always been considered the protector of the Christians in the Turkish dominions, and she would be only too happy to obtain greater securities for their welfare and the protection of their lives and property, but her direct interests on the frontier forbade her to indulge in the philanthropic dreams which seem to prevail in England, whose interests, on account of her insular position and distance from the Armenian districts, were not directly affected.

I told Prince Lobanoff that I quite understood the position which the Russian Government had taken up with regard to the Armenian question, and that I had done my best in the despatches which I had addressed to your Lordship's predecessor in office to explain this position, but at the same time I trusted that the three Ambassadors at Constantinople might be able to continue to act together with the view of obtaining some improvement in the condition of the Armenians.

His Excellency replied that the Ambassadors were still acting together, and he hoped they might continue to do so. All that he had done had been to instruct M. de Nélidow to be careful not to go too far ("s'avancer trop") in suggesting reforms to the Porte.

His Excellency repeated the arguments which he had previously used to me, and observed that the Russian Government was averse to undertaking any responsibility for the administration of any part of the Turkish dominions.

In connection with this subject, Prince Lobanoff told me that he had recently read a report which had been drawn up by a Russian officer in the Caucasus, who had

great knowledge of the Asiatic provinces of Turkey. This Report was based in a great measure on the Reports drawn up by Colonel Trotter and seemed to show the Armenian population was not so numerous as we were now asked to believe.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

FRANK C. LASCELLES.

No. 111.

Sir P. Currie to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received July 9.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, July 9, 1895, 7.45 P.M.

ON my inquiring to-day of the Grand Vizier whether he had any information to give me on the subject of Armenian reforms, his Highness stated that the Report on the reform scheme had been completed by the Commission, and that the Porte would probably in about a week make a communication on the subject to the three Embassies.

No. 112.

The Marquess of Salisbury to Sir P. Currie.

Sir,

Foreign Office, July 10, 1895.

AT an interview with the Turkish Ambassador to-day I spoke very earnestly to his Excellency on the Armenian question.

I said that it was my sincere desire that the Ottoman Empire should be maintained, and that the rightful prerogatives of the Sultan should be protected from encroachments, but that I saw with regret that His Majesty had taken no steps to meet the just demands of public opinion in Europe and in England in regard to this question.

The essential matter was that provision should be made for securing equitable government to the Armenians. I repudiated all ideas of autonomy as absurd, and I asked no privileges for them, but simple justice between man and man; that Kurds should not oppress Armenians, nor Armenians oppress Kurds. For that purpose I pointed out it was necessary at the present juncture that the eastern provinces of Asia Minor should be placed under a Governor in whom Europe could have confidence. So long as as he was a man of firmness, integrity, and loyalty, his religion was a matter of minor importance; but it was essential that he should possess these qualities, and that he should be given a free hand to act as circumstances required without interference from Constantinople.

I then proceeded to tell Rustem Pasha that I maintained the demands which had been presented by the Ambassadors of the three Powers at Constantinople, that I supported entirely the policy which the present Government had inherited from their predecessors in office.

I urged that the Sultan should make as large concessions as possible on the basis of those demands. I impressed upon his Excellency very strongly the perilous position in which it appeared to me that the Ottoman Empire was now placed. I was much struck on coming back to office to find how much ground it had lost in English opinion. It was not that there was any longer any strong excitement on the subject, but a settled conviction was growing that nothing was to be hoped from it in the way of improvement or reform, and that all that could be done was to finish with it. I pointed out that the danger was extreme, and if the Sultan did not take warning in time the blow would almost inevitably come upon him, and at a time when he least expected it. I added that I heard of discontent from all parts of the Sultan's dominions, and that the opinion of Europe in general was much less favourable to him than it had been when I previously held office.

I request that your Excellency will report to me at once when you learn that any decision has been taken by the Sultan as to the portions of the scheme of reforms that he can accept.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

SALISBURY.

No. 113.

Sir P. Currie to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received July 18.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, July 18, 1895, 11 P.M.

THE following communication sent to the Porte by the Sultan was read to-day by the Foreign Minister to the Russian, French, and English Dragomans:—

"His Imperial Majesty has at heart the welfare of all his subjects. He has sent reiterated orders to the Porte during the last few days to hasten necessary reforms and to insure good administration.

"Those reforms which are not contrary to Laws and Regulations already in existence His Majesty will immediately put into force, and Shakir Pasha is about to be sent to supervise and preside over their execution.

"Orders to take administrative and police measures to prevent conflicts and to control migrations of Kurds have already been given, and Shakir Pasha, whose presence will be a further guarantee, has also received orders to this effect."

The Foreign Minister stated in answer to inquiries that Shakir Pasha's mission was to carry out the reforms which would be announced in a day or two by the Porte in answer to the last communication from the three Embassies, and that he would start as soon as possible.

His Excellency also requested that an early answer should be given to this communication.

After Mr. Block had left, Turkhan Pasha, in a private conversation with the Russian and French Dragomans, said, "We are most desirous of settling the question;" at the same time expressing the hope that Shakir Pasha's nomination would be accepted by England.

Though Shakir Pasha's name was not explicitly submitted for approval, it is evidently intended to give the three Embassies an opportunity of concurring.

No objection will, I believe, be raised by the French and Russian Ambassadors.

No. 114.

Sir P. Currie to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received July 21.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, July 21, 1895, 6.15 P.M.

FOLLOWING communication to Porte will be made to-day by Russian Ambassador in reply to that made by Turkhan Pasha on the 18th instant to the three Dragomans, as reported in my telegram of that day's date:—

"The choice of Shakir Pasha would not be objected to by the Russian Government, but it is necessary that they should know first whether the other two Powers accept his nomination, and also what the reforms are which he will have to supervise, and what powers are conferred on him."

The French Ambassador intends to send a similar reply to-morrow, but I shall await your Lordship's instructions before making any communication.

No. 115.

The Marquess of Salisbury to Sir P. Currie.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, July 22, 1895.

I HAVE received your telegram of the 18th instant respecting the appointment by the Sultan of Shakir Pasha to preside over and superintend the execution of reforms in the Armenian provinces.

I do not consider that Her Majesty's Government can signify their approval of his appointment on its own merits alone.

If, however, his nomination is coupled with a promise of the introduction of adequate reforms, the arrangement as a whole may then receive their assent.

No. 116.

The Marquess of Salisbury to Sir P. Currie.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, July 23, 1895.

WITH reference to your Excellency's telegram of the 21st instant, reporting the communication that will be made to the Porte by the French and Russian Ambassadors on the subject of Shakir Pasha's appointment, the instructions forwarded to you in my telegram of last night scarcely differ from those of your two colleagues.

Her Majesty's Government cannot do otherwise than acquiesce in the appointment of Shakir Pasha, but the selection is in no degree theirs, and they must decline all responsibility in the matter.

No. 117.

*The Marquess of Salisbury to the Marquess of Dufferin.**

Foreign Office, July 24, 1895.

My Lord,

I HAD some conversation to-day with the French Ambassador on the Armenian question. I informed his Excellency that Her Majesty's Government were awaiting the Sultan's declaration as to which of the measures of reform proposed by the Ambassadors at Constantinople he was prepared to concede, but that they could not wait much longer, and that if His Majesty's decision were not shortly made known they would propose that the three Powers should consult together for a further step in advance.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 118.

*The Marquess of Salisbury to the Marquess of Dufferin.**

Foreign Office, July 24, 1895.

My Lord,

DURING the conversation recorded in my immediately preceding despatch the French Ambassador took pains to assure me that France and Russia desired to keep abreast of us in dealing with the Armenian question. They were thoroughly convinced that after what had passed the three Powers could not allow the Sultan to put the matter aside without effecting a considerable amelioration in the condition of the provinces. His Excellency guarded himself from expressing any desire that the Armenians should be granted a privileged position, or anything else beyond good government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 119.

Sir P. Currie to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received July 25.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, July 25, 1895, 10:30 A.M.

YESTERDAY I informed the Porte, in accordance with your Lordship's telegram of the 23rd instant, that, provided that the reforms which Shakir Pasha will have to supervise are adequate and satisfactory, and that the powers given to him are sufficient, we should not object to his appointment, but that, as the selection was not ours, we could not accept any responsibility for it.

* Substance telegraphed.

No. 120.

Sir F. Lascelles to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received July 25.)

(Telegraphic.)

St. Petersburg, July 25, 1895.

IT is Prince Lobanoff's desire that the understanding come to by the three Powers should be maintained; he will be glad to join in endeavours to obtain any amount of administrative reforms likely to have the result of increasing the welfare, as well as the security of life and property, of all the Porte's Christian subjects. If, however, Her Majesty's Government demanded political reforms, by which Armenians in Asia Minor would enjoy exceptional privileges, Prince Lobanoff would find himself unable to follow us.

No. 121.

Sir P. Currie to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received July 26.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, July 25, 1895, 8 P.M.

WITH reference to your Lordship's conversation with Baron de Courcel of yesterday, it does not appear probable that the Sultan will make up his mind respecting Armenian reforms until the three Powers insist upon an answer.

The Grand Vizier could tell me nothing definite to-day as to when decision will be given.

No. 122.

Sir P. Currie to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received July 26.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, July 26, 1895, 10 P.M.

I CONGRATULATED the Sultan to-day, at an audience I had of His Majesty after the Selamlık, on the release of Armenian prisoners on whose behalf I had made representations on various occasions. His Imperial Majesty expressed a hope that this measure would be favourably received.

As regards the reform scheme, His Majesty said that the Council of Ministers would consider it finally on Sunday, and that they would put into execution one by one those reforms which were approved.

I said that, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, it was of great importance for the satisfaction of public opinion that the scheme of reforms adopted should be communicated in its entirety to the three Embassies, and that the gravity of the situation made it desirable that this should be done at once. To this His Majesty replied by assuring me that in the course of next week I should receive such a communication, and he added that he was anxious to bring the question to a conclusion, as he was weary of it.

No. 123.

The Marquess of Salisbury to Sir F. Lascelles.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, July 26, 1895.

I HAVE received your telegram of yesterday, reporting the views entertained by Prince Lobanow on the question of reforms in Asia Minor.

I shall be glad if you will assure his Highness that what Her Majesty's Government are anxious to obtain for the Armenian population is merely justice and the security of life and property, and that the bestowal upon them of any exceptional privilege is neither being pressed nor is it desired by Her Majesty's Government.

No. 124.

Sir P. Currie to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received July 28.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, July 28, 1895.

INSTRUCTIONS have been received by the Russian Ambassador from Prince Lobanoff in the sense of Sir F. Lascelles' telegram of the 25th instant, and M. de Nélidow is ready to resume the concert of the three Embassies in regard to the question of Armenia.

I have informed the French and Russian Ambassadors that the Sultan promised to me that in the course of this week a communication shall be made to us, and I shall propose that we should jointly insist upon the Sultan keeping this promise.

I have been informed by the German Ambassador that he has strongly urged His Imperial Majesty to agree to the demands of England in the Armenian question.

No. 125.

Sir P. Currie to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received August 1.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, August 1, 1895, 10 A.M.

REFERRING to my telegram of the 28th ultimo, English, Russian, and French Dragomans were summoned by the Minister for Foreign Affairs to the Porte yesterday, when he stated that the Sultan had finally approved the answer as to reforms in Armenia, which would be communicated to the Embassies as soon as it had been translated into French.

No. 126.

Sir P. Currie to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received August 2.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, August 2, 1895, 7:50 P.M.

YESTERDAY the Report of the Commission appointed to consider the proposals for reform made by Russia, France, and England was communicated to the three Dragomans without any observations, and I am forwarding a copy to your Lordship by to-morrow's post.

The communication purports to give the details we asked for on receipt of the Porte's note of the 17th June.

The plan of reforms is dealt with Article by Article, but no reference is made to our Memorandum.

Five years appointment of Valis and any fixed proportion of Christian Kaïmakams and Mutesarrifs are refused, but non-Mussulman assistants where necessary are granted.

Election of Mudirs, proposals as to collection of taxes (Chapter 12), and judicial reforms (Chapter 13), Christian officers of gendarmerie, rural police, are refused.

It undertakes to enforce Regulations in the sense of the 2nd paragraph of our proposals as to the Hamidieh (Chapter 10).

It promises to employ sufficient armed force to control the Kurds and to enforce the Regulations as to arms.

It admits recruitment of gendarmes from Moslems and non-Moslems.

It promises a Special Commission on title-deeds.

The appointment of Shakir Pasha and the engagement taken in the 5th paragraph of the Porte's note of the 17th June form the only security for the execution of such reforms as are promised, but the general tone of the communication is that the existing Regulations do not require amendment.

I shall discuss the document with my colleagues to-morrow afternoon.

No. 127.

Sir P. Currie to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received August 4.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, August 4, 1895, 10:50 A.M.

REFERRING to my telegram of the 2nd instant, my French and Russian colleagues consider that the Porte's answer is merely a criticism of our proposals, and not a plan of reforms.

We shall let the Turkish Government know our personal opinions of their answer, adding that we are entirely left in the dark by the communication as regards the reforms which Shakir Pasha is to supervise, but we do not propose to make any joint communication to the Porte until we receive instructions from our Governments.

No. 128.

Sir F. Lascelles to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received August 5.)

(Extract.)

St. Petersburg, July 29, 1895.

WITH reference to Sir P. Currie's telegram of the 18th instant, repeated to me by your Lordship, I took an opportunity of speaking to Prince Lobanoff on the subject of the communication which had been sent to the Porte by the Sultan with regard to reforms in Armenia, and the nomination of Shakir Pasha to preside over them.

Prince Lobanoff said he had received a telegram from the Russian Ambassador at Constantinople, which coincided exactly with the telegram addressed to your Lordship by Sir Philip Currie, and his Excellency expressed his opinion that it would be advisable to accept Shakir Pasha's nomination.

No. 129.

The Marquess of Salisbury to Sir F. Lascelles.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, August 5, 1895.

FROM Sir P. Currie's telegram of yesterday, your Excellency will have seen that the Ambassadors of the three Powers at Constantinople consider the Sultan's reply to their proposals for Armenian reform so unsatisfactory that they cannot regard it as a serious communication.

Her Majesty's Government think it now very important to learn how far the Russian Government are willing to proceed in putting pressure upon the Porte, as they do not consider that diplomatic means will be of much further avail. Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that the three Powers cannot withdraw from the enterprise without loss of credit; and they have entertained no doubt that, in consenting to co-operate with them in this matter, their two allies contemplated the possibility of being driven to more energetic measures in the event of the Sultan declining to take any action.

No. 130.

Sir P. Currie to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received August 7.)

My Lord,

Therapia, August 3, 1895.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of the third answer from the Turkish Government to the Armenian Reform proposals of the three Powers. The previous answers were given on the 2nd and 17th June, and should be read in connection with the one I now forward. The first named stated the intention of the Sultan to extend the administrative reforms to all the vilayets of the Empire. It dealt chiefly with the Memorandum presented by the Embassies, but the ground it took up was substantially the same as that to which the Porte still adheres, with the exception of the appointment of Shakir Pasha to superintend the execution of the reforms.

The answer of the 17th June conceded this appointment, and added that the Imperial Government declares to the Ambassadors that, whilst safeguarding the

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sovereign rights of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan and those of his Empire, it is ready to proceed to the immediate execution of the reforms in conformity with the LXIst Article of the Treaty of Berlin, and on the basis of the LXIIIrd Article of the same Treaty.

It added that, in view of maintaining the principle of equality and of justice, the Imperial Government, when carrying out the organization, would take account of the proportion of the number of its subjects, and that it would concede to the Powers no prerogative beyond that granted to them by the Treaty of Berlin.

The inclosed summary of the Porte's last answer, which has been prepared by Colonel Chermiside, gives the substance of the decisions taken on our project of reform Article by Article.

It is probable that so long as Shakir Pasha occupies the post to which he has just been named, the Regulations for the control of the Kurds and the Hamidieh regiments will be more strictly enforced than has hitherto been the case. But the main object which we had in view in proposing the reforms was, as I stated to the Sultan, with the assent of my colleagues on the 5th April last,* to secure the good government and contentment of the Armenians by obtaining for them a fair share in the Administration.

I have, &c.
(Signed) PHILIP CURRIE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 130.

Observations on the Draft of Reforms presented by the Ambassadors of the three Powers for certain Vilayets in Anatolia.

CHAPITRE I.

ARTICLE 1^{er}. Le choix et la nomination de fonctionnaires capables aux postes de Gouverneurs-Généraux et à toutes les autres fonctions publiques, la destitution, le remplacement, et au besoin la mise en jugement de ceux qui seraient reconnus coupables de procédés abusifs sont déjà prévus par les Règlements existants.

Le Gouvernement Impérial entend à porter un soin encore plus grand à ce que les Gouverneurs-Généraux nommés par l'radé Impérial soient choisis également à l'avenir conformément à ces principes réglementaires.

Aux termes du Firman Impérial des réformes octroyé en 1272 tous les sujets de l'Empire à quelque communauté qu'ils appartiennent ont accès selon les règles d'une application générale aux fonctions publiques suivant leurs capacités et aptitudes.

Or, toute personne appelée à occuper les plus importantes fonctions de l'ordre civil comme celles de Vali doit avoir acquis de l'expérience à tous les degrés de la hiérarchie administrative. Si l'on prend surtout en considération la diversité de castes et de mœurs des populations des vilayets dont il s'agit et le fait que d'après les inscriptions des registres du cens, la majorité appartient en tout cas et sous quelque régime que ce soit, à l'élément Musulman, on acquiert la ferme conviction que toute modification du mode actuellement en vigueur pour la nomination des Valis, loin d'améliorer l'administration, entraînerait des complications de nature à compromettre la tranquillité publique. Dans ces conditions, il convient de nommer suivant les exigences locales des adjoints aux Gouverneurs-Généraux, choisis parmi les fonctionnaires non Musulmans appartenant à la partie la plus nombreuse des diverses populations non Musulmanes.

Article 2. Les Valis et autres fonctionnaires ne sont point révoqués tant qu'ils ne sont pas reconnus coupables d'actes de nature à entraîner légalement leur destitution. La preuve en est qu'il y a des Valis et autres fonctionnaires qui conservent leurs postes depuis huit à dix ans. Étant donnée cette règle d'après laquelle personne ne peut être révoquée sans motif légal, on ne voit pas la nécessité d'une restriction ayant pour objet de limiter à un terme de cinq ans la durée des fonctions des Valis.

Article 3. La nomination des adjoints des Gouverneurs-Généraux a été traitée dans la partie finale de l'Article 1^{er}. Leurs attributions se trouvent entièrement et clairement précisées au Chapitre II du Règlement relatif à l'administration générale des Vilayets inséré dans le Dustour.

* See No. 21.



CHAPITRE II.

Article 4. De même qu'aux chefs-lieux des vilayets, de même dans la plupart des sandjaks, la majorité appartient aux Musulmans d'après le chiffre proportionnel des habitants. Dans ces conditions, la nomination au poste de Gouverneurs de fonctionnaires Musulmans, capables et compétents paraît tout indiquée. Seulement des non-Musulmans capables et probes peuvent être nommés Mouavins dans tout sandjak où l'État jugerait nécessaire.

Les postes de Caïmacam sont réservés aux diplômés de l'École Civile. Sur le choix du Ministère de l'Intérieur des élèves tant Musulmans que non-Musulmans de cette école sont actuellement nommés par Iradé Impérial aux dits postes. Il convient de maintenir le même système quant au choix de ces fonctionnaires.

Les Musulmans et non-Musulmans qui sans être sortis de l'École occuperaient à l'heure qu'il est des postes de Caïmacam et dont les services et la fidélité seraient éprouvés, pourront être, sur la proposition des Valis appuyée par le Ministère de l'Intérieur, nommés par Iradé Impérial au poste de Caïmacam. On veillera avec le plus grand soin, sur la base de leurs états de services, à ce que ces Caïmacams soient des personnes sans tache et d'une conduite, d'une probité, et d'une fidélité éprouvée aux yeux du Gouvernement. Aux Caïmacams se trouvent attachés des collaborateurs tels que Receveurs des Finances ("Mal-Mudiri"), et Chefs de la Correspondance ("Takrirat Kiatibi"). Créer encore dans tous les cazas des postes spéciaux de Mouavin entraînerait des frais considérables. Du reste, il n'existe pour cela aucune nécessité. En conséquence, plutôt que d'établir partout de pareils postes, il vaudrait mieux les restreindre à certains Caïmacamats ayant une position importante. Dans ce cas, il conviendrait de donner un Mouavin Chrétien au Caïmacam si celui-ci est Musulman et *vice versa*. Dans les cazas il existe des Conseils d'Administration dont les attributions sont définies au Chapitre IV du Règlement concernant l'administration générale des vilayets et dont les membres Musulmans et non-Musulmans sont élus par les habitants. Ces Conseils sont en état de discuter et de régler les affaires locales de toutes sortes dans tous leurs détails. Il devient dès lors inutile de former dans chaque caza un Conseil spécial chargé de délibérer sur les affaires d'utilité publique et autres.

Le mode d'élection des membres des Conseils d'Administration est indiqué dans les Règlements sur les vilayets et dans celui de l'Administration Communale.

L'organisation communale pourrait se faire conformément aux dispositions des Articles 94 à 106 du Règlement de l'administration générale des vilayets du 9 Janvier, 1286, élaboré sous le Grand Vézirat de feu Aali Pacha, et des Articles 1^{er} à 28 du Règlement sur l'administration communale du 25 Mars, 1292, élaboré sous le Grand Vézirat de feu Mahmoud Nédim Pacha. Cependant le fait que dans les bourgs et villages de l'Empire les populations de différentes classes se trouvent souvent mélangées exclut la possibilité de grouper, comme on en suggère l'idée, les villages d'une même religion dans un même nahié.

L'Administration de chaque nahié par un Moudir et l'institution d'un Conseil chargé d'administrer la commune pourraient se faire également suivant les Règlements susmentionnés.

Seulement ces Règlements contiennent un paragraphe d'après lequel le Conseil Communal pourrait avoir jusqu'à huit membres.

Comme ces membres sont renouvelés par moitié chaque année, il serait plus opportun que le nombre des membres Musulmans et non-Musulmans ne fût que de quatre.

Article 9. Le mode d'élection des Conseils Communaux est soumis aux Règlements précités.

Si tous les habitants d'un nahié sont d'une même classe, il est naturel que les membres du Conseil soient élus parmi les habitants appartenant à cette même classe; si la population d'un cercle communal est mixte, il est également convenable que la minorité soit représentée proportionnellement à son importance, à condition que cette minorité comprenne au moins vingt-cinq maisons.

Article 10. Les Moudirs et les Secrétaires des communes sont déjà rétribués.

Lors de la mise à exécution des mesures ayant pour objet l'organisation des nahiés les appointements seront naturellement fixés dans les limites de l'allocation générale.

Seulement, comme les Règlements en vigueur ne prévoient pas, pour les dépenses locales des communes, l'élaboration d'un budget, cette tâche incombe au chef-lieu des vilayets.

Article 11. Dans l'élection des membres du Conseil Communal les conditions indiquées dans le Règlement concernant l'administration générale des provinces et dans le Règlement des communes doivent être observées.

Il est entendu aussi que les membres à élire ne doivent pas avoir subi de condamnation pour crime ou pour délit politique.

Article 12. L'élection par les habitants des Moudirs des communes à l'instar des membres du Conseil est prévue, il est vrai, par le Règlement de l'administration communale. Mais il n'est pas dit dans ce Règlement que les membres élus choisiront un d'entre eux pour le poste de Moudir et qu'ils en feront part directement au Gouverneur-Général. Au contraire, il est stipulé qu'après que les habitants auront élu aussi le Moudir, son nom sera communiqué par l'entremise du Caimacam du district dont relève la commune au Mutessarif et par celui-ci au Vali, qui confirmera la nomination par écrit et remplira les formalités nécessaires.

Toutefois la question de savoir si les Moudirs doivent être nommés par l'État ou par voie d'élection est l'objet de controverses même dans certains pays Européens. Eu égard aux conditions spéciales de l'Empire Ottoman, la nomination de ces Moudirs par l'État serait plus conforme à l'intérêt public. Aussi, le Gouvernement Impérial préfère-t-il le choix et la nomination par l'État des Moudirs des communes à former conformément aux deux Règlements susmentionnés, ainsi que cela se pratique à l'égard des Moudirs déjà existants.

Article 13. Aux termes de l'Article 12 du Règlement de l'administration communale tous ceux qui se trouvent au service du Gouvernement—les professeurs d'école et les prêtres—ne peuvent exercer les fonctions de Moudir.

Article 14. Ce point s'accorde aussi avec l'Article 16 du Règlement de l'administration communale. Le dernier paragraphe est cependant en contradiction avec le même Article, car, dans la partie finale du dit Règlement, il est clairement stipulé que le Moudir et les membres sont rééligibles. Eu égard au nombre limité de gens capables de remplir dans les communes les fonctions de membres, et au fait que la nomination des Moudirs par le Gouvernement est estimée préférable, le paragraphe réglementaire concernant les membres paraît plus conforme aux exigences de la situation.

Article 15. Les attributions du Moudir et des membres des Conseils Communaux, ainsi que le mode de leur élection et de leur remplacement, sont réglés par les dispositions des Articles 20 à 27 du Règlement sur l'administration des communes.

Article 16. Cet Article est conforme aux Articles spéciaux des Règlements sur l'organisation et l'administration générale des vilayets et du Règlement sur l'administration des communes.

Article 17. Cet Article est conforme aux Règlements sur l'administration des vilayets et des communes.

CHAPITRE V.

Police.

Article 18. Les Règlements en vigueur ne prévoient pas le recrutement parmi les habitants des communes et l'emploi d'agents de police par les Conseils Communaux. Les agents de police d'une commune, s'ils étaient choisis et recrutés parmi les habitants de cette même commune, pourraient y avoir des parents ou alliés, ou être animés d'animosités personnelles à l'égard de certains habitants, ce qui excluerait la possibilité pour eux de remplir consciencieusement les devoirs de leur charge et de se comporter avec impartialité.

La formation au chef-lieu du vilayet de la police et la gendarmerie à recruter parmi les sujets Ottomans honnêtes et dignes de confiance dans la proportion du chiffre général des habitants Musulmans et non-Musulmans de chaque vilayet, l'augmentation selon les besoins locaux des contingents de gendarmerie et de police réservés au district et l'affectation aux chefs-lieux des communes d'un chiffre convenable à détacher de ces contingents paraissent suffisantes pour assurer le but désiré au point de vue de la tranquillité publique.

Article 19. Les agents de police du chef-lieu de la commune agiront naturellement, en matière de police, sous les ordres du Moudir. Si ces agents sont nombreux et s'il y a parmi eux un Commissaire de Police ils devront évidemment se conformer aux Règlements en vigueur. Leurs armes et uniformes seront identiques aux modèles déjà adoptés pour la police. Leurs soldes sont payables par les caisses des districts. Ces

agents, rétribués qu'ils sont, devront d'une façon permanente se consacrer à l'accomplissement de leur tâche, sans qu'il leur soit permis de vaquer à leurs affaires personnelles.

Quand les soldats de l'armée régulière en service actif payent dans leurs pays leurs redevances fiscales, il n'y a pas lieu d'exempter les agents de police non-Musulmans du paiement de la taxe d'exonération militaire.

Les agents de police exercent leurs fonctions dans les limites de leurs circonscriptions. L'emploi d'agents montés n'a donc pas de raison d'être et est sans précédent.

Après avoir examiné sur les lieux quel nombre de nouveaux agents de police il serait nécessaire d'employer dans les vilayets il sera procédé à leur recrutement suivant les besoins réels et absolus. Afin d'éviter des dépenses inutiles, il importe de ne point donner à cette mesure plus d'extension que ne le comportent les véritables nécessités. Il est bien entendu que le mode d'emploi, la conduite et les attributions de ces agents doivent rester dans les limites de ce qui se pratique actuellement à l'égard du corps des agents de police et qu'ils ne pourront s'arroger aucun caractère nouveau.

Article 20. Les devoirs de police tels que la surveillance des routes, le maintien de la tranquillité publique, et la sécurité du transport des valises postales incombent à la gendarmerie à pied et à cheval. Il appartient aux autorités centrales des sandjaks et des cazas d'expédier ces gendarmes le cas échéant.

CHAPITRE VI.

Article 21. Il convient de recruter les gendarmes parmi les habitants Musulmans et non-Musulmans suivant les exigences locales, et de choisir les officiers et les sous-officiers de ce corps dans les cadres de l'armée Impériale. La solde des gendarmes est supérieure à celle des soldats réguliers et celle des officiers équivalente à la solde des officiers de l'armée Impériale. Il est évident que, suivant la règle établie, les soldes et dépenses de la gendarmerie doivent être payées par les caisses des vilayets.

CHAPITRE VII.

Prisons.

Article 22. Les prévenus sont détenus dans les maisons d'arrêt et les condamnés dans les prisons. C'est aux Valis, Mutessarifs, et Caimacams de veiller aux conditions hygiéniques des prisons. Les Procureurs-Généraux sont, de leur côté, tenus de faire des inspections à cet égard. Les prisons ont, en outre, un personnel complet de fonctionnaires et de domestiques, tels que Directeur, Secrétaires, Gardiens. On pourrait faire des recommandations pour qu'il soit apporté par ces moyens encore plus de soins à l'administration de l'état des maisons d'arrêt, et des prisons, à la garde desquelles sont préposés des gendarmes et des agents de police. Les tortures et les traitements vexatoires envers les détenus et prisonniers sont interdits de par la loi, qui prescrit les pénalités les plus rigoureuses à l'égard des contrevenants.

CHAPITRE VIII.

Article 23. L'enquête préliminaire est actuellement effectuée à Constantinople et dans les provinces par les soins des Conseils de Police. Le mode recommandé se trouve d'ailleurs inscrit dans les instructions relatives à l'administration générale des vilayets.

CHAPITRE IX.

Article 24. La présence dans chaque vilayet d'un Achiret-Memouri chargé de l'administration des Kurdes nomades, de l'arrestation et de la remise des brigands et des criminels n'offre aucun avantage pratique ni ne paraît présenter la perspective d'un projet applicable, attendu qu'il est improbable que les Chefs d'une tribu puissent exercer une influence quelconque sur une autre tribu. En conséquence la poursuite et l'arrestation des brigands et criminels parmi les tribus nomades, leur remise aux Tribunaux doivent être laissées à la gendarmerie et dépendre des ordres donnés et des dispositions adoptées par le Vali. La plupart de ces tribus ne sont pas nomades;

leur principal moyen d'existence consistant simplement dans l'élevage des bestiaux, elles se rendent l'été dans leurs pâturages et rentrent en hiver dans leurs foyers situés dans les bourgs et villages. Les localités qu'elles doivent traverser pendant ces migrations seront désignées d'avance, et afin qu'elles ne puissent se livrer à aucun empiètement ou excès sur les biens ou les personnes des habitants sédentaires de ces localités, une force armée suffisante, sous le commandement d'un officier nommé par le Commandant du Corps d'Armée ainsi qu'un détachement de gendarmes et d'officiers désignés par le Vali, seront envoyés sur les lieux. On veillera avec soin à la stricte application à leur égard des dispositions des Règlements sur les feuilles de route et le port d'armes.

Comme garantie que ces tribus ne se porteront à aucun acte contraire aux ordres et recommandations qui leur seront donnés, il est parfois d'usage que les Chefs des tribus envoient au chef-lieu du vilayet ou du sandjak le plus proche un de leurs parents ou alliés jouissant de l'estime et de la confiance de la tribu pour y rester comme otage jusqu'à leur retour dans leurs foyers. Cet usage sera maintenu en vigueur. S'il existe des tribus constamment errantes le Gouvernement aura soin de les encourager à se fixer en leur concédant des terres et des pâturages.

Telles sont les mesures qui peuvent être considérées comme nécessaires.

Les Valis, Mutessarifs, et Caïmacams veilleront avec la plus grande attention à ce que les Chefs des tribus ne soient pas exposés à des insultes ou à des dangers par le fait des intrigues et des calomnies des gens sans aveu.

CHAPITRE X.

Article 25. On a indiqué la façon dont les régiments Hamidiés seraient employés dans le cas où il serait nécessaire de les appeler sous les armes en dehors des périodes déterminées. Les Règlements relatifs à ces régiments étant en train d'être remaniés, les restrictions concernant le port d'armes et d'uniformes en dehors des périodes d'instruction rentrent dans les dispositions des nouveaux Règlements à élaborer. Si des cavaliers Hamidiés en dehors des périodes d'instruction, c'est-à-dire lorsqu'ils ne sont pas sous les armes, venaient à commettre des actes entraînant des poursuites judiciaires, ils sont justiciables d'après l'usage en vigueur des Tribunaux ordinaires.

CHAPITRE XI.

Article 26. Le Gouvernement Impérial prenant en considération la question de la garantie de la propriété immobilière, avait déjà établi comme principe de faire délivrer des titres uniformes par l'Administration des Archives pour les terres et immeubles de toute catégorie en abrogeant l'ancienne règle d'après laquelle, tant à Constantinople que dans les provinces, des titres de diverses formes étaient délivrés pour ces propriétés. C'est ainsi qu'au moyen de la délivrance par l'Administration précitée de titres réguliers soit pour les terrains émiriés et vakoufs, soit pour les immeubles mulks, les droits de propriété des populations ont été garantis. Étant donné que pour l'examen des faits et actes se rapportant à la propriété immobilière il faut avoir une connaissance spéciale des lois sur la matière, cet examen ne saurait être fait par de simples Commissions instituées sur les lieux et composées de membres Musulmans et non-Musulmans. Aussi conviendrait-il de nommer à cet effet des Commissions composées de quatre membres dont deux Musulmans et deux non-Musulmans qui seraient placées, dans les chefs-lieux des vilayets, sous la présidence du Délégué de l'Administration des Archives, et dans les chefs-lieux des sandjaks, sous la présidence du préposé aux propriétés foncières.

Ces Commissions auront essentiellement pour mission de reviser les titres authentiques de ceux qui prétendraient avoir des droits de propriété. Cependant, comme il est possible que certaines personnes, par ignorance des dispositions de la loi, ne se soient pas fait délivrer les titres de leurs terrains et immeubles et que par contre d'autres se soient procuré des titres sur des affirmations *ex parte*, il importe de prendre aussi en considération ce point important dans le cours de la revision, d'examiner et de rechercher à telles fins que de droit les circonstances se rattachant à la possession par voie d'achat ou de transfert ou de succession des immeubles et terrains dont les ayants droit ne se seront pas procuré dans le temps pour une raison ou une autre des titres de propriété pour ces mêmes immeubles et terrains, de ne priver personne de ses anciens droits parce que des titres ne sont pas produits, de se livrer en ce qui concerne ceux qui se sont procuré d'une façon quelconque des titres sans que

leurs droits de propriété aient pu être établis au fond, à des investigations pour savoir comment ils ont pu obtenir ces titres, d'arriver ainsi à mettre les propriétés de chacun à l'abri de toute usurpation, enfin de ne laisser aucune marge à des revendications injustes et à des chicanes et de s'attacher surtout à préserver de toute atteinte les terrains et immeubles Vakoufs.

Voilà en quoi doit consister la tâche principale des dites Commissions.

Leurs résolutions doivent être examinées et approuvées par les Conseils d'Administrations des vilayets et des sandjaks. Il conviendrait de déférer aux Tribunaux les affaires qui exigeraient une solution légale. Et pour que cela se fasse conformément au principe de centralisation administrative, quatre personnes choisies parmi les plus honorables, les plus probes, et ayant un passé sans tâche seront envoyées chaque année de la capitale aux vilayets avec mission d'examiner si des procédés contraires au droit et à l'équité ont lieu, et d'en faire connaître le résultat à la Sublime Porte. De cette façon un contrôle sera exercé.

CHAPITRE XII.

Perception des Dîmes.

Article 27. Que la perception en espèces de tous les produits des dîmes en général soit impossible eu égard à la condition des populations, c'est là un point que l'expérience faite à diverses reprises et dans différents endroits a démontré. Le paiement en nature de la dîme à l'époque des récoltes constitue évidemment une facilité pour les habitants. D'ailleurs, aux termes du Règlement qui régit la matière, la mise en adjudication des dîmes par village et leur affermage en cas de demande de la part des habitants, étant admises, le maintien de cette règle paraît s'imposer. Des Percepteurs avaient été nommés dans les temps pour la perception des autres revenus de l'Empire ; mais comme ce moyen n'avait pu assurer la rentrée régulière des impôts et un régime normal de nature à offrir des facilités aux populations sous le rapport de l'Administration des Revenus Publics, et que le Gouvernement Impérial avait dû rechercher un mode de perception autre que celui de l'emploi de la force publique, des détachements spéciaux chargés du service de perception avaient été formés. Il a été établi pour principe que ces détachements ne feraient aucune réquisition de fourrages et de vivres dans les endroits où ils se rendraient sous peine de se voir sévèrement punis. Comme le prélèvement et la consignation aux caisses locales des impôts dus par les populations incombent aux Moukhtars, et aux Receveurs des villages et quartiers élus par les habitants, il est également établi que les hommes faisant partie des détachements de perception n'ont pas à manier d'argent. Dès lors il semble inutile de songer à remplacer ce régime par le mode proposé, d'autant plus que les Percepteurs qu'on voudrait faire choisir et nommer par les Conseils Communaux ne peuvent être autres, ainsi qu'il vient d'être constaté, que les Receveurs et les Moukhtars élus par les habitants.

Article 28. L'essai que le Gouvernement Impérial a fait de l'administration en régie, et non par voie d'affermage des dîmes, loin d'emmener la régularité dans cette branche du service, a donné lieu, au contraire, à des pertes fiscales et à des plaintes de toutes sortes de la part des populations. C'est pour ce motif que le système d'affermage a été rétabli. Seulement, en vue de prévenir toute cause de plainte, une série de clauses et de restrictions ont été insérées au Règlement sur les dîmes. Par exemple, l'affermage en gros des dîmes a été supprimé et remplacé, ainsi qu'il est dit à l'Article précédent, par le système de la mise en adjudication par villages et au nom des habitants pour l'encouragement et la facilité de ces derniers. En outre, de même qu'en cas de difficulté dans l'encassement des prix d'affermage, le Gouvernement a recours aux Tribunaux, de même les habitants jouissent, d'après la règle en vigueur, de la faculté de s'adresser librement aux Conseils d'Administration et aux Tribunaux en cas de plaintes et de réclamation contre les fermiers.

La corvée se trouve absolument interdite depuis de longues années. Les contrevenants encourent une responsabilité de ce chef. Dès lors il n'y a pas lieu de songer à établir une nouvelle restriction réglementaire à ce sujet. L'établissement de caisses publiques dans les communes a été aussi essayé dans le temps, mais cet essai, loin de donner de bons résultats au point de la régularité des opérations, a été cause que le fisc a subi gratuitement des pertes. Il n'y aurait donc aucun avantage matériel à renouveler cet essai. Il importe de maintenir le régime actuellement en vigueur d'après lequel les dépenses communales fixes inscrites au budget des vilayets sont réglées men-

suellement par les caisses des cazas. Les dépenses de vilayets et des sandjaks inscrites au budget sont également réglées par les caisses publiques.

Les frais de construction et de réparation, les allocations de ponts et chaussées, ainsi que les opérations relatives aux prestations en nature et en argent concernent le Ministère des Travaux Publics qui se met à ce sujet en communication avec les vilayets aux fins requises. Quant aux sommes nécessaires pour les dépenses de l'Instruction publique, c'est le Ministère de l'Instruction Publique qui les inscrit au Budget et pourvoit à leur règlement en se mettant en communication avec les autorités.

Eu égard aux Règlements établis, il importe de continuer à procéder aussi à l'avenir suivant cette même règle.

La population n'a jamais eu à fournir gratuitement soit aux fonctionnaires, soit aux troupes Impériales, le logement et les provisions nécessaires à leur entretien. Elle n'a pas été non plus l'objet de mesures de rigueur lors de la perception des impôts. Les arriérés considérables que la population doit chaque année au chef des revenus fiscaux, tels qu'impôts et taxe d'exonération militaire en sont la preuve. Au demeurant, comme il existe des dispositions réglementaires qui défendent la vente pour cause de dettes fiscales ou personnelles de la demeure particulière du contribuable, des terrains nécessaires à sa subsistance, de ses outils et instruments aratoires, de ses bêtes de labour et de ses grains, il n'y a pas lieu d'établir de nouvelles Règles et Lois à cet effet.

CHAPITRE XIII.

Article 29. Il y a dans les communes des Conseils des Anciens ayant pour mission de régler à l'amiable les contestations de peu d'importance, et de réconcilier les parties conformément aux Règlements établis.

Article 30. Dans les cazas il existe des Tribunaux de Première Instance dans les conditions indiquées par la Loi Organique des Tribunaux. Les fonctions de Juges de Paix sont exercées dans les villages par les Conseils des Anciens et dans les communes par les Conseils Communaux. Leurs attributions et le degré de leur compétence en matière de règlement d'affaires sont déterminées par la Loi susdite. Il n'y a aucune disposition légale qui prévoit la nomination recommandée des Juges de Paix aux chefs-lieux des cazas et des communes. Il n'y a pas non plus dans les communes et villages des personnes versées dans les questions juridiques. Il ne conviendrait conséquemment pas de nommer des Juges de Paix investis d'attributions si étendues.

Article 31. A l'Article précédent il a été établi qu'il n'y a pas lieu de former des Tribunaux de Paix.

Dès lors il devient inutile de parler de leurs attributions.

Article 32. En matière civile la désignation d'arbitres ne rentre pas dans les attributions des Tribunaux. Aux termes du Code de Commerce les Tribunaux de Commerce nomment des experts dans les procès entre Sociétés. D'ailleurs, comme il a été dit qu'il n'est pas nécessaire de former des Tribunaux de Paix, il n'y a pas lieu d'examiner encore davantage la fixation d'une pareille attribution.

Article 33. D'après les explications qui ont été données sur l'impossibilité et l'inutilité de l'institution de Tribunaux de Paix et sur la nécessité du maintien de l'organisation actuelle de la justice de paix, la conservation des Tribunaux de Première Instance des districts rentre dans l'ordre naturel des choses.

Article 34. Vu l'inutilité des Tribunaux de Paix telle qu'elle ressort des explications qui précèdent, ce que cet Article désigne comme faisant partie de leurs attributions perd toute raison d'être.

Article 35. La nécessité du maintien des Tribunaux de Première Instance dans les cazas a été déjà expliquée. En ce qui concerne les Tribunaux Civils et Criminels des sandjaks les Lois judiciaires ne prévoient pas l'institution de Cours d'Assises ambulantes destinées à connaître des affaires criminelles en lieu et place des Tribunaux Criminels.

On ne peut pas non plus se figurer l'avantage et la possibilité d'une pareille mesure, car les difficultés des communications entraîneraient des pertes de temps dans la tournée d'une Cour de ce genre. Pendant l'hiver les routes seraient interceptées sur certains points; de telle sorte que les procès criminels, notamment les cas de flagrant délit qui exigent une instruction et un jugement à brève échéance, subiraient des retards par suite de la non apparition à temps de la Cour, ce qui, en rendant difficile

la réunion de preuves et indices de nature à emmener la conviction, compromettrait les actions criminelles et civiles.

Article 36. Ainsi qu'il ressort des explications données à l'Article précédent, l'organisation de Cours ambulantes est difficile et sans utilité. Il n'y a pas lieu par conséquent de déterminer le mode à suivre dans l'organisation de ces Cours.

Article 37. Puisque le principe même de l'organisation de Cours ambulantes n'a pas été jugé conforme aux exigences de la situation, il n'y a pas lieu de s'occuper de la fixation de leurs attributions.

Article 38. Le principe de la formation de Cours ambulantes n'ayant pas été jugé admissible, l'examen des indications contenues dans cet Article n'a pas de raison d'être.

Article 39. La formation aux chefs-lieux des vilayets d'une Cour Supérieure composée d'un Président et de deux membres constitue une proposition qui ne rentre pas dans les dispositions des Lois judiciaires. Au chef-lieu de chaque vilayet il existe deux Tribunaux d'Appel : l'un Civil, l'autre Criminel, composés chacun d'un Président et de quatre membres, ainsi que des Tribunaux Civils et Criminels de Première Instance composés d'un Président et de deux membres. Les Tribunaux d'Appel examinent les causes civiles et criminelles jugées par les Tribunaux de Première Instance. Quant aux procès criminels qui surgissent dans les chefs-lieux des vilayets, c'est le Tribunal d'Appel qui en connaît le premier.

Les Tribunaux Civils et Criminels de Première Instance composés chacun d'un Président et de deux membres qui se trouvent dans les cazas, connaissent, conformément aux Lois Organiques des Tribunaux et aux Codes de Procédure Civile et Criminelle, des procès civils et criminels aux chef-lieux des sandjaks et examinent en appel les Jugements appelables des Tribunaux de Cazas.

L'expérience a démontré la suffisance et l'utilité de l'organisation des Tribunaux provinciaux. Il n'y a donc pas lieu légalement et pratiquement parlant de modifier cette organisation pour former une Cour Supérieure comme celle dont il est fait mention plus haut.

Les Jugements rendus par les Tribunaux ordinaires en matière civile et criminelle doivent être absolument libellés en Turc, langue officielle du pays.

(Translation.)

CHAPTER I.

ARTICLE 1. The selection and appointment of capable functionaries to the posts of Governors-General and all other public offices, their dismissal, the substitution of others, and, if necessary, the trial of such as may be considered guilty of committing abuses, are already provided for by the existing Regulations.

It is the intention of the Imperial Government to take still greater care that the Governors-General appointed by Imperial Iradé are, in future also, selected in accordance with these established principles.

By the terms of the Imperial Firman of reforms granted in 1272, all the subjects of the Empire, to whatsoever community they belong, are eligible, under the general rules laid down for the performance of public duties, in proportion to their capacity and fitness.

Now, every individual called to fill the most important civil posts, such as that of Vali, must have gained experience in all stages of the administrative hierarchy. Taking into consideration especially the diversity of caste and habits among the populations of the vilayets in question, and the fact that, according to the Returns of the census registers, the Mussulman element forms the majority in every case and under any régime, it is quite evident that any modification of the system now in force for the appointment of Valis, far from improving the administration, would entail complications likely to disturb public tranquillity. In these circumstances, it is advisable to appoint, according to local requirements, Assistants to the Governors-General, selected from among the non-Mussulman functionaries belonging to the most numerous of the various non-Mussulman populations.

Art. 2. Valis and other functionaries are not dismissed unless found guilty of acts which legally entail their dismissal. This is proved by the fact that there are Valis and other functionaries who have held their posts eight or ten years. Admitting this rule, that no one can be dismissed without legal cause, there seems no necessity for a restriction the object of which is to limit to a term of five years the duration of appointments of Valis.

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Art. 3. The appointment of Assistants to the Governors-General has been dealt with in the last part of Article 1. Their duties are completely and clearly defined in Chapter II of the Regulations relative to the general administration of the vilayets inserted in the "Destur."

CHAPTER II.

Art. 4. As in the chief towns of the vilayets, so in most of the sandjaks, the Mussulmans form the majority of the inhabitants. That being so, the appointment of capable and competent Mussulman functionaries as Governors seems clearly called for. But capable and upright non-Mussulmans may be appointed Moavins in any sandjak where the State considers necessary.

The posts of Kaïmakam are reserved for graduates of the Civil School. Chosen by the Ministry of the Interior, pupils of this school, both Mussulman and non-Mussulman, are now appointed to these posts by Imperial Iradé. It is advisable to adhere to this mode of selecting these functionaries.

Mussulmans and non-Mussulmans, not from the school, who are now filling the post of Kaïmakam, and who are of tried service and loyalty, may, on the recommendation of the Valis, supported by the Ministry of the Interior, be appointed by Imperial Iradé to the post of Kaïmakam. The greatest care will be taken, by examining records of service, that these Kaïmakams shall be of blameless character, and that the Government is satisfied that they are well conducted, honest, and loyal. Attached to the Kaïmakams are coadjutors such as Receivers of Revenue ("Mal-Mudiri") and Chief Clerks ("Takrirat Kiatibi"). The creation in addition in all the cazas of special posts of Moavin would entail considerable expense. Moreover, there is no necessity for it. Instead, therefore, of establishing such posts everywhere, it would be better to limit them to certain Kaïmakams of importance. In such cases it would be advisable to give a Christian Moavin to the Kaïmakam if the latter is a Mussulman, and *vice versa*. In the cazas Administrative Councils exist, whose duties are defined in Chapter IV of the Regulations relative to the general administration of the vilayets, and whose members, Mussulman and non-Mussulman, are elected by the inhabitants. These Councils are in a position to discuss and settle local matters of all kinds in every detail. It is therefore unnecessary to form in each caza a special Council charged to discuss questions of public utility and other matters.

The mode of election of members of the Administrative Councils is set forth in the Regulations concerning the vilayets, and in those concerning the communal administration.

The communal organization might be based on the provisions of Articles 94 to 106 of the Regulations for the general administration of the vilayets of the 9th January, 1286, drawn up under the Grand Vizierate of the late Aali Pasha, and of Articles 1 to 28 of the Regulations on the communal administration of the 25th March, 1292, drawn up under the Grand Vizierate of the late Mahmud Nedim Pasha. But the fact that in the small towns and villages of the Empire populations of different classes are often intermingled excludes the possibility of grouping the villages of the same religion in the same nahié, as suggested.

The administration of each nahié by a Mudir, and the institution of a Council charged with the administration of the commune, might also be effected under the above-mentioned Regulations.

Only these Regulations contain a paragraph according to which the Communal Council may consist of as many as eight members.

As half these members retire each year, it would be more convenient that the number of Mussulman and non-Mussulman members should only be four.

Art. 9. The mode of election of the Communal Councils is governed by the above-quoted Regulations.

If all the inhabitants of a nahié are of the same class, it is natural that the members of the Council should be elected from the inhabitants belonging to that class; if the population of a communal district is mixed, it is equally fitting that the minority should be represented in proportion to its importance, provided the minority comprises at least twenty-five houses.

Art. 10. The Mudirs and Secretaries of the communes already receive remuneration. When the measures for the organization of the nahié are carried out the salaries will naturally be fixed within the limits of the general scheme of payments.

But as the Regulations in force make no provision for the drawing up of a budget for the communal expenses, this task falls to the chief town of the vilayet.

Art. 11. In the election of the members of the Communal Council the conditions specified in the Regulations for the general administration of the provinces and in the Regulations for the communes must be observed.

Candidates must not have been sentenced for crimes or political offences.

Art. 12. The Regulations for communal administration provide, it is true, that the Mudirs of the communes, like the members of the Council, shall be elected by the inhabitants. But it is not stated in these Regulations that the members elected shall choose one amongst their numbers for the post of Mudir and inform the Governor-General directly. On the contrary, it is laid down that when the inhabitants have elected the Mudir also, his name shall be communicated through the Kaimakam of the district to which the commune belongs to the Mutessarif, and by the latter to the Vali, who shall confirm the appointment in writing and complete the necessary formalities.

The question whether Mudirs should be appointed by the State or by election is, however, a disputed point even in some European countries. Looking to the special conditions of the Ottoman Empire, the appointment of these Mudirs by the State would be more in accordance with the public interest. The Imperial Government prefers, therefore, that the State should have the choice and appointment of the Mudirs for the communes to be formed in accordance with the two sets of Regulations above mentioned, as is the practice in the case of the Mudirs already existing.

Art. 13. By the terms of Article 12 of the Regulations for communal administration, persons in the Government service, schoolmasters, and priests cannot hold office as Mudir.

Art. 14. This point also is in conformity with Article 16 of the Regulations for communal administration. The last paragraph, however, does not agree with the Article, for in the concluding part of the said Regulations it is clearly laid down that the Mudir and the members may be re-elected. Considering the limited number of persons in the communes capable of fulfilling the duties of members, and the fact that the appointment of Mudirs by the Government is considered preferable, the paragraph in the Regulations respecting the members seems more in accordance with the requirements of the situation.

Art. 15. The duties of the Mudir and the members of the Communal Councils, as well as the mode of electing and replacing them, are laid down in Articles 20 to 27 of the Regulations for the administration of the communes.

Art. 16. This Article is in conformity with the special Articles of the Regulations for the organization and general administration of the vilayets, and of the Regulations for the administration of the communes.

Art. 17. This Article is in conformity with the Regulations for the administration of the vilayets and communes.

CHAPTER V.

Police.

Art. 18. The Regulations in force do not contain provisions for the recruiting of police agents from among the inhabitants of the communes, or for their employment by the Communal Councils. If the police agents of a commune were chosen and recruited from among the inhabitants of that commune, they might have relatives or friends there, or have feelings of personal animosity against certain inhabitants, which would exclude the possibility of their executing their duties conscientiously; or acting with impartiality.

The formation in the chief town of the vilayet of police and gendarmerie, recruited from honest and trustworthy Ottoman subjects, Mussulman and non-Mussulman, in proportion to the total number of Mussulman and non-Mussulman inhabitants in each vilayet, the increase, according to local requirements, of the contingents of gendarmerie and police allotted to the district, and the assignment to the chief towns of communes of an adequate number of men detached from these contingents, seem sufficient to secure the end desired from the point of view of public tranquillity.

Art. 19. The police agents of the chief town of the commune will naturally act, in police matters, under the orders of the Mudir. If these agents are numerous, and if there is among them a Commissioner of Police, they must clearly be subject to the Regulations in force. Their arms and uniform will be of the pattern already adopted for the police. They will receive their pay from the district treasuries. These agents, being paid, must devote themselves exclusively to the discharge of their duties, and will not be permitted to occupy themselves with their private affairs.

Since soldiers of the regular army on active service pay taxes in their native

places, no ground exists for exempting non-Mussulman police agents from payment of the tax of exemption from military service.

The police agents perform their duties within the limits of their districts. The employment of mounted police is therefore uncalled for, and there is no precedent for it.

After it has been ascertained on the spot what number of fresh police agents is required for employment in the vilayets, their recruitment will be proceeded with in accordance with the real and absolute requirements. To avoid unnecessary expense, no greater extension should be given to this measure than absolute necessity warrants. It must be clearly understood that the mode of employment of these agents, their action and duties, must remain within the limits now observed by the corps of police agents, and that they cannot claim any new character.

Art. 20. Police duties, such as the supervision of the roads, the maintenance of public tranquillity, the safe conveyance of the mails, devolve on the gendarmerie, foot and horse. It is the duty of the central authorities of the sandjaks and cazas to send these gendarmes to any place where they are wanted.

CHAPTER VI.

Art. 21. It is advisable to recruit the gendarmes from among the Mussulman and non-Mussulman inhabitants in accordance with local requirements, and to select the officers and non-commissioned officers of this corps from the Imperial army. The pay of the gendarmes is higher than that of the regular soldiers, and that of the officers is the same as that of officers of the Imperial army. It is clear that the pay and expenses of the gendarmerie must be paid by the treasuries of the vilayets according to the established rule.

CHAPTER VII.

Prisons.

Art. 22. The accused are detained in the houses of detention, and the convicted in the prisons. It is the duty of the Valis, Mutessarifs, and Kaimakams to see that the prisons are in a proper sanitary condition. The Procureurs-Généraux are also bound to hold inspections for this purpose. The prisons have a complete staff of officials and servants, such as a Governor, clerks, warders. Instructions might be sent with a view to still greater care being taken, by these means, in the supervision of the condition of the houses of detention and prisons, which are in charge of gendarmes and police agents. Torture and ill-treatment of accused persons and prisoners are forbidden by the law, which imposes the strictest penalties on those who transgress it.

CHAPTER VIII.

Art. 23. Preliminary inquiries are now held at Constantinople and in the provinces by the Councils of Police. The method recommended appears in the instructions relative to the general administration of the vilayets.

CHAPTER IX.

Art. 24. The presence in each vilayet of an Ashiret-Memuri charged with the administration of the nomad Kurds, and the arrest and delivery of brigands and criminals, offers no practical advantage, and does not appear to be a practicable arrangement, as it is improbable that the Chiefs of one tribe can exercise any influence over another tribe. Therefore the pursuit and arrest of brigands and criminals among the nomad tribes, and their delivery to the Tribunals, must be left to the gendarmerie, and depend on the orders given and the steps taken by the Vali. The majority of these tribes are not nomadic; their principal means of subsistence being the breeding of cattle; they go in summer to their pastures, and return in winter to their homes in the small towns and villages. The localities to be traversed by them in these migrations will be indicated beforehand, and to prevent their committing any encroachments or excesses on the property or persons of the residents in these localities, a sufficient armed force, commanded by an officer named by the Commander of the Army Corps, as well as a detachment of gendarmes and officers selected by the Vali, will be sent to the spot. Care will be taken that the provisions of the Regulations as to passes and the carrying of arms are strictly applied to them.

As a guarantee that these tribes will obey the orders given them, the Chiefs of the tribes sometimes send to the chief town of the nearest vilayet or sandjak one of their kinsmen or friends enjoying the esteem and confidence of the tribe to remain there as hostage until their return home. This custom will continue in force. If there are any tribes which are always wandering, the Government will take care to encourage them to remain stationary by grants of lands and pastures.

The above are the measures which may be regarded as necessary.

The Valis, Mutessarifs, and Kaïmakams will take the greatest care that Chiefs of tribes are not exposed to insults or dangers through the intrigues or calumnies of worthless characters.

CHAPTER X.

Art. 25. The manner of employing the Hamidié regiments, if it is found necessary to call them under arms at other than the regular times, is indicated. As the Regulations concerning these regiments are being revised, the restrictions relative to carrying arms and wearing uniform outside the training times are points which come under the provisions of the new Regulations to be drawn up. If the Hamidié troopers, outside the periods of training, that is, when not under arms, commit acts which render them liable to be prosecuted, they are amenable to the jurisdiction of the ordinary Tribunals.

CHAPTER XI.

Art. 26. The Imperial Government, taking into consideration the question of the security of real property, had already laid down the principle that uniform title-deeds should be issued by the Administration of the Archives for land and real property of every description, and that the old system, according to which, both at Constantinople and in the provinces, various kinds of title-deeds were issued for those properties, should be abolished. Thus, by the issue, by the aforesaid Administration, of regular title-deeds, both for "émirié" and "vakouf" lands, and for real property which is "mulk," the rights of property of the populations have been secured. Admitting that, for the examination of matters connected with real property, a special knowledge of the laws on the subject is necessary, such an examination cannot be carried out by mere local Commissions composed of Mussulman and non-Mussulman members. It is therefore advisable to appoint, for this purpose, Commissions composed of four members, two Mussulman and two non-Mussulman, to sit in the chief towns of the vilayets, under the presidency of the Delegate of the Administration of the Archives, and in the chief towns of the sandjaks under the presidency of the Superintendent of Real Property.

It will be the special duty of these Commissions to inquire into the validity of the titles of those who claim to have proprietary rights. But as it is possible that some people, through ignorance of the law, may not have applied for title-deeds of their lands and real property, and as, on the other hand, others may have obtained title-deeds on *ex parte* declarations, it is necessary to take this important point also into consideration in the process of revision; to inquire into the circumstances connected with the possession, by purchase, transfer, or inheritance, of real property and lands for which, for one reason or another, the owners have not obtained title-deeds; to deprive none of their ancient rights because title-deeds are not forthcoming; to make an investigation in the case of those who have by some means obtained title-deeds without their rights of ownership being thoroughly established, in order to discover how they came by those title-deeds; to protect, by these means, the property of every one from all usurpation; and, finally, to leave no loop-hole for unfounded claims and fraud; and to take special care to preserve intact the Vakouf lands and other real property.

The above must be the principal task of the aforesaid Commissions.

Their decisions must be examined and approved by the Administrative Councils of Vilayets and Sandjaks. Matters which require to be decided in a Court of law should be referred to the Tribunals; and in order that this may be done in accordance with the principle of administrative centralization, four persons, most honourable and upright men with a blameless past, shall be sent every year from the capital to the vilayets with instructions to ascertain whether anything is being done that is contrary to law or equity, and to report the result to the Sublime Porte. By this means a control will be exercised.

CHAPTER XII.

Collection of Tithes.

Art. 27. The impossibility, in view of the condition of the populations, of collecting in money all the revenues drawn from the tithes generally, has been proved by experience at different times and places. The payment of the tithe in kind at harvest-time is clearly a convenience to the inhabitants. Moreover, as the letting of the tithes by villages, and the farming of them, if a request for such an arrangement is made by the inhabitants, is allowed under the terms of the Regulations governing the subject, the maintenance of this rule appears necessary. Collectors were formerly appointed to collect the other revenues of the Empire; but as this method did not insure the regular receipt of the taxes, or a normal system such as would meet the convenience of the populations in the matter of the administration of the public revenues, and as the Imperial Government were obliged to look for a system of collection that would not necessitate the employment of the public force, special corps were formed, charged with the business in connection with the levy of taxation. The principle has been laid down that no forage or food may be requisitioned by these corps in the localities they visit, under pain of severe punishment. As the Mukhtars and Receivers of the villages and wards, elected by the inhabitants, are responsible for the actual collection, and the delivery to, the local treasuries of the taxes owing by the inhabitants, it is likewise laid down that no money is to pass through the hands of persons belonging to the special staff above mentioned. It therefore seems unnecessary to substitute the arrangement proposed for the system now obtaining, especially as the Collectors, who it is proposed should be chosen and appointed by the Communal Councils, must necessarily be, as has been shown, the Receivers and Mukhtars elected by the inhabitants.

Art. 28. The experiment made by the Imperial Government of collecting the tithes directly, instead of farming them out, far from introducing regularity into this branch of the service, led on the contrary to loss of revenue, and to complaints of all sorts on the part of the populations. For this reason the system of farming out was re-established. Only, in order to avoid any ground for complaint, various clauses and restrictions were inserted in the Regulations concerning the tithes. For instance, the farming out of the tithes on a large scale was abolished, and replaced, as stated under the preceding Article, by the system of farming them out by villages in the name of the inhabitants, for the encouragement and convenience of these latter. Moreover, just as when there is difficulty in obtaining payment of the money due from the tithe-farmers, the Government has recourse to the Tribunals, in the same way, in accordance with the rule in force, the inhabitants have the power of applying freely to the Administrative Councils and the Tribunals in cases of complaints or claims against the farmers.

The corvée has for many years been absolutely prohibited. Offenders in this matter are liable to penalties. There is therefore no occasion to draw up fresh restrictive Regulations on the subject. The establishment of public treasuries in the communes was also tried formerly, but this experiment, far from tending to greater regularity of operations, occasioned gratuitous loss to the Treasury. There would therefore be no material advantage in a renewal of this experiment. It is advisable to maintain the system now in force, by which the fixed expenses of the communes inserted in the budgets of the vilayets are paid every month by the treasuries of the cazas. The expenses of the vilayets and sandjaks inserted in the budget are likewise paid by the public treasuries.

Expenditure on building and repairs, grants for bridges and roads, and the operations connected with contributions in kind and in money, concern the Department of Public Works, which communicates with the vilayets in these matters for all necessary purposes. As regards the sums necessary to meet the expenses of public instruction, they are inserted in the budget by the Department of Public Instruction, which arranges for the payments in communication with the authorities.

Taking into consideration the established Regulations, it is advisable that the present system should remain in force.

The population has never had to provide gratuitously for the officials or Imperial troops lodgings or provisions for their maintenance. Nor has it been harshly treated in connection with the levying of the taxes. The considerable arrears which are owing each year by the population to the Treasury on account of the tax for exemption from military service and other taxes are a proof of this. Moreover, as Regulations are in existence forbidding the sale for debts to the Treasury or personal debts of the private residence of the taxpayer, of the land necessary for his subsistence, of his tools and

agricultural implements, of his beasts of labour, or of his seed, there is no occasion for making new Regulations and laws to this effect.

CHAPTER XIII.

Art. 29. There are in the communes Councils of Elders, whose business it is to settle by friendly agreement disputes of little importance, and to reconcile the parties in accordance with the established Regulations.

Art. 30. There exist in the cazas Courts of First Instance constituted in accordance with the provisions of the Organic Law of the Tribunals. In the villages the duties of Magistrates are discharged by the Councils of Elders, and in the communes by the Communal Councils. Their duties and the extent of their competency in the settlement of cases are defined by the Law above mentioned. No legal provision exists for the appointment, as recommended, of Magistrates in the chief towns of the cazas and communes. Nor are there in the communes and villages persons conversant with legal questions. Consequently, it would not be advisable to appoint Magistrates invested with such extensive powers.

Art. 31. Under the preceding Article, it was shown that no grounds exist for creating Magisterial Courts.

There is, therefore, no need to discuss their functions.

Art. 32. In civil matters, the appointment of Arbitrators does not come within the duties of the Tribunals. Under the Commercial Code, the Commercial Tribunals appoint experts in suits pending between Companies. Moreover, as it has already been stated that there is no necessity for the creation of Magisterial Courts, there is no need to discuss further the assignment of such a function.

Art. 33. As it has been shown that it is useless and impossible to establish Magisterial Courts, and that it is necessary to maintain the existing organization of the Magistrate's jurisdiction, it follows naturally that the Tribunals of First Instance of the districts must be preserved.

Art. 34. In view of the uselessness of Magisterial Courts, as shown above, the description of their functions in this Article ceases to have any application.

Art. 35. The necessity for maintaining the Tribunals of First Instance of the cazas has already been explained. As regards the Civil and Criminal Tribunals of the sandjaks, the judicial laws do not provide for the institution of movable Courts of Assize, intended to take the place of the Criminal Tribunals in dealing with criminal cases.

It is not apparent what would be the advantage of such an arrangement, or how it could be carried out, for the difficulties of communication would entail loss of time while a Court of this kind was on circuit. In winter the roads would be blocked in some places; so that criminal cases, especially those of persons caught *flagrante delicto*, which require a speedy trial and sentence, would be delayed by the non-appearance of the Court at the proper time; such delays would make it difficult to collect the evidence in support of the prosecution, and would prevent justice being done in criminal and civil actions.

Art. 36. As shown under the preceding Article, the organization of movable Courts is difficult and useless. There is no occasion, therefore, to settle the manner in which these Courts should be organized.

Art. 37. Since it is not considered advisable to organize movable Courts, there is no need to discuss the duties of such Courts.

Art. 38. As the creation of movable Courts has not been found admissible in principle, this Article need not be considered.

Art. 39. The creation in the chief towns of the vilayets of a High Court, composed of a President and two members, is foreign to the provisions of the judicial Laws. At the chief town of each vilayet there are now two Courts of Appeal, one Civil, the other Criminal, each composed of a President and four members, as well as Civil and Criminal Courts of First Instance, composed of a President and two members. The Courts of Appeal examine civil and criminal cases tried by the Courts of First Instance. As regards criminal cases arising in the chief towns of the vilayets, the Court of Appeal deals with them in the first place.

The Civil and Criminal Courts of First Instance, each composed of a President and two members who are in the cazas, deal, in accordance with the Organic Laws of the Tribunals and the Codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure, with civil and criminal cases in the chief towns of the sandjaks, and examine, on appeal, decisions of the Tribunals of cazas where appeal can be made.

Experience has proved the sufficiency and utility of the organization of the provincial Tribunals. There is therefore no occasion, from a legal or practical point of view, to modify this organization in order to create a High Court such as that mentioned above.

The decisions of the ordinary Tribunals in civil and criminal matters must absolutely be drawn up in Turkish, the official language of the country.

Inclosure 2 in No. 130.

Summary by Colonel Chermiside of the Porte's last Answer.

Headings.

Précis.

CHAPTER I.

ARTICLE 1. Grants non-Mussulman Muavins.

Art. 2. Refuses five years' term.

Art. 3.

Art. 4. Refuses proportion of Christian Mutesarifs demanded.

Admits non-Mussulman Muavins.

Art. 5. Kaïmakams:—

Proportion of Christians asked refused.

Graduates of Civil School, Moslem and Christian, are eligible; present system considered satisfactory. No definite undertaking.

Art. 6. One-third proportion of Mutesarifs and Kaïmakams not accepted.

Will appoint Muavins to assist Kaïmakams where necessary.

Existing Councils maintained instead of proposed reorganization.

Art. 7. Maintains organization of nahiés as prescribed in existing Regulations, but not given practical effect to; does not accept proposed reorganization.

Art. 8. Qualified acceptance of nahié Administration by Mudir and Council.

Arts. 9 and 10. Election of nahié Council according to existing Rules. Mudir to be paid. Nahié expenses not to

ARTICLE 1. Acknowledges that post of Vali is open to Christians, but goes so far as to assert that their nomination for various reasons would be undesirable; undertakes to name, where necessary, non-Mussulman assistants to Valis.

Art. 2. Refuses five years' term.

Art. 3. Covered by Article 1.

Art. 4. Asserts Mussulman majority exists in most of sandjaks, accordingly Mussulman Mutesarifs appear desirable; does not even state that Christian Mutesarifs will be admitted; admits non-Mussulman Muavins.

Art. 5. Kaïmakams:—

Graduates of Civil School, Moslem and Christian, can occupy this post on nomination of Minister of the Interior.

No undertaking as to nominating any definite proportion of Christians.

Any actual Kaïmakams, Moslem or Christian, not from the School, can be appointed to the post.

Art. 6. Maintains existing system generally, but will create post of Muavin in certain cazas.

Refuses proposed reorganized Council of Caza, and maintains the actual system in force.

Ignores other recommendations, but by inference refuses Council-General.

Art. 7. Communal organization would be established according to Laws of 1286 and 1292. (These hitherto have only been partially applied.) The modifications proposed are not accepted.

Art. 8. Nahié Administration by Mudir and Council approved. Suggests only four members; not from four to eight as proposed.

Arts. 9 and 10. Maintains existing Rules without modifications. Does not make the Mudir an official elected by the people.

Headings.

be separate, but charged in vilayet budget.

Art. 11. Election of Communal Council.

Art. 12. Election of Mudir by people refused.

Art. 13. No observations.

Art. 14. Prefers existing Regulations to those proposed.

No concessions made.

Art. 18. Rural police refused.

Police and gendarmes to be recruited from Christians and Moslems in proportion to respective numbers of population.

Art. 19. Police in nahiés to be organized and administered as at present, where such exist.

Art. 20. Refusal to assign certain proposed duties to local police.

Art. 21. Refuses proposal as to reorganization of gendarmerie, except as regards admission of Christians.

Art. 22. Prisons. Separation of accused and convicted. Warder service, &c.

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Précis.

Allows his pay, but does not admit communal budget.

Art. 11. Unimportant detail. No remarks to make on Porte's observations. No concessions made.

Art. 12. Points out the difference of formalities of election of Mudir, as laid down in the existing Regulations and in the project. States that the Government prefers to continue nomination as at present practised.

Art. 13. No concession. No remarks to make on Porte's observations.

Art. 14. Annual renewal of Council; points out few eligible people in nahié; prefers existing Regulations.

Arts. 15, 16, 17 call for no observations.

Art. 18. Objects to local police proposed in project.

Vilayet gendarmerie to be recruited from all classes in proportion to respective numbers. Contingents to be sent to nahiés; *i.e.*, existing Regulations maintained.

Art. 19. Police of nahiés to be under orders of Mudirs, and remain in all respects as at present. They will be paid from district treasuries. Not to follow other occupations. Exemption of non-Mussulmans from military service tax refused.

Mounted police unnecessary. Agents of police to have exactly the same functions and attributes as under the existing Regulations.

Note.—The whole of this observation seems based on a misapprehension, *i.e.*, that the rural police proposed in the reform project were intended to be police agents similar to the Turkish police agents employed in cities, and not be merely a local force to replace in a great measure gendarmerie, and maintain public security.

Art. 20. Reserves to the central authorities the execution of certain duties which it was proposed to take from them and place in the hands of the communal authorities.

Art. 21. Gendarmes to be recruited from Mussulmans and non-Mussulmans. Officers and non-commissioned officers to be taken from the army. No mention made of Christian officers or non-commissioned officers.

Prisons.

Art. 22. States that accused and convicted are kept separate. Valis and Mutesarifs are responsible for hygiene. Prisons

Q 2

Headings.

Art. 23. Preliminary inquest of accused.

Art. 24. Rejects Ashiret-Memouri, but will control emigration with troops and gendarmes, and enforce port d'armes Regulations, &c.

Art. 25. Hamidieh cavalry Regulations to be amended in sense of proposal.

Clause as to limitation of number of Hamidieh to be employed not accepted.

Art. 26. Special Commissions, one President and four members (two Mussulman and two non-Mussulman) to revise title-deeds, and one Commission at vilayet and sandjak head-quarters accepted.

Annual Commission to guarantee rights in future conceded.

Art. 27. Rejects proposed system of tax collection; considers present one good and preferable.

Précis.

have complete staffs. More care can be enjoined. Torture, &c., is forbidden. In fact states that the proposals are entirely in accordance with the present Regulations.

Art. 23. States that a preliminary inquest exists, and that proposal is in accordance with existing Regulations.

Art. 24. Porte's observation affects to consider that this Article proposes that a tribal Chief should be made responsible for the migrations—a complete misapprehension—it wishes to leave matter to regular authorities. Points out that many of the pastoral tribes only migrate to summer pastures, and in winter reside in villages. Migrations will be controlled by military detachments and gendarmes, and travelling and port d'armes Regulations will be enforced. The system actually in force will be maintained of tribes occasionally giving hostages to Government during migrations. Refractory tribes who continually contravene these Regulations will be made to settle permanently.

The Valis, &c., will take special care that the Chiefs of tribes are not exposed to insult or outrages.

Art. 25. The manner of employment of Hamidieh troops is prescribed in the Regulations. The Regulations are being recast and the restrictions as to carrying arms and uniforms, when not on duty, by Hamidieh troopers are points which come under the provisions of the new Regulations to be elaborated. When not on duty Hamidieh troopers are amenable to the jurisdiction of the ordinary Courts.

Art. 26. States that a very competent Commission is required, and one will be appointed at each vilayet head-quarters, consisting of President, two Moslem and two non-Moslem members.

Resolutions of Commissioners to be submitted to Administrative Councils of vilayet and sandjaks.

An annual Commission to be sent to see if all questions relating to property have been equitably treated.

Art. 27. Collection of tithe in money has been found impracticable after experience.

The inhabitants can, if they wish, farm their own tithes.

Collectors were formerly appointed; this system was satisfactory, and the Government, wishing to avoid using the public forces for collection, a special corps has been formed. Its members may not requisition food and forage.

The elected Mukhtars and village

Headings.

Art. 28. Abolition of farming of tithes is not approved; official *corvée* abolished, but not "prestation;" proposed local assignment of revenues is rejected in favour of the existing system.

The forced sale Regulations of project correspond with the law.

Art. 29. Conseil des Anciens exists.

Arts. 30, 31, 32, 33, and 34. Rejects Juges de Paix.

Arts. 35, 36, 37, and 38. Rejects Assize Courts and their proposed procedure.

Art. 39. Rejects new proposed organization of Superior Tribunal of vilayet.

Art. 40. Affirms that sentences should be in Turkish. Ignores the Regulation as to translation.

Précis.

Receivers alone have the manipulation of cash, not the corps of Collectors.

Accordingly, it is useless to replace the above system by the proposed one.

Art. 28. The experiment of the Government in collecting tithes directly instead of farming was unsatisfactory; accordingly, farming has been re-established, with safe-guarding clauses; the farming *en gros* is abolished, and the tithes offered for sale village by village; the inhabitants are allowed to buy them. Difficulties are referred to Tribunals and Councils of Administration.

Corvée does not exist. Communal Treasuries have been established, but they were a cause of loss, therefore it would be no good to renew this experiment. It is important to maintain the present system.

The cost of constructions, repairs, road making, &c., as well as "prestation," in kind or money, concern the Minister of Public Works, who corresponds with the Valis on this subject.

Expenses of public instruction are arranged by the Minister of Public Instruction in conjunction with the Valis.

This system should be maintained.

Porte's observation.

Denies population having to give free lodging and provisions, or being badly treated in tax collecting.

Regulations already exist as to not selling up actual residence, necessary land, and tools for debt; therefore, no new Regulations are necessary.

Art. 29. Points out Conseil des Anciens exists.

Arts. 30, 31, 32, 33, and 34. Courts of First Instance exist in each *caza*. This arrangement is preferable to Juges de Paix.

Arts 35, 36, 37, and 38. Assize Courts not being suitable owing to considerations of communications, climate, &c., the *sandjak* Courts should remain as now.

Art. 39. Rejects proposed High Court of vilayet as a consequence of the rejection of Assize Courts, and as not being comprised in existing Regulations. Describes in some detail the well-known existing Regulations. Experience has shown sufficiency and utility of existing organization.

Art. 40. Affirms that Judgments and sentences should be in Turkish, the official language of the country.

No. 131.

Sir P. Currie to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received August 7.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, August 7, 1895, 10.45 A.M.

YESTERDAY the Dragomans were sent for by the Foreign Minister, who communicated to them officially the following:—

“Tout ce qui n'a pas été rejeté dans sa réponse, la Sublime Porte s'engage à exécuter; on exécutera aussi avec leurs modifications les Articles modifiés.”

No doubt the objections taken to the vagueness of the terms of the answer of the Porte received on the 2nd August are intended to be met by this communication, but no adequate guarantee for the welfare and security of life and property of the Christian subjects of the Porte, which in the words of Prince Lobanoff are the object of the joint action of the three Powers, is offered by the accepted reforms.

No. 132.

The Marquess of Salisbury to Sir P. Currie.

Sir,

Foreign Office, August 7, 1895.

RUSTEM PASHA called to-day to inform me of the nature of the concessions which the Sultan was prepared to make in reference to the Armenian question. They did not, apparently, go further than an assurance on the part of the Government of Turkey that reforms would be introduced, and that justice would be done. There was no guarantee which would satisfy the public opinion of Europe that these engagements on the part of the Turkish Government would be performed.

I pointed out to his Excellency this defect, but he insisted that any guarantee other than the promise of the Sultan of Turkey would be in prejudice of the rights and inconsistent with the dignity of his Sovereign.

I warned his Excellency in as earnest language as I could employ of the danger to which the Ottoman Empire was being exposed by trifling with questions of this kind. The attempt to avoid the honest performance of the duties of Government by artifices of negotiation which could only put off the evil day was a policy of the results of which Turkey had already had a sinister experience, and which might lead her into grievous calamity.

Rustem Pasha dwelt much on the fact that these troubles were begun by the turbulence or the organized revolt of the Armenians, and that as many crimes were to be laid to their door as to that of the Turkish soldiers.

I replied that, from our point of view, his defence was wholly inapplicable. What we complained of was that the proper duties of Government were not done, that the state of society in many of the provinces was mere anarchy, and that it mattered little in dealing with the justice of these charges whether the outrages were committed by Mussulmans upon Armenians or by Armenians upon Mussulmans. I said the responsibility for this state of things must be considered as ultimately resting upon the Sultan, and that I feared he was surrounded by councillors who concealed the truth from his eyes.

I am, &c.

(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 133.

The Marquess of Salisbury to Sir F. Lascelles.

Sir,

Foreign Office, August 7, 1895.

THE Russian Chargé d'Affaires called upon me to-day to speak about the Armenian question.

I told him how the matter stood, and, in reply, he renewed the assurance which I had already received, that Prince Lobanoff was resolved to act in concert with Her Majesty's Government on this question, it being only understood that nothing in the shape of the creation of an autonomous state in Armenia should be attempted.

I replied that I entirely agreed as to the impossibility of establishing such a state, and the great inexpediency, therefore, of making any efforts in that direction.

The inclination of my mind was, at present, to consider whether there was not some arrangement which we could demand of the Sultan as a legitimate consequence of the provisions of the LXIst Article of the Treaty of Berlin. By that Article we had a right to exercise surveillance, but surveillance did not consist in an Ambassador residing at Constantinople and looking on, but involved some more active and effectual form of vigilance. The problem before us was to devise some machinery for surveillance which would be effective, and which yet should not inflict an unnecessary wound upon the susceptibilities of the Sultan with regard to his prerogatives.

I am, &c.

(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 134.

The Marquess of Salisbury to Sir F. Lascelles.

Sir,

Foreign Office, August 9, 1895.

THE Russian Chargé d'Affaires informed me to-day that his Government had not yet received the text of the Sultan's reply with regard to reforms in the Armenian provinces, and that until it was in their hands they could express no opinion.

Prince Lobanoff was disposed to entertain the idea of devising "some machinery for surveillance," as suggested in my conversation with M. Kroupensky of the 7th instant, but considered that any such proposal must be clearly and precisely defined before being submitted to the Sultan.

I am, &c.

(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 135.

Sir P. Currie to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received August 12.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, August 12, 1895, 7.30 P.M.

IT was decided at a meeting I had with my Russian and French colleagues that to-morrow a paper should be presented to the Porte by our Dragomans summarizing in exact terms the reforms which have been accepted in the answers of the Turkish Government.

The Dragomans are to ask the Porte whether these reforms are the measures which are to be put into execution by Shakir Pasha; and on Thursday they are to call for a reply. We propose, on receipt of the assent of the Porte to this paper, to forward it to our Governments, at the same time suggesting additions recommended by the three Ambassadors.

No. 136.

Sir F. Lascelles to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received August 13.)

(Telegraphic.)

St. Petersburg, August 13, 1895.

IN reply to the observations made by your Lordship on the 7th instant, Prince Lobanoff has telegraphed to the Russian Representative in London that, before seeing the Sultan's answer, he is unable to express an opinion upon it. Some system of surveillance, as suggested by your Lordship, might, in his Excellency's opinion, obviate the difficulty, but he wishes to be informed of the nature of this surveillance. The formation of a permanent Committee to supervise the administration would render us directly responsible for it, and his Excellency is averse to it, but he is willing to join in urging upon the Turkish Government the desirability of a temporary Committee to superintend the introduction of reforms.

Prince Lobanoff informed me, in reply to my question as to how far the Imperial Government were prepared to go in pressing these reforms upon the Sultan, that both the Emperor and he himself were strongly against force being used by any or all of the Powers.

No. 137.

*The Marquess of Salisbury to Mr. Howard.**

Sir,

Foreign Office, August 13, 1895.

THE French Ambassador called here to-day and asked me about the state of affairs in the Armenian provinces.

I told his Excellency that I was more and more coming to the conclusion that the strongest position for the three Powers to occupy was that assigned to them by the LXIst Article of the Treaty of Berlin, and that we should claim the right of surveillance and all other rights which that provision of the Treaty necessarily carried with it. No genuine surveillance could be exercised by an authority seated at Constantinople; it must be some authority locally resident at Van, Bitlis, or Erzeroum, or at some other suitable spot in the disturbed country. If a Commission consisting of four Turkish members and three Commissioners nominated by the three Powers were appointed to reside in the Armenian provinces with full authority to investigate and report, some security would be obtained for the adoption of reforms and a means of remedy provided should misgovernment again prevail. A Commission of this kind would not, I thought, go beyond the rights conferred by the Treaty of Berlin, and the majority of members being Turkish, there would be no infringement of the Sultan's prerogatives, while if three European Commissioners of sufficient weight and standing were selected they would be able, as they might deem necessary, to direct the proceedings of the Commission. It was essential, however, that each of the Commissioners should have the right of individual investigation and report, and that all facilities necessary for this purpose should be afforded to them.

M. De Courcel was of opinion that on this basis it would be possible to construct an arrangement for adjusting the present difficulties without injury to the rights of the Sultan, and his Excellency thought that Russia might be persuaded to accept some plan such as that indicated. The position of his Government, he observed, was that of an intermediary; whatever course the British and Russian Governments agreed upon, they might feel assured that France would also be ready to adopt.

I am, &c.

(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 138.

The Marquess of Salisbury to Sir F. Lascelles.†

(Extract.)

Foreign Office, August 16, 1895.

THE Russian Chargé d'Affaires communicated to me this afternoon a message from Prince Lobanoff, stating that the reply of the Turkish Government relative to the proposed reforms in the Armenian Provinces, which had just reached him, was merely an analysis, Article by Article, of the Scheme prepared by the three Ambassadors, and did not indicate the measures which Shakir Pasha was authorized to introduce. Nevertheless, the Russian Government having never regarded the project of the Ambassadors in the light of an ultimatum, did not consider it desirable that the Powers should endeavour to impose it upon the Porte, with whom they preferred to leave the whole responsibility of the measures to be adopted. From this point of view, the idea which I had suggested that the Powers should limit their action to the organization of "une surveillance," appeared to the Russian Government in entire accordance with the requirements of the LXIst Article of the Treaty of Berlin.

I told M. Kroupensky that the three Ambassadors at Constantinople were also urging the nomination of a due proportion of Christian functionaries, and that the Valis should be appointed for a term of five years, and I said that I thought they should be supported on these points.

* Substance telegraphed. Also to Sir F. Lascelles.

† Substance telegraphed.

No. 139.

Sir F. Lascelles to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received August 19.)

My Lord,

St. Petersburg, August 9, 1895.

IT was only this afternoon that I had an opportunity, since the receipt on the 6th instant of your Lordship's telegram of the previous day, of seeing Prince Lobanoff.

His Excellency, after listening to a paraphrase of your Lordship's telegram, was good enough to read to me a telegram which he had received yesterday from the Russian Chargé d'Affaires in London, giving an account of a conversation which your Lordship had had with him on the subject of the steps which should now be taken at Constantinople as regards Armenian reforms.

Prince Lobanoff said that he had at once telegraphed to M. Kroupensky to the effect that he could not express an opinion on the Sultan's answer until he had seen the text of it. His Excellency reminded me that he had never concealed from me his opinion of the scheme of reforms drawn up by the Ambassadors at Constantinople, which he considered unworkable. In his opinion, the Ambassadors had gone too far. At the same time, after all that had taken place, he was strongly of opinion that the Sultan should be induced to grant some reforms, and he thought that the suggestion which your Lordship had made in your conversation with M. Kroupensky for some sort of "mécanisme de surveillance" might provide a way out of the difficulty. As it was, the Ambassadors had a right of surveillance, and if it was a question of delegating this right to a Committee composed of the Dragomans of the Embassies and certain Turkish officials for the purpose of watching over the introduction of reforms, he would be happy to join in urging such a proposal on the Sultan, who, he believed, would agree to it. If, however, it was intended to create a permanent institution which should undertake the administration of certain provinces in Asia Minor, he should not be able to agree to it. Russia had formerly been in the position of a "Protecting Power" in the Danubian Principalities and in Serbia, but she had been unable to secure any real improvement in the administration, and the result had been that she had made herself unpopular with the population, who had looked to her for the redress of their grievances. He would therefore strongly object to any proposal which would in any way render the Russian Government responsible for the administration in any part of the Sultan's dominions, as he considered that such responsibility was greater than any Government should incur.

On my asking Prince Lobanoff how far the Russian Government would be prepared to go in putting pressure on the Sultan in the event of His Majesty refusing to take any steps at all, his Excellency replied that he authorized me to state to your Lordship that the idea of the employment of force was personally repugnant to the Emperor; and, in answer to my further inquiries, his Excellency said that the employment of force by any one of the three Powers would be equally distasteful to the Russian Government. He was, however, of opinion that a firm and united attitude on the part of the three Ambassadors at Constantinople would induce the Sultan to yield, and he had lost no opportunity, both in his conversation with the Turkish Ambassador here and in a private and friendly letter which he had lately had occasion to write to the Grand Vizier, to strongly urge the absolute necessity for the Sultan to take immediate steps for the settlement of this question.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

FRANK C. LASCELLES.

No. 140.

Sir F. Lascelles to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received August 19.)

My Lord,

St. Petersburg, August 9, 1895.

IN the conversation with Prince Lobanoff, which I had the honour to record in my preceding despatch of this day's date, his Excellency told me that by the last messenger from Constantinople he had received a number of reports from the Turkish police on the subject of recent events in the Armenian provinces. In consequence of the mass of details and the large number of Armenian names, the perusal of these documents was a somewhat wearisome work, but they clearly proved the existence of a widespread

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revolutionary movement which was strongly supported by the Armenian Committees abroad, and more especially in England.

It was true that it was not possible to place implicit reliance on Turkish reports, but they had received confirmation from an inquiry which had recently been held in Roumania, which proved that among the Armenians there was a large and active party who cared little for reforms or an improved Administration, but sought to bring about a complete state of anarchy. No form of government, however ideally perfect, could ever satisfy this party, who aimed at the destruction of all authority, and the general distribution of property.

It would therefore be necessary in the attempts we were making to obtain an improvement of the administration, and security for the lives and property of the Christian subjects of the Sultan, to avoid giving any encouragement to this party of disorder. At one moment his Excellency had been apprehensive lest Her Majesty's Government might have been induced to go further in the way of demanding some sort of autonomy for the Armenian provinces than the Russian Government could have approved, but the assurances which I had given him that all that Her Majesty's Government wished was to secure a better government and security for life and property, had convinced him that his apprehensions were unfounded, and it was a matter of great satisfaction to him that your Lordship had assumed so moderate and statesmanlike an attitude on this subject.

His Excellency was also gratified to find that the language which he had held to Husny Pasha on the necessity of the Sultan agreeing to reforms had corresponded entirely with that held by your Lordship to Rustem Pasha.

I have, &c.

(Signed) FRANK C. LASCELLES.

No. 141.

Sir P. Currie to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received August 19.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, August 19, 1895, 10.45 P.M.

WITH reference to my telegram of the 12th August, our Summary has come back from the Porte, but the reforms which they had accepted in their note have been still further curtailed.

The document will be sent home on Thursday.

No. 142.

The Marquess of Salisbury to Sir P. Currie.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, August 19, 1895.

I HAVE received, through the Russian Chargé d'Affaires, the reply of the Russian Government to the statements concerning Armenian reforms which I made in my conversation with M. Kroupensky on the 16th instant.

As regards the term of office of the Valis, and the organization of the Gendarmerie, Prince Lobanoff is of opinion that the Sultan is likely to show himself particularly recalcitrant on these points, and that it would not be possible for the Powers, without exceeding the rights conferred by the Treaty of Berlin, to peremptorily insist upon the acceptance of the demands made in regard to them.

His Excellency sees no objection to the proposal that the "Mixed Commission of Surveillance" should sit at Bitlis, Van, or Erzeroum, and that each member should be entitled to make investigations of his own for communication to the Commission.

No. 143.

Sir P. Currie to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received August 20.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, August 20, 1895, 12.30 P.M.

YESTERDAY I met my Russian and French colleagues, to discuss the communication which we had received from the Porte, and which was referred to in my

telegram to your Lordship of the 12th instant. They agreed with me that not only does the summary of accepted reforms as revised by the Porte show no progress, but some concessions which were made in previous notes are actually withdrawn.

We have no intention under the present circumstances of discussing the reforms any further, but shall reply, if pressed, that we await the instructions of our Governments, in whose hands the matter now rests.

No. 144.

The Marquess of Salisbury to Sir P. Currie.

(Extract.)

Foreign Office, August 21, 1895.

THE Turkish Ambassador called on me to-day, and urged very strongly the impossibility of the Sultan giving way to the demand for a Mixed Commission of Surveillance in connection with the introduction of Armenian reforms. Indeed, his Excellency threatened me, not obscurely, with a probable change of policy on the part of Turkey, which would lead her to place herself entirely in the hands of Russia.

His Excellency discussed the question in this sense for more than an hour, but he did not use any argument with which your Excellency is unacquainted. The point upon which he principally relied was the injury which any such concession would do to the prestige of the Sultan in the eyes of his Moslem subjects.

No. 145.

Sir P. Currie to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received August 24.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, August 24, 1895, 9-15 P.M.

DANISH BEY, Director of the Consular Department at the Porte, has been appointed as assistant to Shakir Pasha on the Commission. The other members are Aides-de-camp of the Sultan and officials of the Imperial Chancery, and no Christian is attached to it.

Shakir Pasha leaves for Erzeroum to-morrow.

No. 146.

Sir P. Currie to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received August 25.)

My Lord,

Therapia, August 21, 1895.

WITH reference to my telegram of the 19th instant, I have the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship copy of the paper summarizing the reforms accepted in the Porte's previous answers, which was presented to the Minister for Foreign Affairs by the Dragomans of the three Embassies on the 13th instant, and also a copy of the reply which I have received, entitled "Résumé du Contre-Projet du Gouvernement Impérial."

The differences between this reply and the summary of concessions may be classed under three heads:—

1. The withdrawal of reforms already conceded in the previous answers, as in the case of the absolute rejection of the eligibility of Christians for the posts of Valis and Mutessarifs granted in paragraph 4 of the Porte's answer of the 2nd June, which expressly states that non-Mussulmans will be admitted to administrative posts in each vilayet in proportion to the numbers of the Mussulman and non-Mussulman population.

2. The abrogation of numerous enactments and Regulations which have existed for many years, although they may have been allowed to remain a dead letter, as in the above-quoted case of the rejection of the eligibility of Christians to the higher administrative posts, and also in the case of the appointment of Mudirs, who, according to the Regulations, were to be chosen from the population, but are now to be named by the Imperial Government without any such restriction.

3. The abrogation of Regulations actually existing and hitherto enforced, as in the case of the reassertion without comment of any kind of the publication exclusively in

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Turkish of judicial sentences, whereas the law specially states that they shall be accompanied by a translation in the local language, and also in the case of certain points in connection with the organization of nahiés.

The present communication, like the answer of the 1st August, is altogether more reactionary than the earlier replies, and in some cases no longer makes concessions even in form.

So far from insuring to the Christians a larger share in the administration, the so-called reforms now promised by the Porte formally reserve to the Moslems a still more exclusive control of the Executive than that prescribed by the present Regulations.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PHILIP CURRIE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 146.

Summary of Concessions embodied in the Turkish Draft of Reforms.

Chapitre I.—*Valis.*

ARTICLE 1. Les Valis seront nommés par le Gouvernement. Tous les sujets Ottomans, sans distinction, ont accès au poste de Vali.

Art. 2. La durée des pouvoirs des Valis n'est pas limitée.

Art. 3. Des adjoints non-Musulmans seront nommés auprès des Valis, conformément aux Lois et Règlements.

Ils ont pour attribution, aux termes du Chapitre II du Règlement sur l'administration des vilayets (Aristarchi, vol. 3, p. 13), de coopérer aux affaires générales du vilayet, et d'en préparer l'expédition.

Chapitre II.—*Mutessarifs.*

Art. 4. Les Mutessarifs seront Musulmans ou non-Musulmans.

Ils pourront être assistés de Moavins, qui seront Chrétiens si les Mutessarifs sont Musulmans.

Chapitre III.—*Caïmacams.*

Art. 5. Les Caïmacams seront choisis par le Ministère de l'Intérieur parmi les diplômés de l'École Civile, sans distinction de religion.

Les Caïmacams actuellement en fonctions et reconnus capables pourront, quoique non-diplômés de cette école, continuer leur carrière dans l'Administration.

Art. 6. Des sujets Ottomans non-Musulmans seront admis aux postes administratifs proportionnellement au chiffre total des populations Musulmanes et non-Musulmanes de chaque vilayet.

Dans les cazas "ayant une position importante," des Moavins ayant une religion différente de celle du Caïmacam seront nommés.

Sont maintenus les Conseils Administratifs du sandjak et du caza, composés de membres de droit et de membres élus.

Chapitre IV.—*Nahiés.*

Art. 7. L'organisation des nahiés sera mise en vigueur selon les prescriptions des Articles 94 à 106 du Règlement sur l'administration générale des vilayets du 9 Janvier, 1286, et des Articles 1 à 28 du Règlement sur l'administration communale de 25 Mars, 1292.

Art. 8. Chaque nahié sera administré par un Moudir et un Conseil composé de quatre membres élus parmi les habitants. L'un d'eux sera adjoint. Il y aura, en outre, un Secrétaire.

Art. 9. L'élection des membres du Conseil du nahié se fera proportionnellement aux classes de la population.

Art. 10. Les Moudirs et les Secrétaires des nahiés seront rétribués.

Art. 11. Les candidats au Conseil du nahié devront remplir les conditions prescrites par la loi.

Art. 12. Les Moudirs seront nommés par le Gouvernement, et choisis parmi les habitants du nahié, selon les stipulations de l'Article 10 du Règlement sur l'administration des communes (Aristarchi, vol. 5, p. 61).

Art. 13. Les fonctionnaires, les professeurs, et les prêtres ne peuvent être Moudirs.

Art. 14. Les membres du Conseil sont renouvelés par moitié chaque année et rééligibles. Le Moudir restera en fonction deux ans, et ses pouvoirs pourront être renouvelés.

Art. 15. Les attributions du Moudir et des Conseils sont réglées par les Articles 20 à 27 du Règlement sur l'administration des communes.

Art. 16. Chaque village aura un Moukhtar; s'il y a plusieurs quartiers plusieurs classes d'habitants, il y aura un Moukhtar par quartier et par classe.

Art. 17. Aucun village ne pourra relever de deux nahiés à la fois.

Chapitre V.—Police.

Art. 18. La police et la gendarmerie seront recrutées parmi les sujets Ottomans dans la proportion du chiffre général des habitants Musulmans et non-Musulmans du vilayet. Des contingents suffisants seront affectés à chaque subdivision administrative, y compris le nahié.

Art. 19. Les agents de police affectés au service du nahié agiront sous les ordres du Moudir. Leur solde sera payée par les caisses des districts.

Les agents non-Musulmans continueront à payer la taxe d'exonération du service militaire.

Art. 20. C'est la gendarmerie qui est chargée du maintien de l'ordre et de l'escorte de la poste.

Chapitre VI.—Gendarmerie.

Art. 21. Les gendarmes seront recrutés parmi les habitants Musulmans et non-Musulmans de l'Empire proportionnellement au chiffre total des populations des différentes religions dans chaque vilayet.

Malgré la promesse contenue dans le paragraphe 4 final de la réponse de la Porte du 2 Juin, 1895, la Porte écarte les Chrétiens des grades d'officiers et de sous-officiers dans la gendarmerie.

Chapitre VII.—Prisons.

Art. 22. Il sera apporté plus de soins à l'application des Règlements concernant la tenue des prisons et le traitement des détenus et des prisonniers.

Chapitre VIII.—Comité d'Enquête Préliminaire.

Art. 23. Le Comité d'Enquête préliminaire fonctionnera suivant les prescriptions de l'Article 11 des Instructions sur l'administration des vilayets. (Aristarchi, vol. 5, p. 53.)

Chapitre IX.—Contrôle des Kurdes.

Art. 24. Les localités de migration des Kurdes seront fixées d'avance, et un officier avec une force armée suffisante et de gendarmes accompagnera la tribu dans sa migration. Un Commissaire de Police lui sera adjoint.

Les Kurdes donneront des otages pendant leurs migrations.

Les Règlements sur les feuilles de route et le port d'armes seront appliqués aux Kurdes.

S'il y a des tribus "constamment errantes," le Gouvernement les engagera à se fixer en leur concédant des terres.

Le droit d'élection et d'éligibilité n'appartient pas aux individus faisant partie des populations non sédentaires.

Chapitre X.—Cavalerie Hamidié.

Art. 25. Le port d'armes et d'uniformes par les cavaliers Hamidiés, en dehors des périodes d'instruction, seront défendus par des Règlements militaires à élaborer.

Dans les mêmes circonstances ils sont justiciables des Tribunaux ordinaires.

Chapitre XI.—Titres de Propriété.

Art. 26. On instituera au chef-lieu du vilayet et des sandjaks des Commissions pour la revision des titres de propriété. Ces Commissions seront composées de quatre membres (deux Musulmans et deux non-Musulmans) et présidées par le Directeur des Archives ou le préposé aux immeubles.

Leurs décisions seront soumises aux Conseils Administratifs.

En outre, quatre délégués seront envoyés chaque année de Constantinople aux vilayets pour examiner les irrégularités qui auraient pu surgir dans les affaires de propriété.

Chapitre XII.—Perception des Dîmes et Impôts.

Art. 27. Des "détachements spéciaux" sont chargés de la perception des impôts, pour éviter l'emploi de la force publique. Ces détachements ne peuvent faire aucune réquisition de fourrages et de vivres. Le prélèvement et la consignation des impôts aux caisses de l'État incombent aux Moukhtars et aux Receveurs des villages et quartiers élus par les habitants.

Les membres des "détachements spéciaux" n'ont pas à manier d'argent.

Art. 28. La perception de la dîme se fera par voie d'affermage. L'affermage en gros reste aboli et a été remplacé par la mise en adjudication par villages et au nom des habitants avec recours aux Tribunaux en cas de difficultés.

La prestation en nature et en argent est maintenue.

Le budget de l'Instruction Publique dans chaque vilayet est fixé par le Ministère de l'Instruction Publique.

La vente pour cause de dettes fiscales ou personnelles de la demeure du contribuable, des terrains nécessaires à sa subsistance, de ses instruments de travail, de ses bêtes de labour, et de ses grains demeure interdite.

Chapitre XIII.—Justice.

Art. 29. Il y aura dans chacune des localités du nahié un Conseil des Anciens présidé par le Moukhtar et dont la mission sera de concilier à l'amiable les contestations entre les habitants.

Arts 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, et 39. L'organisation judiciaire demeurera telle qu'elle est à présent.

Art. 40. Les jugements seront exclusivement libellés en langue Turque. L'Article 26 des Instructions sur les vilayets (Aristarchi, vol. v, p. 56) déclare que les jugements seront libellés en Ture et seront accompagnés, suivant les besoins, d'une traduction en langue locale.

(Translation.)

Chapter I.—Valis.

ARTICLE 1. The Valis will be appointed by the Government. All Ottoman subjects, without distinction, are eligible for the post of Vali.

Art. 2. The duration of the powers of the Valis is not limited.

Art. 3. Non-Mussulman Assistants will be attached to the Valis, in accordance with the Laws and Regulations.

In accordance with the terms of Chapter II of the Regulations concerning the administration of the vilayets (Aristarchi, vol. iii, p. 13), their function is to assist in the general business of the vilayet and to attend to its despatch.

Chapter II.—*Mutessarifs.*

Art. 4. The Mutessarifs will be Mussulmans or non-Mussulmans. They may be assisted by Moavins, who will be Christians if the Mutessarifs are Mussulmans.

Chapter III.—*Kaïmakams.*

Art. 5. The Kaïmakams will be chosen by the Ministry of the Interior from among persons holding diplomas of the Civil School, without distinction of religion.

Kaïmakams now holding office and considered efficient may, even if they do not hold diplomas of that School, continue their career in the Government service.

Art. 6. Non-Mussulman Ottoman subjects will be admitted to administrative posts in proportion to the total numbers of the Mussulman and non-Mussulman population in each vilayet.

In cazas "having an important position," Moavins of a different religion from that of the Kaïmakam will be appointed.

The Administrative Councils of the sandjak and the caza, composed of *ex officio* and elected members, are retained.

Chapter IV.—*Nahiés.*

Art. 7. The organization of the nahiés will be carried out according to the provisions of Articles 94 to 106 of the Regulations for the general administration of the vilayets of the 9th January, 1286, and Articles 1 to 28 of the Regulations for the communal administration of the 25th March, 1292.

Art. 8. Each nahié will be administered by a Mudir and a Council composed of four members elected from among the inhabitants. One of them will be the Assistant. There will also be a Secretary.

Art. 9. The members of the Council of the nahié will be elected from the different classes of the population in proportion to their numbers.

Art. 10. The Mudirs and the Secretaries of the nahiés will receive salaries.

Art. 11. Candidates for membership of the Council of the nahié must fulfil the conditions prescribed by law.

Art. 12. The Mudirs will be appointed by the Government and chosen from the inhabitants of the nahié, according to the provisions of Article 10 of the Regulations for the administration of the communes (Aristarchi, vol. v, p. 61).

Art. 13. Officials, professors, and priests cannot be Mudirs.

Art. 14. Half of the members of the Council retire annually and are eligible for re-election. The Mudir will hold office for two years, and his powers may be renewed.

Art. 15. The functions of the Mudir and of the Councils are regulated by Articles 20 to 27 of the Regulations for the administration of the communes.

Art. 16. Each village will have a Mukhtar; if there are several wards and several classes of inhabitants, there will be a Mukhtar for each ward and for each class.

Art. 17. No village can belong to two nahiés.

Chapter V.—*Police.*

Art. 18. The police and the gendarmerie will be recruited from Ottoman subjects, in proportion to the numbers of Mussulman and non-Mussulman inhabitants of the vilayet. Sufficient contingents will be assigned to each administrative subdivision, including the nahié.

Art. 19. The police agents assigned to the nahié will act under the orders of the Mudir. They will be paid out of the district treasuries.

The non-Mussulman police agents will continue to pay the tax for exemption from military service.

Art. 20. The duties of keeping order and of escorting the post are assigned to the gendarmerie.

Chapter VI.—*Gendarmerie.*

Art. 21. The gendarmes will be recruited from the Mussulman and non-Mussulman inhabitants of the Empire in the proportion of the numbers of the populations of the different religions in each vilayet.

In spite of the promise made in the fourth and last paragraph of the reply of the Porte dated the 2nd June, 1895, the Porte excludes Christians from the ranks of officers and non-commissioned officers in the gendarmerie.

Chapter VII.—*Prisons.*

Art. 22. More care will be taken to carry out the Regulations concerning the management of prisons and the treatment of persons under provisional detention and prisoners.

Chapter VIII.—*Committee of Preliminary Inquiry.*

Art. 23. The Committee of Preliminary Inquiry will act in accordance with the provisions of Article 11 of the Instructions for the administration of the vilayets. (Aristarchi, vol. v, p. 53).

Chapter IX.—*Control of the Kurds.*

Art. 24. The places of migration of the Kurds will be fixed beforehand, and an officer with a sufficient armed force and gendarmes will accompany the tribe during its migration. A Police Commissary will be attached to him.

The Kurds will give hostages during their migrations.

The Regulations concerning passes and the carrying of arms will be applied to the Kurds.

If there are any tribes which are always wandering, the Government will call on them to settle, and will grant them lands.

Persons belonging to the non-sedentary population are not entitled to take part in elections or to be elected.

Chapter X.—*Hamidié Cavalry.*

Art. 25. The carrying of arms and the wearing of uniforms by persons belonging to the Hamidié cavalry, at times other than the periods of training, will be forbidden by military Regulations to be drawn up.

In the same circumstances they are amenable to the jurisdiction of the ordinary Tribunals.

Chapter XI.—*Titles to Property.*

Art. 26. Commissions for the revision of titles to property will be established in the chief towns of the vilayets and sandjaks. These Commissions will be composed of four members (two Mussulmans and two non-Mussulmans), and will be presided over by the Director of Archives or the Superintendent of Real Property.

Their decisions will be submitted to the Administrative Councils.

Further, four delegates will be sent every year from Constantinople to the vilayets to investigate any irregularities which may have occurred in matters connected with property.

Chapter XII.—*Laying of Tithes and Taxes.*

Art. 27. "Special detachments" are charged with the laying of the taxes, to avoid the employment of the public force. These detachments cannot requisition forage or provisions. It is the duty of the Mukhtars and the Receivers of the villages and waras,

elected by the inhabitants, to collect the taxes and deliver them to the State treasuries.

No money must pass through the hands of the members of the "special detachments."

Art. 28. The tithe will be levied by farming. Farming on a large scale remains abolished, and is replaced by farming out the tithe by villages and in the name of the inhabitants, with the right of appeal to the Tribunals in case of difficulties.

The payment of contributions in kind and in money will continue.

The budget of Public Instruction in each vilayet is fixed by the Ministry of Public Instruction.

As hitherto, it is forbidden to sell, on account of debts to the Treasury or personal debts a taxpayer's house, the land necessary for his maintenance, his implements, his beasts of labour, or his seeds.

Chapter XIII.—Justice.

Art. 29. There will be in each place in the nahié a Council of Elders presided over by the Mukhtar. Its duty will be to settle disputes among the inhabitants by friendly arrangement.

Arts. 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, and 39. The judicial organization will remain as it is at present.

Art. 40. Judgments will be drawn up in Turkish only. Article 26 of the Instructions for the vilayets (Aristarchi, vol. v, p. 56), states that judgments will be drawn up in Turkish, and will, if necessary, be accompanied by a translation in the local language.

Inclosure 2 in No. 146.

Résumé du Contre-Projet du Gouvernement Impérial.

Chapitre I.—Valis.

ARTICLE 1. Les Valis seront Musulmans et nommés par Iradé Impérial.

Art. 2. La durée des pouvoirs des Valis n'est pas limitée.

Art. 3. Des adjoints non-Musulmans seront nommés auprès des Valis, ainsi que cela est prévu au Chapitre II du Règlement de l'Administration Générale des Vilayets.

Ils ont pour attributions aux termes du dit Chapitre II de coopérer aux affaires générales du vilayet et d'en préparer l'expédition.

Chapitre II.—Mutessarifs.

Art. 4. Les Mutessarifs seront Musulmans et là où le Gouvernement Impérial le jugera nécessaire il nommera auprès d'eux des Mouavins Chrétiens.

Chapitre III.—Caïmacams.

Art. 5. Les Caïmacams seront choisis par le Ministère de l'Intérieur parmi les diplômés de l'École Civile sans distinction de religion et nommés par Iradé Impérial.

Les Caïmacams Musulmans et non-Musulmans actuellement en fonction et reconnus capables pourront, quoique non diplômés de cette école, continuer leur carrière dans l'Administration.

Art. 6. En vue de maintenir d'une façon équitable le principe de justice et d'égalité, le Gouvernement Impérial, lorsqu'il aura à procéder à l'organisation, agira en tenant compte de la proportion du nombre de ses sujets.

Dans les cazas "ayant une position importante" des Mouavins, ayant une religion différente de celle du Caïmacam, seront nommés. Sont maintenus les Conseils Administratifs du sandjak et du caza composés de membres de droit et de membres élus.

Chapitre IV.—*Nahiés*.

Art. 7. L'organisation des nahiés sera mise en vigueur selon les prescriptions des Articles 94 à 106 du Règlement sur l'administration générale des vilayets du 9 Janvier, 1286, et des Articles 1 à 28 du Règlement sur l'administration communale du 25 Mars, 1292.

Art. 8. Chaque nahié sera administré par un Moudir et un Conseil composé de quatre membres élus par les habitants.

Art. 9. L'élection des membres du Conseil du nahié se fera proportionnellement aux classes de la population. Si la population du cercle communal est mixte, la minorité devra être représentée proportionnellement à son importance relative à condition qu'elle comprenne aux moins vingt-cinq maisons.

Art. 10. Les Moudirs et les Secrétaires des nahiés sont retribués.

Art. 11. Les candidats au Conseil de nahié devront remplir les conditions prescrites par les Règlements de l'administration générale des vilayets et de l'administration communale.

Art. 12. Les Moudirs seront choisis et nommés par le Gouvernement Impérial.

Art. 13. Les fonctionnaires, les professeurs, et les prêtres ne peuvent être Moudirs.

Art. 14. Les membres du Conseil seront renouvelés par moitié chaque année et rééligibles.

Art. 15. Les attributions du Moudir et des Conseils sont réglées par les Articles 20 à 27 du Règlement sur l'administration des communes, sauf que les Moudirs seront, comme il est dit plus haut, nommés par le Gouvernement Impérial.

Art. 16. Chaque village aura un Moukhtar; s'il y a plusieurs quartiers et plusieurs classes d'habitants, il y aura un Moukhtar par quartier et par classe.

Art. 17. Aucun village ne pourra relever de deux nahiés à la fois.

Chapitre V.—*Police*.

Art. 18. La police et la gendarmerie seront recrutées parmi les sujets Ottomans dans la proportion du chiffre général des habitants Musulmans et non-Musulmans du vilayet. Des contingents suffisants seront affectés à chaque subdivision administrative, y compris le nahié.

Art. 19. Les agents de police affectés au service du nahié agiront sous les ordres du Moudir et seront commandés par les Commissaires. Leurs armes et leurs uniformes seront identiques aux modèles déjà adoptés pour la police.

Art. 20. C'est la gendarmerie qui est chargée du maintien de l'ordre et de l'escorte de la poste.

Chapitre VI.—*Gendarmerie*.

Art. 21. Les gendarmes seront recrutés parmi les habitants Musulmans et non-Musulmans suivant les exigences locales, et les officiers et sous-officiers de ce corps choisis dans les cadres de l'armée Impériale.

La gendarmerie est entretenue et soldée aux frais du vilayet. La solde des gendarmes est supérieure à celle des soldats de l'armée Impériale et celle des officiers équivalente à la solde des officiers de l'armée Impériale.

Chapitre VII.—*Prisons*.

Art. 22. Il sera apporté plus de soins à l'application des Règlements concernant la tenue des prisons et le traitement des détenus et des prisonniers.

Chapitre VIII.—*Comité d'Enquête Préliminaire*.

Art. 23. Le Comité d'Enquête Préliminaire fonctionnera suivant les prescriptions de l'Article 11 des Instructions sur l'administration des vilayets.

Chapitre IX.—*Contrôle des Kurdes*.

Art. 24. Les localités de migration des Kurdes seront fixées d'avance et un officier avec une force armée suffisante et des gendarmes accompagnera la tribu dans sa migration. Les Kurdes donneront des otages pendant leurs migrations.

Les Règlements sur les feuilles de route et le port d'armes seront appliqués aux Kurdes.

S'il y a des tribus "constamment errantes," le Gouvernement les engagera à se fixer en leur concédant des terres.

Chapitre X.—Cavalerie Hamidié.

Art. 25. Le port d'armes et d'uniforme par les cavaliers Hamidié, en dehors des périodes d'instruction, seront défendus par les Règlements militaires à élaborer.

Dans les mêmes circonstances ils sont justiciables des Tribunaux ordinaires.

Chapitre XI.—Titres de Propriété.

Art. 26. On instituera au chef-lieu du vilayet et des sandjaks des Commissions pour la revision des titres de propriété. Ces Commissions seront composées de quatre membres (deux Musulmans et deux non-Musulmans), et présidées par le Directeur des Archives ou le proposé aux immeubles.

Leurs décisions seront soumises aux Conseils d'Administration.

En outre, quatre délégués seront envoyés chaque année de Constantinople aux vilayets pour examiner les irrégularités qui auraient pu surgir dans les affaires de propriétés.

Chapitre XII.—Perception des Dîmes et Impôts.

Art. 27. Des "détachements spéciaux" sont chargés de la perception des impôts pour éviter l'emploi de la force publique. Ces détachements ne peuvent faire aucune réquisition de fourrages et de vivres. Le prélèvement et la consignation des impôts aux caisses de l'État incombent aux Moukhtars et aux Receveurs des villages et quartiers élus par les habitants.

Les membres des "détachements spéciaux" n'ont pas à manier d'argent.

Art. 28. La perception de la dîme se fera par voie d'affermage. L'affermage en gros reste aboli, et a été remplacé par la mise en adjudication par villages, et au nom des habitants avec recours aux Tribunaux en cas de difficultés.

La prestation en nature et en argent est maintenue.

Le budget de l'Instruction Publique dans chaque vilayet est fixé par le Ministère de l'Instruction Publique.

La vente pour cause de dettes fiscales ou personnelles de la demeure du contribuable des terrains nécessaires à sa subsistance, de ses instruments de travail, de ses bêtes de labour, et de ses grains demeure interdite.

Chapitre XIII.—Justice.

Art. 29. Il y a dans chacune des localités un Conseil des Anciens, présidé par le Moukhtar, et dont la mission est de concilier à l'amiable les contestations entre les habitants, contestations prévues par les lois judiciaires.

Arts. 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, et 39. L'organisation judiciaire demeure telle qu'elle est à présent.

Art. 40. Les Jugements seront exclusivement libellés en langue Turque.

(Translation.)

Inclosure 2 in No. 146.

Summary of the Counter-Scheme of the Imperial Government.

Chapter I.—Valis.

ARTICLE 1. The Valis will be Mussulmans, and will be appointed by Imperial Iradé.

Art. 2. The duration of the powers of the Valis is not limited.

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Art. 3. Non-Mussulman Assistants will be attached to the Valis, as provided in Chapter II of the Regulations for the general administration of the vilayets.

According to Chapter II above mentioned, their duties are to assist in the general business of the vilayet and to attend to its despatch.

Chapter II.—*Mutessarifs.*

Art. 4. The Mutessarifs will be Mussulmans, and the Imperial Government will attach Christian Moavins to them where considered necessary.

Chapter III.—*Kaïmakams.*

Art. 5. The Kaïmakams will be chosen by the Ministry of the Interior from among persons holding diplomas of the Civil School, without distinction of religion, and will be appointed by Imperial Iradé.

Mussulman and non-Mussulman Kaïmakams now holding office and considered efficient may, even if they do not hold diplomas of that School, continue their career in the Government service.

Art. 6. With a view to uphold in an equitable manner the principle of justice and equality, the Imperial Government, when it proceeds to the organization, will take into account the proportion of the numbers of the different classes of its subjects.

In cazas "having an important position" Moavins of a different religion from that of the Kaïmakam will be appointed. The Administrative Councils of the sandjak and the caza, composed of *ex officio* and elected members, are retained.

Chapter IV.—*Nahiés.*

Art. 7. The organization of the nahiés will be carried out according to the provisions of Articles 94 to 106 of the Regulations for the general administration of the vilayets of the 9th January, 1286, and Articles 1 to 28 of the Regulations for the communal administration of the 25th March, 1892.

Art. 8. Each nahié will be administered by a Mudir and a Council composed of four members elected by the inhabitants.

Art. 9. The members of the Council of the nahié will be elected from the different classes of the population in proportion to their numbers. If the population of the communal district is mixed, the minority shall be represented in proportion to its importance, provided that it comprises at least twenty-five houses.

Art. 10. The Mudirs and the Secretaries of the nahiés will receive salaries.

Art. 11. Candidates for membership of the Council of the nahié must fulfil the conditions prescribed by the Regulations for the general administration of the vilayets and the Regulations for the communal administration.

Art. 12. The Mudirs will be chosen and appointed by the Imperial Government.

Art. 13. Officials, professors, and priests cannot be Mudirs.

Art. 14. Half of the members of the Council retire annually, and are eligible for re-election.

Art. 15. The functions of the Mudir and of the Councils are regulated by Articles 20 to 27 of the Regulations for the administration of the communes, except that the Mudirs will be appointed by the Imperial Government, as stated above.

Art. 16. Each village will have a Mukhtar; if there are several wards and several classes of inhabitants, there will be a Mukhtar for each ward and for each class.

Art. 17. No village can belong to two nahiés.

Chapter V.—*Police.*

Art. 18. The police and the gendarmerie will be recruited from Ottoman subjects, in proportion to the total numbers of Mussulman and non-Mussulman inhabitants of the vilayet. Sufficient contingents will be assigned to each administrative subdivision, including the nahié.

Art. 19. The police agents assigned to the nahié will act under the orders of the Mudir, and will be commanded by the Commissaries. Their arms and uniforms will be of the pattern already adopted for the police.

Art. 20. The duties of keeping order and of escorting the post are assigned to the gendarmerie.

Chapter VI.—*Gendarmerie.*

Art. 21. The gendarmes will be recruited from the Mussulman and non-Mussulman inhabitants according to local requirements, and the officers and non-commissioned officers of this corps will be chosen from the Imperial army.

The gendarmerie is kept and paid at the expense of the vilayet. The pay of the gendarmes is higher than that of the soldiers of the Imperial army, and the pay of the officers is the same as that of the officers of the Imperial army.

Chapter VII.—*Prisons.*

Art. 22. More care will be taken to carry out the Regulations concerning the management of prisons and the treatment of persons under provisional detention and prisoners.

Chapter VIII.—*Committee of Preliminary Inquiry.*

Art. 23. The Committee of Preliminary Inquiry will act in accordance with the provisions of Article 11 of the Instructions for the administration of the vilayets.

Chapter IX.—*Control of the Kurds.*

Art. 24. The places of migration of the Kurds will be fixed beforehand, and an officer with a sufficient armed force and gendarmes will accompany the tribe during its migration. The Kurds will give hostages during their migrations.

The Regulations concerning passes and the carrying of arms will be applied to the Kurds.

If there are any tribes which are always wandering, the Government will call on them to settle and will grant them lands.

Chapter X.—*Hamidié Cavalry.*

Art. 25. The carrying of arms and the wearing of uniforms by persons belonging to the Hamidié cavalry, at times other than the periods of training, will be forbidden by military Regulations to be drawn up.

In the same circumstances they are amenable to the jurisdiction of the ordinary Tribunals.

Chapter XI.—*Titles to Property.*

Art. 26. Commissions for the revision of titles to property will be established in the chief towns of the vilayets and sandjaks. These Commissions will be composed of four members (two Mussulmans and two non-Mussulmans) and will be presided over by the Director of Archives or the Superintendent of Real Property.

Their decisions will be submitted to the Administrative Councils.

Further, four delegates will be sent every year from Constantinople to the vilayets to investigate any irregularities which may have occurred in matters connected with property.

Chapter XII.—*Levy of Tithes and Taxes.*

Art. 27. "Special corps" are charged with the levying of the taxes, to avoid the employment of the public force. These corps cannot requisition forage or provisions. It is the duty of the Mukhtars and the Receivers of the villages and wards, elected by the inhabitants, to collect the taxes and deliver them to the State treasuries.

No money must pass through the hands of the members of the "special corps."

Art. 28. The tithe will be levied by farming. Farming on a large scale remains

abolished, and is replaced by farming out the tithe by villages, and in the name of the inhabitants, with the right of appeal to the Tribunals in case of difficulties.

The payment of contributions in kind and in money will continue.

The budget of Public Instruction in each vilayet is fixed by the Ministry of Public Instruction.

As hitherto, it is forbidden to sell, on account of debts to the Treasury or personal debts, a man's house, the land necessary for his maintenance, his implements, his beasts of labour, or his seeds.

Chapter XIII.—Justice.

Art. 29. There is in each place a Council of Elders, presided over by the Mukhtar. Its duty is to settle disputes among the inhabitants by friendly arrangement in cases where the disputes are foreseen by law.

Arts. 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, and 39. The judicial organization will remain as it is at present.

Art. 40. Judgments will be drawn up in Turkish only.

No. 147.

Sir E. Malet to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received August 26.)

My Lord,

Berlin, August 24, 1895.

IN the course of conversation yesterday Baron von Marschall said he had seen Tewfik Pasha, the Turkish Ambassador, three days ago, and had urged him strongly to advise the Porte to make concessions with regard to Armenia, and to yield with a good grace to the advice tendered by Her Majesty's Government.

His Excellency said that, in his opinion, the scheme of reforms proposed by the three Powers was very moderate in its scope, and that it was in the interest of Turkey to accept the same without further delay.

I have, &c.

(Signed) E. B. MALET.

No. 148.

The Marquess of Salisbury to Sir P. Currie.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, August 26, 1895.

I WAS informed to-day by the Russian Chargé d'Affaires that his Government consider it undesirable to insist on the reorganization of the gendarmerie and the fixed term of office for the Valis in the Armenian provinces. The Russian Government still adhere to the opinion that the introduction of Christians into the gendarmerie of the provinces, whether they be mingled with the Mahommedans or formed into separate companies, would be a cause of disturbance and sanguinary strife.

No. 149.

Sir P. Currie to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received August 27.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, August 27, 1895, 12.15 P.M.

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram of the 26th instant, no reforms are now being pressed on the Porte by my colleagues and myself.

The demand for five years' tenure of Valis was met by a statement that they were appointed with a view to remaining more than five years if they conducted themselves well.

Small numbers of Christians have been from time to time employed in the gendarmerie as at Van as late as 1888, and possibly later.

This point has been throughout accepted in principle by the Porte, but the latter have declined to define the proportion.

The Porte have accepted the reorganization of the gendarmerie, but on their own lines.

No. 150.

Sir F. Lascelles to the Marquess of Salisbury.---(Received August 28.)

(Telegraphic.)

St. Petersburg, August 28, 1895.

THIS afternoon the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs informed me of the language which he had given the Russian Chargé d'Affaires instructions to use to your Lordship. He trusts that an agreement is not far off. With regard to the two points at issue, M. de Nélidoff has reported that the question of the duration of the appointment of the Valis was one which could be dropped by the Representatives of the Powers, and the principle that the Gendarmerie should be recruited among the non-Mussulman and Mussulman inhabitants was accepted in the Project presented by the Porte. No further difficulty is, therefore, anticipated with regard to these matters.

Prince Lobanoff added that, although he would have preferred the Surveillance Committee should sit at Constantinople, in a conciliatory spirit and to avoid making difficulties, he had accepted your Lordship's proposal, but the Russian Ambassador at Constantinople had pointed out to him that a claim to be represented on the Committee might be put in by the other Powers who signed the Treaty of Berlin, the Committee being based on that Treaty, and, supposing this were to happen, your Lordship's proposed Committee of four Turks and three Europeans would no longer be possible. Prince Lobanoff does not like the idea of a Committee composed of a larger number of persons.

No. 151.

Sir P. Currie to the Marquess of Salisbury.---(Received August 29.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, August 29, 1895, 7.55 p.m.

THE Sublime Porte have received a telegram from their Ambassador at St. Petersburg stating that Prince Lobanoff informed him on the 27th instant that Russia accepted England's proposal to appoint a Commission of Surveillance, consisting of three Europeans and four Turks, under the Treaty of Berlin. Prince Lobanoff had said this was the smallest concession which he could make to your Lordship's demands, and that unless he did so England and Turkey would be left alone face to face.

M. de Nélidoff also tells me that the proposal of the Commission has been accepted by Prince Lobanoff.

No. 152.

Sir F. Lascelles to the Marquess of Salisbury.---(Received August 31.)

(Telegraphic.)

St. Petersburg, August 31, 1895.

WHEN Prince Lobanoff accepted your Lordship's proposal for the formation of a Committee of Surveillance, his Excellency imagined that this Committee was quite distinct from the Committee of Control proposed by the Ambassadors in their scheme of reform, and that the former superseded the latter. It appears that there is some uncertainty as to whether this is the case, and Prince Lobanoff has asked me if his view is accurate. I said that in order to make sure I would refer the question to your Lordship, but that I was under the impression that his Excellency was correct.

No. 153.

Sir P. Currie to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received September 1.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, September 1, 1895, 10.40 A.M.

THE following is the tenour of a verbal communication which Turkhan Pasha came yesterday evening to make to the three Embassies:—

The Turkish Commission of Control as proposed by the three Ambassadors would be accepted by the Sultan on the understanding that the Dragomans would restrict their communications with the Commission to the reforms adopted by the Porte.

The nomination or election of Mudirs from the local Notables, the institution of rural guards, and the appointment of Christians, in proportion to their numbers, to the Administration and Gendarmerie would also be accepted.

I said that a Commission with European members had now been demanded by the Powers.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs replied that a Commission with European members was quite out of the question, and he urged that his proposals should be telegraphed to your Lordship.

I declined to do so unless the Foreign Minister put them in writing. This, without further instructions, he did not venture to do.

No. 154.

The Marquess of Salisbury to Sir F. Lascelles.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, September 1, 1895.

I HAVE received your Excellency's telegram of the 31st ultimo.

Prince Lobanoff is quite right in supposing that the Committee of Surveillance suggested by me is quite distinct from, and is intended to supersede, the Committee of Control suggested in the Scheme of Reforms presented by the Ambassadors.

No. 155.

Sir P. Currie to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received September 2.)

My Lord,

Therapia, August 29, 1895.

WITH reference to my telegram of the 24th August, the Minister for Foreign Affairs informed the Dragomans of the three Embassies, on Saturday last, that Marshal Shakir Pasha was to start on the following day, and his Excellency added that he hoped that the good-will shown by the Turkish Government in taking this step would give satisfaction to the Powers. The three Dragomans received this communication without remark.

The Turkish newspapers have since announced the departure of Shakir Pasha. His Staff consists of Danish Bey, Head of the Consular Department at the Porte, who goes as his assistant; Ihsan Bey, Councillor of the Turkish Embassy at Tehran, and, it is stated, two Aides-de-camp of the Sultan, together with several Secretaries and employés from the Palace Chancellerie.

Shakir Pasha is expected to proceed to Erzeroum, thence to Van, Bitlis, Mamouret-el-Aziz, and Diarbekir, and will spend the winter at Kharput, visiting Sivas in the spring.

I have, &c

(Signed) PHILIP CURRIE.

No. 156.

Sir F. Lascelles to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received September 2.)

My Lord,

St. Petersburg, August 28, 1895.

I HAD a long conversation this afternoon with Prince Lobanoff on the subject of Armenian reforms. His Excellency began by stating, in reply to my inquiries, that Shakir Pasha had at last left Constantinople, which he presumed meant that the Sultan

had become alarmed, and had seen the necessity of doing something to settle the question. His Excellency thought that this might be partly due to a conversation he had recently had with the Turkish Ambassador here, who had asked him whether it was true that Russia had adopted the English demands. Husny Pasha had become much perturbed on hearing that this was the case, and had expressed his surprise and regret that the Russian Government had adopted such a course. Prince Lobanoff had replied that there was nothing surprising in the matter, as the action now taken was entirely justified by the Treaty of Berlin, and the Turkish Government had only themselves to blame for not having introduced reforms earlier. They had, he believed, been led to hope that the recent change of Government in England might have brought about a modification of the views of Her Majesty's Government, and that your Lordship would be less inclined to press the demands of the Ambassadors on the Porte. In this, however, the Turkish Government had been mistaken, and, in his Excellency's opinion, the demands which had been put forward were the minimum which your Lordship, in view of the state of public opinion in England, could accept.

Prince Lobanoff said that it was rather hard that Husny Pasha should reproach him after the line he had taken in attempting to moderate the action of Her Majesty's Government, who at one time seemed on the point of taking isolated action in the matter, which he feared might have led to great complications, and, indeed, have reopened the whole Eastern question.

I thanked Prince Lobanoff for the information he had given me, and fully admitted the moderating character of the action he had taken.

His Excellency then went on to say that he hoped we were now very near a satisfactory understanding. He repeated to me almost textually the language which he had instructed the Russian Chargé d'Affaires in London to hold to your Lordship with regard to the two points still under discussion, viz., the maintenance in office of the Valis for five years and the reorganization of the gendarmerie.

With regard to the first, his Excellency had received a report from M. de Nélidoff, saying that the Ambassadors, in discussing the subject, had agreed that this point was one of those which would be easiest to drop; and, with regard to the second, he perceived that the Turkish counter-project admitted the recruitment of gendarmes among both Mussulmans and non-Mussulmans. He did not think, therefore, that either of those two points would give rise to much further difficulty.

Prince Lobanoff reminded me that he had been of opinion that it would have been more desirable that the Committee of Surveillance should remain at Constantinople, and that he had agreed to your Lordship's proposal that it should sit at Van, Bitlis, or Erzeroum rather from a wish to avoid raising difficulties and to show a conciliatory spirit than from a conviction of its desirability. He still thought that the presence of the Committee in some town in Asia Minor might encourage the Armenian Committees abroad to continue their agitation, and he feared that the Committee of Surveillance would be flooded with demands, many of which would probably be unfounded and very difficult to investigate. However this might be, there was another aspect of the affair which had been suggested to him by M. de Nélidoff, and which would be fatal to your Lordship's proposal that the Committee should be composed of three Europeans and four Turks.

The arrangement was based on the Treaty of Berlin, and each of the Signatory Powers of that Treaty would have the right of being represented on the Committee. It would be difficult enough to get three Europeans and four Turks to work together, but a Committee of twice those numbers would certainly do more harm than good, and might constitute a real danger.

I told Prince Lobanoff that I would not fail to report his views to your Lordship, and he begged me to do so. I had, therefore, the honour on my return from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, to forward to your Lordship my telegram of this day's date.

In conclusion, Prince Lobanoff again expressed the hope that an arrangement might shortly be arrived at. He was sincerely anxious that the matter should be settled so as to prevent complications in the Armenian provinces of Turkey, which, in consequence of her geographical position and direct interest in the question, was a matter of paramount importance to Russia.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

FRANK C. LASCELLES.

No. 157.

Sir F. Lascelles to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received September 2.)

(Telegraphic.)

St. Petersburg, September 2, 1895.

I HAVE been informed by Prince Lobanoff that he has received a telegram from M. de Nélidoff stating that the Porte, in order to evade your Lordship's proposal of a Committee of Surveillance, have consented to the Committee of Control, as suggested by the three Ambassadors, and to the five disputed points in the scheme of reforms. M. de Nélidoff considers that this new communication practically accepts with slight modifications the demands of the Ambassadors, and Prince Lobanoff hopes that, as it is most necessary that the question should be concluded as soon as possible, a settlement may shortly be arrived at.

No. 158.

Sir P. Currie to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received September 3.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, September 3, 1895, 11:55 A.M.

I HAVE told Mr. Graves, in reply to his request for instructions as to the attitude he should adopt towards Shakir Pasha, that he should call upon the Pasha when he arrives at Erzeroum, but that, if questioned, he should say that no instructions respecting his mission have been received by him.

No. 159.

Prince Lobanoff to M. Kroupensky.—(Communicated to Foreign Office, September 4.)

LA Porte consent, pour éviter la Commission de Surveillance proposée par Lord Salisbury, à admettre les communications directes des Drogmans avec la Commission de Contrôle recommandée dans le projet des Ambassadeurs et cède sur la presque totalité de nos demandes avec des modifications relativement peu importantes. Nous croyons qu'on pourrait être satisfait de ce résultat pour terminer l'affaire Arménienne, mais aimerions préalablement connaître l'opinion du Cabinet Britannique.

Le 4 Septembre, 1895.

(Translation.)

IN order to avoid the Commission of Supervision proposed by Lord Salisbury, the Porte agrees to allow direct communications between the Dragomans and the Commission of Control recommended in the Ambassadors' scheme, and gives way to nearly all our demands, with certain comparatively unimportant modifications. We think that we may be satisfied with this in order to close the Armenian question, but should be glad to know first what is the opinion of the British Cabinet.

September 4, 1895.

No. 160.

Sir P. Currie to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received September 4.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, September 4, 1895, 11:20 A.M.

WITH reference to Sir F. Lascelles' telegram of the 2nd instant, I had already reported to your Lordship in my telegram of the 1st the communication referred to by Prince Lobanoff.

I cannot agree in regarding it as a complete acceptance of the demands of the three Ambassadors. It does not provide for a Christian Assistant to the High Commissioner, and leaves the latter without any definite instructions, and entirely under Palace control. It restricts the scope of the permanent Commission, and omits all mention of the following points:—

Control over appointment of Valis; reform of prisons; provisions for protection of Armenians outside the six vilayets; retention of part of the revenues for local purposes; reform of the Tribunals.

The Grand Vizier, however, informs me that the Sultan has now ordered him to take the matter in hand, and I consider that, if your Lordship would authorize me to press

for a complete acceptance of the original reform proposals, I should probably, in return for an abandonment of the proposed Mixed Commission, be able to obtain some further concessions from His Imperial Majesty.

Whatever reforms are adopted, we ought, I think, to insist on their being embodied in a formal Decree.

No. 161.

The Marquess of Salisbury to Sir P. Currie.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, September 6, 1895.

I HAVE received your Excellency's telegram of the 4th instant relative to Armenian reforms.

If the reforms demanded by the Ambassadors are offered to you in full by the Porte in writing, or if the only omissions made are, in your opinion, unimportant, I should feel bound, in view of what passed in the spring, to accept the offer; but I have no confidence in any Commission consisting entirely of Turkish subjects; and I am afraid that the work would have to be recommenced in a few years.

I concur in your view that the concessions made by the Turkish Government should be embodied in a formal Decree.

No. 162.

*The Marquess of Salisbury to Sir F. Lascelles.**

(Extract.)

Foreign Office, September 7, 1895.

THE Russian Chargé d'Affaires called here on the 4th instant and communicated the substance of a telegram from Prince Lobanoff on the last proposal made by the Porte respecting Armenian reforms.

I inclose a copy of this communication,† in which you will perceive that the Prince expresses his opinion that the proposal concedes most of our demands, with only unimportant modifications. He thinks therefore that it might be accepted as a satisfactory settlement of the question, but he invites the opinion of Her Majesty's Government on the subject.

The French Ambassador called on the following day, and stated that M. Hanotaux was equally of opinion that, if possible, advantage should be taken of this offer to settle the question.

In reply to these communications, the French Ambassador and the Russian Chargé d'Affaires have been informed that, in my opinion, if the Porte offers in writing to accept the reforms proposed by the Ambassadors, with only unimportant omissions, the three Governments should accept the offer, though I have little confidence in any Commission composed exclusively of Turkish subjects.

I have laid stress on the importance of the offer being made in writing, and containing a substantial acceptance of the demands made by the Ambassadors, if it is to be taken in lieu of the Mixed Commission.

No. 163.

Sir P. Currie to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received September 8.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, September 8, 1895, 3.20 P.M.

I HAVE the honour to submit the following list of points contained in the proposals of the Ambassadors of the 11th May which are omitted by the Porte.

I would propose, with your Lordship's approval, to put them forward as requiring satisfactory solution before the question of withdrawing your Lordship's proposal of the appointment of a Mixed Commission can be taken into consideration.

As regards the plan of reforms, I would insist upon the following:—

1. That the disqualification of Christians for the post of Vali should be omitted.
2. That, as regards the Mutessarifs, Chapter II should be maintained.
3. That a fixed minimum of Christian employes, based on the population should be established for each vilayet.

* Also to the Marquess of Dufferin.

† No. 159.

4. That official members should be excluded from the Administrative Councils.
 5. That the Regulations for rural guards should be those laid down in Chapter V, and that their numbers should be decided according to local requirements.
 6. That the first charge on the local revenues should be the cost of the local administration.
 7. That judicial sentences should be accompanied by Armenian translations.
- As regards the Memorandum I would insist—
1. That there should be some guarantee that the Valis will be properly chosen.
 2. That the proposal as to the return of the emigrants and their reinstatement in their lands should be adopted.
 3. That pending criminal cases should be settled by Special Commissions.
 4. That Article 6, respecting the inspection of prisons, should be put in force.
 5. That the powers of the High Commissioner should be satisfactorily defined, and that a Christian Assistant should be attached to him.
 6. That the functions assigned to the Commission of Control should be adequate, and that the Ambassadors should have the right of representing abuses to the Commission through their Dragomans.
 7. That the proposals as to the Armenians in the other vilayets of Asiatic Turkey should be adopted.
- I would further stipulate that the reforms should be embodied in an Imperial Decree.

No. 164.

The Sublime Porte to Rustem Pasha.—(Communicated by Rustem Pasha, September 9.)

Constantinople, le 6 Septembre, 1895.

VOTRE Excellence sait qu'à la suite du Mémorandum et du projet de réformes qui nous avaient été présentés par les trois Ambassadeurs, nous leur avons remis, de notre côté, un contre-projet élaboré par la Commission Ministérielle et sanctionné par l'iradé Impérial. Copie de ce contre-projet a été envoyé à votre Excellence en son temps.

Il nous est revenu depuis que, trouvant les points acceptés par nous insuffisants, on allait nous faire certaines demandes concernant six autres points qui, exclus et discutés en Conseil des Ministres, ont été avec la sanction Impériale acceptés dans la forme suivante :—

1. Les avis et communications que les Drogmans auront à faire à la Commission devront se borner aux réformes dont l'application a été décidée par le Gouvernement Impérial pour les six vilayets et ne point s'en écarter ;
2. A l'exception des Valis et des Mutessarifs, qui devront être Musulmans, des fonctionnaires Chrétiens seront nommés proportionnellement au chiffre des populations ;
3. Il y aura dans chaque nahié des gardes champêtres. Le nombre en sera fixé par les Gouverneurs-Généraux sans pouvoir excéder le chiffre de cinq pour chaque nahié. Il va sans dire que dans les nahiés habités par des populations différentes, ils seront mixtes. Ces gardes champêtres seront choisis par le Conseil de Nahié. Leur uniforme et leur armement seront arrêtés par le Département de la Guerre ;
4. Les Règlements existant sur les prisons seront strictement observés et appliqués ;
5. Il y aura des officiers Chrétiens dans la police et la Gendarmerie ; et
6. Les Moudirs des nahiés seront, conformément aux Règlements, élus parmi les membres des Conseils des Nahiés.

Je prie votre Excellence de voir immédiatement son Excellence le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères et de lui faire part de ce qui précède.

Votre Excellence aura soin de déclarer en même temps que le Gouvernement Impérial ayant pris acte des assurances données tant ici par les trois Ambassadeurs au nom de leurs Gouvernements que par ceux-ci à nos Ambassadeurs accrédités auprès d'eux "comme quoi il ne pouvait même leur passer par l'idée de faire des propositions pouvant porter atteinte aux droits souverains de notre auguste Maître et à l'indépendance de l'Empire," il est évident que les six vilayets en question ne pourront acquérir dans l'avenir aucun caractère privilégié ; et si, par impossible, une idée pareille venait un jour à surgir, le Gouvernement profitera des assurances précitées.

(Translation.)

Constantinople, September 6, 1895.

YOUR Excellency is aware that after the receipt of the Memorandum and scheme of reforms presented to us by the three Ambassadors, we communicated to them a counter-scheme drawn up by the Ministerial Commission and sanctioned by Imperial Iradé. A copy of this counter-scheme was transmitted to your Excellency in due course.

We have since been informed that, the points accepted by us being considered insufficient, certain demands were about to be made to us in regard to six other points, which, excluded and discussed at the Council of Ministers, have, with the Imperial sanction, been accepted in the following form:—

1. The notifications and communications which the Dragomans may make to the Commission must be limited to the reforms which the Imperial Government has decided to introduce in the six vilayets, and must not deal with any other subject.

2. Apart from the Valis and Mutessarifs, who must be Mussulmans, Christian officials will be appointed in proportion to the numbers of the different populations.

3. There will be rural policemen in every nahié. Their number will be fixed by the Governors-General, but must not exceed five for each nahié. In nahiés inhabited by different populations, they will of course be taken from both. These rural policemen will be chosen by the Council of the nahié. Their uniform and arms will be settled by the Department of War.

4. The existing Regulations concerning prisons will be strictly observed and applied.

5. There will be Christian officers in the police and gendarmerie.

6. The Mudirs of the nahiés will be elected from the members of the Councils of nahiés, in accordance with the Regulations.

I request your Excellency to see his Excellency the Minister for Foreign Affairs immediately, and communicate to him what is stated above.

Your Excellency will take care to state at the same time that, the Imperial Government having taken note of the assurances given here by the three Ambassadors in the names of their Governments, and by the latter to our Ambassadors accredited to them, "that they had never had any idea of making proposals which might be prejudicial to the sovereign rights of our august Master and the independence of the Empire," it is evident that the six vilayets in question cannot at any future time acquire a privileged character; and if, which is impossible, such an idea should ever arise, the Government will take advantage of the assurances just quoted.

No. 165.

The Sublime Porte to Rustem Pasha.—(Communicated by Rustem Pasha, September 9.)

Constantinople, le 6 Septembre, 1895.

DANS le cas où il se trouverait parmi les officiers de gendarmerie, les agents de police, et les gardes champêtres Chrétiens des individus qui, se laissant circonvenir par les manœuvres et les intrigues des Comités Arméniens, manqueraient à leurs devoirs de fidélité, et, abusant de leur qualité, se porteraient, contrairement aux sentiments d'humanité, à des insultes et à des vexations à l'égard des Musulmans, ou qui prêteraient une aide matérielle ou morale aux agitateurs, le Gouvernement Impérial, sans préjudice de son droit d'avoir recours à l'action publique, se réserve, en cas de récidive et s'il le juge nécessaire, d'en aviser les trois Puissances et de se concerter à cet égard officieusement avec leurs Ambassadeurs.

(Translation.)

Constantinople, September 6, 1895.

IF there are, among the Christian officers of gendarmerie, police agents, or rural policemen, any persons who, being led away by the manœuvres and intrigues of the Armenian Committees, fail in their duty, and, abusing their powers in a spirit of inhumanity, insult or persecute Mussulmans, or who give material or moral assistance to agitators, the Imperial Government, without prejudice to its right to take public action, reserves the right, in case the offence is repeated, and if it considers it necessary, to inform the three Powers, and to concert with their Ambassadors unofficially on the subject.

No. 166.

Sir P. Currie to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received September 11.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, September 11, 1895, 10:35 A.M.

MR. GRAVES telegraphs reporting the arrival of Shakir Pasha at Erzeroum, and saying that he called on him the next day. Shakir Pasha will in a few days proceed to Bayazid, returning thence to Erzeroum, and leaving again for Sivas and Erzinghian.

His Excellency, in his conversation with Mr. Graves, complained that the difficulties of his task were increased by the present bad feeling between Mussulmans and Christians, which he feared had been fostered by some Government officials.

He spoke a good deal about road construction, and also said that he intended to appoint 210 Christian gendarmes in the Vilayet of Erzeroum, besides other Christian officials, but added that money was scarce.

Mr. Graves confined himself to agreeing with him on the necessity of establishing means of communication and restoring security in the first instance, and refrained from entering into any discussion as to his mission.

No. 167.

Sir F. Lascelles to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received September 11.)

(Telegraphic.)

St. Petersburg, September 11, 1895.

PRINCE LOBANOFF hopes that the Turkish acceptance of the six points may be considered as satisfactory, and is very anxious to know your Lordship's views on the subject.

No. 168.

The Marquess of Salisbury to Sir P. Currie.

Sir,

Foreign Office, September 11, 1895.

THE Turkish Ambassador called at the Foreign Office on the 9th instant, and communicated, on behalf of the Turkish Government, two papers, of which I transmit copies to your Excellency,* announcing the acceptance by the Porte, with certain modifications, of six of the points included in the scheme of Armenian reforms originally proposed by the Ambassadors of the three Powers at Constantinople. These points are additional to those contained in the Turkish counter-project.

Rustem Pasha called again to-day, and was informed that I was sincerely desirous of bringing the Armenian question to a conclusion, but that, in my opinion, it could only be ended by the Sultan affording some sort of guarantee for the lives and property of the inhabitants of the provinces affected. There were two methods by which this object might be attained. One method was that set forth in the scheme submitted by the Ambassadors at Constantinople, which consisted in providing that, among the functionaries of all sorts, a certain proportion should be Christians, and that, in places where the high officials were Mussulmans, they should have a Christian as their assistant, and *vice versa*. The other method consisted in allowing the continuance of the present Mussulman administrative organization under the inspection of a Commission resident in the province, and composed partly of European Commissioners, who should be able to report abuses to the Ambassadors at Constantinople.

I am, &c.

(Signed) SALISBURY.

* Nos. 164 and 165.

No. 169.

The Marquess of Salisbury to Sir F. Lascelles.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, September 11, 1895.

THE telegram from the Russian Chargé d'Affaires to which Prince Lobanoff referred, as reported in your Excellency's telegram of the 8th instant,* only contained the substance of Sir P. Currie's telegram of the 4th instant respecting Armenian reforms, and of my answer of the 6th.

In my opinion, the offer of the Turkish Government must be a substantial acceptance in writing of all the more important proposals made by the three Ambassadors at Constantinople before it can be regarded by us as a substitute for the Mixed Commission.

No. 170.

The Marquess of Salisbury to Sir F. Lascelles.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, September 11, 1895.

I CONCUR in Prince Lobanoff's view that a settlement of this Armenian question is highly desirable. It can, however, only be brought to a conclusion by some sort of security being afforded by the Sultan to the inhabitants of these provinces for life and property.

There are two ways by which this object may be attained.

One method is that advised by the Ambassadors of the three Powers at Constantinople, which consists in requiring that among the functionaries of all kinds there should be a proportion of Christians, and that where the high officials are Mussulmans they should have a Christian for their Assessor, and *vice versa*.

The other method consists in allowing a continuance of the present Mussulman administrative organization under the supervision of a Commission resident in the province, and composed partially of European Commissioners, who should be able to report abuses to the Ambassadors at Constantinople. This was the suggestion of Her Majesty's Government. It received the approval of the Governments of France and Russia, and was recommended verbally to the Turkish Government.

Her Majesty's Government are willing to negotiate on either the one or the other of these forms of guarantee, but at present no definite offer of either in writing has reached them.

No. 171.

Sir F. Lascelles to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received September 13.)

(Telegraphic.)

St. Petersburg, September 13, 1895.

PRINCE LOBANOFF, to whom I have communicated the substance of your Lordship's telegrams of the 11th instant, told me that he had strongly urged the Turkish Ambassador, on his communicating the instructions just sent by the Porte,† that the offer of his Government should be put in writing.

The question, in his Excellency's opinion, is now so far advanced as to allow of his leaving for Contrexeville to-night. He expects to remain about six weeks abroad.

No. 172.

The Sublime Porte to Rustem Pasha.—(Communicated by Rustem Pasha, September 14.)

(Télégraphique.)

Constantinople, le 14 Septembre, 1895.

NOUS désirons comme Lord Salisbury que la question qui nous occupe soit réglée dans le plus bref délai. Des deux méthodes qu'elle indique, la seconde, à savoir l'institution sur les lieux d'une Commission d'Inspection composée en partie de Commissaires Européens, ne saurait en aucune façon être acceptée par nous parce

* See No. 174.

† See No. 164.

qu'elle porterait atteinte aux droits souverains de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan, notre auguste Maître, que les trois Puissances nous ont assuré à maintes reprises vouloir respecter et parce qu'elle constituerait une ingérence évidente dans nos affaires intérieures.

Reste la première, qui consisterait à nommer dans une certaine proportion des fonctionnaires Chrétiens dans les vilayets en question. Or, ainsi qu'il est spécifié dans le second des six points que nous avons acceptés en dernier lieu, le Gouvernement Impérial consent à nommer dans les dites provinces des fonctionnaires Chrétiens proportionnellement au chiffre de la population.

Votre Excellence sait que l'Empire se divise en grandes contrées désignées sous le nom de vilayets administrés par des Gouverneurs-Généraux. Au près des Gouverneurs-Généraux des six vilayets en question se trouveront des Adjoints Chrétiens (voir l'Article 1^{er} de notre Contre-Projet).

Les vilayets se divisent eux-mêmes en plusieurs départements ("sandjaks"). Les Gouverneurs les plus importants de ces départements auront à côté d'eux des Adjoints Chrétiens.

Quant aux subdivisions des dits départements dénommés cazas (districts), les Sous-Gouverneurs qui se trouvent à leur tête seront nommés sans distinction de religion. Cependant dans les cazas d'une certaine importance si le Sous-Gouverneur est Musulman, son Adjoint sera Chrétien et vice versa (voir l'Article 4 de notre Contre-Projet).

Les districts ("cazas") se composent de plusieurs communes ("nahiés") qui seront administrées par des Moudirs (Maires) sans distinction de religion et élus parmi les membres des Conseils Communaux (voir le dernier des six points).

Pour ce qui est des autres branches administratives provinciales, des fonctionnaires Chrétiens y seront nommés proportionnellement au chiffre de la population (voir le second des six points).

De plus, il y aura des officiers Chrétiens dans la police et la gendarmerie (voir le cinquième des points).

Je crois superflu de m'étendre sur les autres réformes résultant de notre Contre-Projet dont le résumé a dû être communiqué à Lord Salisbury par Sir Philip Currie, ainsi que sur les trois autres des six points acceptés en dernier lieu, qui se trouvent spécifiés dans un de mes précédents télégrammes, dont le plus important a trait aux communications à faire par les Drogmans à la Commission (voir le premier point).

Le désir de Lord Salisbury, qui est d'associer les Chrétiens aux Musulmans dans l'administration des six vilayets en question, se trouvant ainsi réalisé, nous aimons à espérer que sa Seigneurie voudra bien considérer la question comme résolue.

(Translation.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, September 14, 1895.

WE, like Lord Salisbury, are anxious that the question which occupies us should be settled as soon as possible. Of the two methods for its solution, the second, that is, the establishment on the spot of a Commission of Inspection partly composed of European Commissioners, cannot possibly be accepted by us, because it would be derogatory to the sovereign rights of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, our august Master, which the three Powers have assured us repeatedly they wish to respect, and because it would clearly constitute an interference in our internal affairs.

There remains the first method, which consists in the appointment of a certain proportion of Christian officials in the vilayets in question. As stated in the second of the six points which we have recently accepted, the Imperial Government agrees to appoint in the said provinces Christian officials in proportion to the number of the population.

Your Excellency knows that the Empire is divided into large provinces called vilayets, administered by Governors-General. Associated with the Governors-General of the six vilayets in question there will be Christian Assistants (see Article 1 of our counter-scheme).

The vilayets are divided into several departments ("sandjaks"). With the most important Governors of these departments will be associated Christian Assistants.

As to the subdivisions of the departments, called cazas (districts), the Sub-Governors in charge of them will be appointed without distinction of religion. But, in the more important cazas, if the Sub-Governor is a Mussulman his Assistant will be a Christian, and vice versa (see Article 4 of our counter-scheme).

The districts ("cazas") are composed of a number of communes ("nahíes") which will be administered by Mudirs (Mayors) without distinction of religion, elected from the members of the Communal Councils (see the last of the six points).

As regards the other provincial administrative posts, Christian officials will be appointed to them in proportion to the number of the population (see the second of the six points).

There will, moreover, be Christian officers in the police and the gendarmerie (see the fifth point).

It is not necessary for me to recapitulate the other reforms named in our counter-scheme, the substance of which has no doubt been communicated to Lord Salisbury by Sir P. Currie, or the remaining three of the six points recently accepted, which are specified in one of my former telegrams, and the most important of which relates to the communications to be made by the Dragomans to the Commission (see the first point).

Lord Salisbury's wish to associate the Christians with the Mussulmans in the administration of the six vilayets in question being thus realized, we trust that his Lordship will consider the question settled.

No. 173.

Sir P. Currie to the Marquess of Salisbury. — (Received September 16.)

My Lord,

Therapia, September 10, 1895.

THE Foreign Minister communicated to the Dragomans of the three Embassies yesterday the substance of a telegram which had been forwarded to the Turkish Ambassadors in London, St. Petersburg, and Paris, stating that the Ottoman Government were prepared to accept six points of the proposals of the Ambassadors in addition to those mentioned in the Turkish counter-project.

A copy of the telegram and of the declaration annexed to it are inclosed herewith.*

After making this communication, Turkhan Pasha expressed to Mr. Marinitch his earnest hope that Her Majesty's Government would be satisfied with these six points. The Turkish Government, he said, had full confidence in the sense of justice which animates the British Government, who would no doubt remember that they had great commercial interests involved in the Ottoman Empire, which rendered it imperative that the Armenian question should once and for all be definitively settled, and peace and good order restored in those provinces. He added, confidentially, that if, contrary to expectation, the Armenian Revolutionary Committees, which are now intriguing both in Turkey and in foreign countries, were to take advantage of the employment of Christian officers in the gendarmerie, police, and administration to commit excesses upon the Mussulman portion of the population, the Sublime Porte could not tolerate such proceedings, and if they were persisted in, would confer with the three Embassies in order that the latter should use their best influence to put a stop to them.

Referring to the recent violent acts of Armenian bands in the neighbourhood of Erzinglian and Sivas, Turkhan Pasha requested Mr. Marinitch to call the attention of Her Majesty's Embassy to the series of crimes which are being committed by the Armenian Revolutionary Committees with the object of provoking reprisals, and so bringing about a state of things which would call for further foreign intervention, in the hope that still greater concessions might thereby be obtained from the Sultan. His Excellency said that instructions had been sent to the provincial authorities directing them to use their best efforts to prevent reprisals on the part of the Mussulman population, but, he added, that such crimes must inevitably provoke retaliation, and would still further embitter the present situation. The death, for instance, of four Mussulmans might bring about that of twenty Armenians. It was essential that these misdeeds should be put a stop to, and the fact that attacks were now made upon the public officials was most serious.

Turkhan Pasha concluded his remarks by saying that the Armenian population was formerly a very peaceful one, but had now become discontented and unsettled owing to the sympathy of England and other Powers. For the reasons he had stated

* Nos. 164 and 165.

the Sublime Porte was desirous of bringing the question to an end, and had therefore accepted these reforms. But they could go no further, and it was essential that Europe should accept them also, and that the Armenians should be warned that they have nothing more to expect in the way of concessions.

I have, &c.
(Signed) PHILIP CURRIE.

No. 174.

Sir F. Lascelles to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received September 16.)*

My Lord,

St. Petersburg, September 10, 1895.

BY my telegram of the 31st ultimo, I had the honour to report to your Lordship the substance of a conversation which I had had with Prince Lobanoff on the previous evening on the subject of Armenian reforms. His Excellency told me that he had heard from Constantinople that the Committee of Control suggested in the Ambassadors' scheme of reforms was still being discussed, although he had understood that that Committee had been superseded by the Committee of Surveillance proposed by your Lordship, and it was in the belief that such was the case that he had accepted your Lordship's proposal. He was now anxious to know whether the view he had taken was correct.

I replied that I had formed exactly the same opinion as his Excellency, but in order that there might be no doubt on the subject, I would at once submit the question to your Lordship.

On the receipt on the 2nd instant of your Lordship's telegram of the 1st, I called upon Prince Lobanoff to inform him that his impression was quite correct.

His Excellency then communicated to me a telegram which he had received from M. De Nélidoff, and which explained the matter. The Sultan had been so much alarmed at your Lordship's proposal that he had declared himself willing to accept not only the Committee of Control suggested by the Ambassadors, but also the five points which were under discussion. M. Nélidoff also reported that this new communication from the Sultan amounted to a practical acceptance of the Ambassadors' demands with insignificant modifications. His Excellency dwelt at some length on the desirability of bringing the question to a speedy conclusion, and expressed the hope that an opportunity now offered for doing so.

On the afternoon of the 7th instant I had a further interview with Prince Lobanoff, who showed me a telegram which he had received from the Russian Chargé d'Affaires in London, which, however, did not enable him to gather exactly what your Lordship's views were. His Excellency insisted upon the great desirability of putting an end to a question which had already dragged on too long, and which was inciting agitation not merely in the Armenian provinces, but throughout the whole of the Turkish Empire. He had reason to know that the French Government entirely shared this view, and he sincerely hoped that your Lordship would not allow an opportunity, which seemed a favourable one for settling the matter definitively, to be lost.

Last night I had the honour of receiving your Lordship's telegram with regard to the six points which had been accepted in addition to those contained in the Turkish counter-project, and on meeting Prince Lobanoff at dinner to-night I asked him whether he had anything more to tell me with regard to this question.

His Excellency replied that he was most anxious to know what view your Lordship took of this communication from the Porte, and that he was awaiting with the greatest interest a telegram from M. Kroupensky on the subject.

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRANK C. LASCELLES.

* Substance telegraphed.

No. 175.

Sir P. Currie to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received September 18.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, September 18, 1895, 7.30 P.M.

THE Russian Ambassador called this afternoon and informed me of the proposal of the French Government that the three Ambassadors should jointly consider the best means of utilizing the Porte's last proposals respecting Armenian reforms.

M. de Nélidoff, who has not received any instructions on the subject, asked if I was authorized to join in such a proceeding. I said that I had not heard of the proposal.

For the last few days I have been confined to the house, and therefore have not seen French Ambassador.

No. 176.

The Marquess of Salisbury to Sir P. Currie.

Sir,

Foreign Office, September 19, 1895.

MOREL BEY called at the Foreign Office yesterday to inquire, on the part of the Turkish Ambassador, whether I had any reply to make to the communication from the Porte respecting Armenian reforms, a copy of which was left with me by his Excellency on the 14th instant.

Rustem Pasha has been informed that I think the further negotiations on the subject had better be carried on at Constantinople, where up to the present they have been conducted.

I am, &c.

(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 177.

The Marquess of Salisbury to the Marquess of Dufferin.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, September 24, 1895.

THE French Ambassador called at the Foreign Office on the 20th instant to ask what was the state of the negotiations with regard to the introduction of reforms in the provinces of Asiatic Turkey inhabited by Armenians.

His Excellency was received in my absence by Mr. Bertie, who informed him of my recent communications with Sir F. Lascelles and Rustem Pasha, and that I had caused the Russian Government to be told that I considered that the offer of the Porte must be a substantial acceptance in writing of all the more important proposals of the three Ambassadors before it could be regarded as a substitute for my proposal for the appointment of a Mixed Commission.

Mr. Bertie also said that I had informed Rustem Pasha, with reference to a telegram from the Porte which was communicated by his Excellency on the 14th instant, and of which I inclose a copy,* that I thought the negotiations had better be carried on at Constantinople as before.

Mr. Bertie read to Baron de Courcel Sir P. Currie's telegram of the 18th instant, stating that he had been informed by the Russian Ambassador at Constantinople that the French Government had suggested that the three Ambassadors should jointly consider the best means of utilizing the proposals of the Porte respecting Armenian reforms.

M. de Courcel observed that this was not quite a suggestion of his Government, but that they were inclined to advocate the mode of proceeding indicated, subject to my concurrence. His Excellency added that Prince Lobanoff had informed M. Hanotaux that he had sent instructions of that nature to the Russian Ambassador at Constantinople.

M. de Courcel said that the French Government were anxious to continue the accord of the three Powers at Constantinople, and he inquired whether I would be content with the acceptance—a formal acceptance—by the Porte of the proposals of

the three Ambassadors, or rather the six points, as it was very important to close the question as soon as possible.

Mr. Bertie read to Baron de Courcel my telegram to Sir F. Lascelles of the 11th instant, in which I stated that I considered that the offer of the Porte must be a substantial acceptance in writing of all the more important proposals of the three Ambassadors before we could regard it as a substitute for the Mixed Commission.

M. de Courcel did not think there would be any difficulty in obtaining from the Porte an acceptance in writing, but he raised a question of form, not under instructions, but personally, viz., whether the Powers could insist upon a written and signed acceptance of a project which, though communicated to the Porte, had not been signed by the Ambassadors or sent in a signed note.

I have informed M. de Courcel that I consider that we must not only have the assurances of the Porte in writing, but that they must contain satisfactory concessions with respect to the appointment of a Christian "Adjoint" of the Commissioner, and of Christian "Adjoints" of the Valis, if Moslems, and with respect to admitting Christians to a share of all offices below that of Vali, down to the rural police.

I am, &c.

(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 178.

*The Marquess of Salisbury to Sir F. Lascelles.**

Sir,

Foreign Office, September 24, 1895.

THE Russian Chargé d'Affaires called at the Foreign Office on the 21st instant, and was received in my absence by Mr. Bertie.

M. Kroupensky said that Prince Lobanoff had instructed him by telegraph, after an interview which his Excellency had had with the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, to inquire what was my definite opinion on the telegram from the Porte, relative to Armenian reforms, dated the 14th September, which had been communicated to me by the Turkish Ambassador. I inclose a copy of the telegram from the Porte.†

M. Kroupensky stated that Prince Lobanoff was of opinion that the document constituted an acceptance of the most important points of the scheme of reforms communicated to the Porte by the three Ambassadors, and that it might be accepted by the Powers.

Mr. Bertie informed M. Kroupensky that the reply given to Rustem Pasha had been that I thought that the further negotiation had better be carried on at Constantinople as before.

M. Kroupensky said that Prince Lobanoff would be glad to know my personal opinion on Rustem Pasha's communication, and whether I would accept it if the three Ambassadors at Constantinople recommended it.

Mr. Bertie replied that, in my opinion, any acceptance by the Porte of the demands of the Ambassadors must be in writing.

I have informed M. Kroupensky that, if Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople reported to me that the Sultan had *in writing* accepted the material portions of the scheme of the three Ambassadors, I should be content; that the proposals which have proceeded from the Porte up to this time have been studiedly indefinite in all respects, and obviously insufficient in some; for instance, the appointment of Christian Valis or Mutessarifs is not admitted.

I am, &c.

(Signed) SALISBURY.

* Substance telegraphed.

† No. 172.

No. 179.

Sir P. Currie to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received September 25.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, September 25, 1895, 11.5 A.M.

HER Majesty's Consul at Erzeroum telegraphs that Shakir Pasha left that town yesterday for Bayazid. He is expected to return in about three weeks to Erzeroum.

No. 180.

Sir P. Currie to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received September 26.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, September 26, 1895, 12.40 P.M.

I TAKE your Lordship's statement to the Russian Chargé d'Affaires, that you would be content if I reported that the Sultan had, in writing, accepted the material portions of Ambassadors' scheme, as leaving me free to use my discretion as to the points to be insisted on. I propose, accordingly, to endeavour to obtain my colleagues' support to as many of the points mentioned in my telegram of the 8th instant as I can.

My colleagues have not as yet informed me that they have received any instructions as to making a further communication to the Porte respecting Armenian reforms.

No. 181.

Sir P. Currie to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received September 30.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, September 25, 1895.

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Lordship herewith copy of a despatch which I have received from Her Majesty's Consul at Erzeroum, reporting the arrival of Shakir Pasha in that town.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PHILIP CURRIE.

Inclosure in No. 181.

Consul Graves to Sir P. Currie.

Sir,

Erzeroum, September 10, 1895.

I HAVE the honour to report that Shakir Pasha arrived yesterday morning at Erzeroum, where an official reception was given to his Excellency, at which the Christian communities, excepting the small body of native Greeks, were conspicuous by their absence.

This afternoon I called upon his Excellency, who received me very cordially, and told me that he intended to leave for Bayazid in a few days, returning to Erzeroum, and then proceeding to Erzinglian and Sivas.

In the course of a long conversation, Shakir Pasha spoke a great deal on the subject of road construction, and told me that he intended to appoint 210 Christian gendarmes to reinforce the Erzeroum gendarmerie, which is below its proper strength, besides appointing other Christian officials; but he added that the measures he hoped to introduce were costly, and money scarce, and that the difficulties of his mission were greatly increased by the bad feeling which now exists between Mussulmans and Christians, fostered in many cases, he feared, by the action of the Government officials.

I abstained from entering into any discussion with his Excellency on the subject of his mission, merely expressing agreement with him as to the necessity of restoring security, and establishing means of communication in the first place.

I had the honour to report the substance of the above to your Excellency by telegraph to-day.

I have, &c.

(Signed) R. W. GRAVES.

The Marquess of Salisbury to the Marquess of Dufferin.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, September 30, 1895.

THE French Ambassador called at the Foreign Office on the 24th instant.

Baron de Courcel stated that he considered my views as to what should be required from the Turkish Government in the matter of Armenian reforms, as set forth in my despatch to your Excellency of the 24th instant, as coinciding with those of his Government.

His Excellency thought that the note which M. Hanotaux and Prince Lobanoff proposed should be addressed by the three Ambassadors to the Porte would elicit a written answer.

He said that the French Government were anxious that the Ambassadors should proceed at once, so that the question might be closed.

I am, &c.

(Signed) SALISBURY.

*The Marquess of Salisbury to the Marquess of Dufferin.**

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, October 2, 1895.

IT is necessary, in order to enable the negotiations at Constantinople for the introduction of reforms in the provinces inhabited by Armenians to proceed, that further instructions should be sent to the Ambassadors.

I request your Excellency to propose to the Government to which you are accredited to instruct their Ambassador at Constantinople to concert with the other two Ambassadors in regard to the points in the scheme communicated to the Porte on the 11th May last which in their opinion are necessary for the protection of the lives and property of the Armenians, and to report the result of their consultation.

Sir P. Currie to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received October 4.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, October 4, 1895, 7.5 P.M.

I CALLED to-day at the private house of Kiamil Pasha, the new Grand Vizier, who had expressed a wish to see me at once.

With regard to the Armenian question, his Highness expressed a strong opinion as to the necessity of an early settlement. He appeared to be under the impression that there was an agreement on all points between the Powers and the Porte.

I told him that some further points remained to be discussed, and I specially insisted on the importance of the reforms being promulgated in an Imperial Decree.

Sir P. Currie to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received October 4.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, October 4, 1895, 9.40 P.M.

MY Russian and French colleagues have been instructed by their respective Governments to address a note to the Porte in which they take act of the reforms which the Sublime Porte has already accepted, and ask in addition for a Christian assistant to the High Commissioner and to the Valis, this latter point being already conceded. At a meeting I had with them this evening I said that your Lordship had proposed that we should be authorized to concert as to further points, and that I did not therefore feel justified in joining in the note which they proposed to address to the Porte

* Also to Sir F. Lascelles.

I expressed my private opinion that we ought to make some further demands, and, above all, ought to insist on the publication of the reforms.

They telegraphed to their Governments that I could not join in their proposed note, and asked for further instructions.

No. 186.

M. Kroupensky to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received October 5.)

LE Chargé d'Affaires de Russie est chargé par son Gouvernement de communiquer à Lord Salisbury que l'Ambassadeur de Russie à Constantinople a reçu des instructions qui l'autorisent de se joindre à ses collègues d'Angleterre et de France pour adresser à la Porte une note collective qui ferait état des concessions déjà accordées par le Sultan et de celles sur lesquelles l'accord paraît s'être fait entre les trois Gouvernements, c'est-à-dire, l'adjonction de Chrétiens aux Valis et au Haut Commissaire et la participation des Chrétiens aux emplois publics.

Le Gouvernement Impérial pense que les désordres qui viennent de se produire à Constantinople rendent plus urgent que jamais d'accélérer la conclusion des négociations, ayant trait à la question Arménienne.

Londres, le 5 Octobre, 1895.

(Translation.)

THE Russian Chargé d'Affaires is directed by his Government to inform Lord Salisbury that the Russian Ambassador at Constantinople has received instructions which authorize him, in concert with his English and French colleagues, to address a collective note to the Porte, stating the concessions already granted by the Sultan, and those in regard to which an agreement appears to have been arrived at by the three Governments, that is to say, the appointment of Christian assistants to the Valis and the High Commissioner, and the participation of Christians in the public service.

The Imperial Government consider that the disorders which have just occurred at Constantinople render it more imperative than ever to expedite the settlement of the negotiations relative to the Armenian question.

No. 187.

Sir P. Currie to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received October 8.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, October 8, 1895, 2:40 P.M.

I THINK that all the essential points in the proposals of 11th May are dealt with in the recommendations of the three Ambassadors reported in my immediately preceding telegram.* It seems hopeless in the present state of the finances to demand that local administration should be made a first charge on the revenue of the vilayets, and we have therefore dropped that point.

No. 188.

Sir P. Currie to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received October 9.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, October 9, 1895, 7:20 P.M.

M. CAMBON informs me that the French Government have sent him a telegram approving the recommendations of the three Ambassadors as to the points to be insisted on in the proposals of the 11th May.

He has also heard that the recommendations meet with Prince Lobanoff's approval.

* See No. 196.

No. 189.

*The Marquess of Salisbury to the Marquess of Dufferin.**

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, October 9, 1895.

YOUR Excellency will have learnt from the telegrams from Sir P. Currie which have been repeated to you that he and the Ambassadors of France and Russia at Constantinople have arrived at an agreement as to the course to be pursued in regard to Armenian reforms which they are recommending for the approval of their Governments.

These proposals appear to Her Majesty's Government to be satisfactory, and should, in their opinion, be approved. You should urge earnestly on the Minister for Foreign Affairs that, if strong and united pressure is exerted by the three Ambassadors, the Sultan may very probably be induced to give way in the critical circumstances in which His Imperial Majesty is now placed, but that such an opportunity, if allowed to pass now, will not recur.

The position of the three Powers will be very difficult, and very serious questions will come up for decision if the Sultan is permitted to commence another campaign of procrastination.

No. 190.

The Marquess of Salisbury to Sir P. Currie.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, October 10, 1895.

I HAVE received your telegrams with reference to the further points in the scheme of Armenian reforms which the Ambassadors of Great Britain, France, and Russia have submitted to their respective Governments, and to which they consider it is essential to obtain the consent of the Porte.

As soon as the necessary instructions have reached the Russian Ambassador enabling him to join in the necessary representations to the Porte, your Excellency is, of course, authorized to proceed immediately on the lines recommended by you in concert with your French and Russian colleagues.

No. 191.

The Marquess of Salisbury to Sir F. Lascelles.

Sir,

Foreign Office, October 10, 1895.

THE Russian Chargé d'Affaires called at the Foreign Office on the 5th instant and communicated a *note verbale*, of which I transmit a copy herewith,† stating that the Russian Ambassador at Constantinople had been authorized to join his British and French colleagues in addressing a collective note to the Porte on the subject of Armenian reforms.

M. Kroupensky was informed that Sir P. Currie had reported that the Russian and French Ambassadors had received their instructions, and that at his suggestion they had telegraphed to their Governments to inquire whether they would be given latitude to concert as to further points beyond those contemplated in the instructions sent to them, one of which would be the publication of the reforms by Imperial Decree.

I am, &c.

(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 192.

The Marquess of Salisbury to Sir F. Lascelles.‡

Sir,

Foreign Office, October 10, 1895.

THE Russian Ambassador called at the Foreign Office to-day and communicated a telegram from his Government relative to the proposal made by the British, French, and

* Also to Sir F. Lascelles.

† No. 186.

‡ Substance telegraphed.

Russian Ambassadors to address a fresh note to the Porte demanding certain further concessions in regard to the reforms to be introduced in the Armenian provinces.

The Russian Government suggest that it might be more prudent, in view of the disturbed state of things at Constantinople, that the three Ambassadors should only call upon the Porte to adhere in principle to their proposals, leaving the details to be discussed when the excitement had calmed down.

I have informed M. de Staal that I consider it very desirable to leave it, as far as possible, to the discretion of the Ambassadors to decide as to the course of procedure, since, being on the spot, they are the best judges of what the situation renders desirable. The greater the latitude given to them the better will be the chance of bringing the matter to a successful termination.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

SALISBURY.

No. 193.

Sir P. Currie to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received October 11.)

My Lord,

Therapia, October 7, 1895.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith copy of a *note verbale* which I have received from the Sublime Porte, inclosing a further communication on the subject of the reform proposals, at the end of which are appended the six additional points which the Ottoman Government are ready to concede.

This communication is identical with the "Résumé du Contre-Projet du Gouvernement Impérial" of the 19th August (see my despatch of the 21st August), with the exception of Articles 12 and 21 on the subject of the election of Mudirs, and the selection of police and gendarmerie officers respectively, which are modified in accordance with the further concessions contained in the six points.

Articles 30 to 39, on the subject of judicial organization, repeat the criticism on the proposals of the reform scheme already made in the Porte's communication of the 1st August (see my despatch of the 3rd August), and result in maintaining the existing system, as stated in the "Contre-Projet" of the 19th August.

With regard to the additional six points, I would point out to your Lordship that No. 4 can hardly be considered a concession, seeing that already in the "Contre-Projet" it is stated that more care and attention will be paid to insuring the application of the Regulations respecting the state of prisons, &c.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

PHILIP CURRIE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 193.

Note Verbale.

EN réponse au Mémoire et au projet de réformes présentés par leurs Excellences MM. les Ambassadeurs d'Angleterre, de France, et de Russie, le Gouvernement Impérial tout en confirmant la note qui leur a été remise à la date du 17 Juin, ainsi que le Contre-Projet concernant les réformes à introduire dans les six vilayets de Sivas, Erzeroum, Van, Diarbékir, Bitlis, et Mamouret-el-Aziz, a l'honneur de leur transmettre ci-joint un travail sur l'ensemble des réformes qui vont être introduites dans les susdites provinces et sur les six points qui ont été ajoutés en dernier lieu.

Le Gouvernement Impérial déclare en même temps à leurs Excellences MM. les Ambassadeurs qu'ayant pris acte des assurances qu'ils lui ont données au nom de leurs Gouvernements et de celle des trois Cabinets de Londres, Paris, et Saint-Pétersbourg aux Ambassadeurs Ottomans comme quoi "ces Gouvernements ne pourraient jamais songer à faire des propositions pouvant porter atteinte aux droits souverains de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan et à l'indépendance de l'Empire," il va dès lors de soi que les six vilayets en question ne pourront acquérir dans l'avenir aucun caractère privilégié et qu'en cas où, par impossible, une idée pareille viendrait un jour à surgir, le Gouvernement Impérial profitera des assurances mentionnées ci-dessus.

Sublime Porte, le 5 Octobre, 1895.

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(Translation.)

IN reply to the Memorandum and scheme of reforms presented by their Excellencies the Ambassadors of England, France, and Russia, the Imperial Government, while confirming the note addressed to them on the 17th June, and the counter-scheme relative to the reforms to be introduced in the six Vilayets of Sivas, Erzerum, Van, Diarbekir, Bitlis, and Mamuret-el-Aziz, has the honour to transmit herewith a paper showing the reforms which will be introduced in the above-mentioned provinces, and the six points which have recently been added.

The Imperial Government at the same time declares to their Excellencies the Ambassadors that it has taken note of the assurances which they have given in the name of their Governments, and of the assurance given by the three Cabinets of London, Paris, and St. Petersburg to the Ottoman Ambassadors, that "those Governments could never have any intention of making proposals which might be derogatory to the sovereign rights of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan and the independence of the Empire." It follows that the six vilayets in question cannot at any future time acquire a privileged character, and if, which is impossible, such an idea were ever entertained, the Imperial Government will take advantage of the assurances quoted above.

Sublime Porte, October 5, 1895.

Inclosure 2 in No. 193.

Further Communication from the Porte respecting proposed Reforms.

Chapitre IV.—*Nahiés.*

12. Les Moudirs seront choisis et nommés par le Gouvernement Impérial.*

Chapitre VI.—*Gendarmerie.*

21. Les gendarmes seront recrutés parmi les habitants Musulmans et non Musulmans suivant les exigences locales et les officiers et sous-officiers de ce corps choisis dans les cadres de l'armée Impériale.†

La gendarmerie est entretenue et soldée aux frais des vilayets. La solde des gendarmes est supérieure à celle des soldats de l'armée Impériale et celle des officiers équivalente à la solde des officiers de l'armée Impériale.

Voici les six points ajoutés :—‡

(Translation.)

Chapter IV.—*Nahiés.*

12. The Mudirs will be chosen and appointed by the Imperial Government.§

Chapter VI.—*Gendarmerie.*

21. The gendarmes will be recruited from the Mussulman and non-Mussulman inhabitants according to local requirements, and the officers and non-commissioned officers of this corps will be chosen from the Imperial army.||

The gendarmerie is kept and paid at the expense of the vilayets. The pay of the gendarmes is higher than that of the soldiers of the Imperial army, and the pay of the officers is equal to that of the officers of the Imperial army.

The six points added are as follows:—¶

* Modifié par le dernier des six points ajoutés.

† Modifié par le cinquième des six points ajoutés.

‡ See No. 164.

§ Modified by the last of the six points added.

|| Modified by the fifth of the six points added.

¶ See No. 164.

No. 194.

Sir P. Currie to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received October 11.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, October 11, 1895, 10.55 A.M.

I HAVE great hopes that if the Ambassadors are allowed a certain latitude we may be able, without great delay, to get the reforms accepted by the Sultan. The main points are already conceded in principle, and little remains except questions of wording and "rédaction." This opinion is confirmed by a conversation I had this morning with the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

No. 195.

Sir P. Currie to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received October 14.)

My Lord, Constantinople, October 9, 1895.

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Lordship herewith copy of a despatch which I have received from Her Majesty's Consul at Erzeroum, giving an account of the progress of Shakir Pasha's Mission, and inclosing summary of the latter's scheme for the reorganization of police, gendarmerie, and prisons.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PHILIP CURRIE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 195.

Consul Graves to Sir P. Currie.

Sir,

Erzeroum, September 27, 1895.

AS I had the honour to report to your Excellency by telegraph on the 24th instant, Shakir Pasha with his suite left Erzeroum that day for Bayazid.

Since the arrival of his Mission on the 9th September, his Excellency has certainly been active in inquiry into every branch of administration. He has visited the prison, and expressed himself very strongly on the miserable condition of its inmates, as well as on the neglect of the judicial authorities, whereby prisoners are allowed to remain for years awaiting trial. He also put seals on all the Government safes with a view to audit, but as they were nearly all empty no useful purpose was served by this measure. A programme is also being prepared under his direction for the construction of new roads, and for the repair and maintenance of the one road which already exists, that from Trebizond to Erzeroum. His Excellency has also made a recommendation as to the working of the coal-mines in this neighbourhood, which I hardly think practical, namely, that it should be undertaken by the Municipality of Erzeroum.

The subjects, however, which have received his closest attention are the organization of the gendarmerie, police and prison organizations, and the creation of a corps of Tahsildars for tax-collecting purposes. The Erzeroum official paper has just published his scheme dealing with these questions, a summary of which I have the honour to inclose herewith.

The most noticeable fact in connection with Shakir Pasha's Mission is the absolute refusal of the Armenians to have anything to say to it. They took no part in the official reception given to his Excellency on his arrival at Erzeroum.

Five Armenian Notables summoned in succession to serve as Members of the Commission for the Reorganization of the Gendarmerie, Prisons, &c., have declined that honour. A young Armenian Catholic, similarly invited, was about to accept, but was dissuaded therefrom by the advice, not unminged with menace, of his Gregorian neighbours, and Shakir Pasha has had to content himself with a Greek tradesman, as the only Christian member of his Commission. Not a single Armenian recruit has presented himself for enrolment in the gendarmerie or police, although it is said that an offer was made to an Armenian tradesman of the town of 10*l.* bounty for every Armenian recruit he would bring before the Commission up to ten in number.

It must be added that in the present temper of the Armenians, who are being worked upon by revolutionary agents from the Caucasus, any of them who accepted Shakir Pasha's overtures would do so at some personal risk. Under these circumstances, and in default

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of funds to carry out even the meagre programme which has been put forward, it is not surprising if Shakir Pasha shows signs of discouragement, while local opinion is almost unanimous to the effect that the drafting of this programme is all that he will accomplish, and that the Commission will eventually be withdrawn, like so many preceding Turkish Reform Commissions, leaving a Bill for its expenses, amounting to over 1,000% a-month, to be settled by the local Treasury, when it is able, as the only record of its passage.

I have, &c.
(Signed) R. W. GRAVES.

Inclosure 2 in No. 195.

Summary of Scheme published by Erzeroum Official Paper.

A COMMISSION is formed of military officers and Mussulman and Christian members, under the direction of his Excellency Shakir Pasha, comprising one military officer as President, and two members, one Moslem and one Christian, from among the respectable Notables, whose duty it will be to recruit the necessary number of gendarmes to make up the present deficiency in the gendarmerie from the non-Moslem population; to reorganize the gendarmerie regiment so formed, and to tell it off to its proper stations.

Gendarmerie.—Four “tabours” (battalions) will be formed, one for each of the Sanjaks of Erzinjan, Bayazid, and Erzeroum, and the fourth at head-quarters at Erzeroum. Each “tabour” will comprise three cavalry “beuluks” (companies).

COMPOSITION of Beuluks.

	Cavalry.	Infantry.
Beuluk Aghassi (Captain)	1	1
1st Lieutenants	1	1
2nd Lieutenants	1	1
Chnouses (sergeants)	5	4
Beuluk Emini (sergeant)	1	1
Onbashes (corporals)	10	8
Privates	50	64
	69	80
	9 companies	7 companies
	621	560
	= 1,181	
1 Colonel, Alaï Bey	1	1
1 Alaï Kiatibi (Regimental clerk)	1	1
Majors (Tabour Aghassi)	4	4
Tabour Kiatibi (Company clerks)	4	4
Total	1,191	

(N.B.—It will be seen that this Table only provides for nine cavalry Beuluks, whereas, in the preceding paragraph, it is stated that there will be four Tabours, each comprising three cavalry Beuluks, 4 × 3 = 12.—R. W. G.)

The number of men now wanting is to be made up of Christians, who will be distributed among the different Companies.

The head-quarters “beuluk” of foot gendarmerie to be employed for prison and guard-house duties, Government-house, and town patrols.

The cavalry “beuluks” will serve alternately, one for country duty, one detached to the sanjaks, where most needed, and one at head-quarters. The sanjak “tabours” to be detailed for road duties and cordons in the cazas.

New gendarmes not to be recruited from the people of the district where the “tabour” serves. Gendarmes no longer to be employed for tax-collecting, as special “tahsildars” will now be appointed.

Christians desirous of serving to present themselves before the Commission, and after satisfying the latter of their good character, &c., they will be enlisted, sworn in, and told off to their respective "beuluks." No difference will be made between them and their Mussulman comrades. Similar recruiting commissions will be formed in the sanjaks to that at Erzeroum.

Police and Tahsildars.—Recruits who can read and write can join the police, and those acquainted with arithmetic can be enrolled as "tahsildars" (collectors).

Gendarmes already in service who possess these qualifications can be appointed as police or "tahsildars."

Cazas not divided into "nahiés" will have one "chaoush" and three "tahsildars." In those cazas which are divided into "nahiés," besides one "tahsildar" for each "nahié," the caza will have three or four "tahsildars;" and in the capital of the sanjak there will be one "bash chaoush," two "chaoushes," and four "tahsildars," while in the capital of the vilayet there will be a "chief tahsildar," two "chaoushes," and six "tahsildars," enrolled from Mussulmans and Christians alike, able to read and keep accounts. They will be placed under the orders of the "Mal Mudiris." They are not to call in the assistance of the gendarmerie; their duties in tax-collecting do not comprise the actual handling of the money, which will be collected by the members of the Councils of Elders, and brought by the Headmen to the caza capital. Regulations will be drawn up later for the "Mal Mudir's" departments.

Police.—Each "nahié" will have one police agent. Each caza at least three police agents, under a third-class commissary. Each sanjak at least five police agents, one second-class and two third-class commissaries. At the capital of the vilayet there will be ten police agents under one chief commissary, two second-class and two third-class commissaries.

Municipal Guards.—The duties of municipal guards are to attend to the maintenance of order and cleanliness in the streets, in which they will be assisted wherever necessary by the police.

Prison Warders.—The capital of each caza will have one prison warder, the capital of each sanjak will have eight, and the capital of the vilayet twelve. There will be a chief warder in the vilayet and sanjak capitals. Their duties are to guard the gaols, and perform the necessary prison services, and to keep the prisons clean; they will be placed directly under the Director of Prisons, without whose orders, in writing, no one can be imprisoned or released from prison.

Persons arrested by police or gendarmes cannot be detained more than twenty-four hours without a warrant from the judicial authorities, the Director of Prisons being held responsible if this rule is infringed. Persons arrested summarily can only be detained for twenty-three hours, after which a written Report must be sent in on the subject to the Procureur-Général and the chief local authority.

24 *Rebi-ul-Evvel*, 1313 (*September 1* (13), 1895).

No. 196.

Sir P. Currie to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received October 14.)*

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the Russian and French Governments having authorized their respective Ambassadors to concert with me the points in the "Projet de Réformes" of the 11th May which we consider necessary for the protection of the life and property of the Armenians, we held a meeting on the 7th instant, and I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith a copy of the provisions which we agreed to recommend to our Governments as necessary.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PHILIP CURRIE.

Therapia, October 10, 1895.

* Substance telegraphed.

Inclosure in No. 196.

Provisions recommended to the Governments of Great Britain, France, and Russia, as necessary for the Protection of the Life and Property of the Armenians.

THE reforms will be formulated in a General Act which will be drawn up in agreement with the Powers, and inserted in the Imperial Decree promulgating them.

2. A Christian Assistant to Shakir Pasha, whose name should be unofficially submitted to the Powers.

3. The participation of Christians in the administration to be specified, and the posts of Vali and Mutessarif to be open to Christians.

4. The Dragomans to have the right of addressing to the Commission of Control any complaint, communication, or information which the Embassies may think desirable, but to be debarred from asking for any reforms beyond those granted in the Decree.

The Commission of Control to fix the number of Christian functionaries in proportion to the population for each vilayet.

5. Christian Assistants to be attached to Mahommedan Valis and Mutessarifs.

6. The right of the Ambassadors to remonstrate against the appointment of incapable, dishonest, or fanatical Valis to be reserved in the note to the Porte.

7. The number of rural guards to be fixed by the Vali on the recommendation of the Mudir and in conformity with local requirements.

8. A note to be addressed by the Ambassadors to the Porte taking act of the promises made respecting prisons, arbitrary arrests, amnesty, reinstatement of emigrants, regulations for the Hamidié cavalry, and insisting upon their complete and immediate execution.

9. A stipulation that the principles of the reform scheme will be applied to all the sandjaks and cazas of Asia Minor where the Christians form a notable part of the population.

No. 197.

Sir P. Currie to the Marquess of Salisbury. (Received October 14.)

(Telegraphic.) Constantinople, October 14, 1895, 10:20 P.M.

YESTERDAY the Minister for Foreign Affairs came to Therapia, and had a long meeting with the three Ambassadors on the subject of Armenian reforms.

We communicated to him the several points of our additional demands, and we agreed that he should return to-day, accompanied by Munir Bey, Secretary-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for Turkish correspondence, who would, in concert with our three Delegates, draw up a draft of the Act in which the reforms are to be embodied for publication.

This has now been done, and the three Ambassadors, together with Saïd Pasha, have revised the draft.

Nothing further is needed except the final sanction of His Imperial Majesty.

Saïd Pasha, after having seen the Sultan, will meet us again to-morrow.

No. 198.

Sir P. Currie to the Marquess of Salisbury. (Received October 15.)

(Telegraphic.) Constantinople, October 15, 1895, 4:30 P.M.

WITH reference to my telegram of yesterday, at a further conference which took place to-day with Saïd Pasha and Munir Bey, the wording of the Act embodying the reforms was finally settled so far as concerns the Ambassadors and the Porte.

To-morrow it will be submitted to the Council of Ministers, and then the Iradé of the Sultan is all that will be required.

No. 199.

Sir P. Currie to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received October 17.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, October 17, 1895, 7:10 P.M.

AN official intimation has just reached me that an Iradé sanctioning the reforms as settled between the Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Ambassadors has been issued by the Sultan.

No. 200.

The Marquess of Salisbury to Sir P. Currie.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, October 18, 1895, 5:45 P.M.

I HAVE received your telegram of the 17th instant, reporting the issue of the Sultan's Iradé which sanctions the scheme of Armenian reforms as settled between the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Ambassadors of Great Britain, France, and Russia at Constantinople.

I have to convey to you my hearty congratulations on the success obtained by your Excellency.

I should be glad to learn without delay the terms of the Imperial Iradé, or of the arrangement sanctioned by it.

No. 201.

Sir P. Currie to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received October 20.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, October 20, 1895, 7:50 P.M.

WITH reference to my telegram of the 17th instant, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that the Sublime Porte has addressed me an official note inclosing a letter from the Grand Vizier to Shakir Pasha. This document communicates the reforms agreed upon between the three Embassies and the Minister for Foreign Affairs, instructs him to superintend their execution, and states that they have also been communicated to the six vilayets.

A comparison of the French and Turkish texts is now being made.

To-morrow I shall meet the Russian and French Ambassadors in order to settle the terms of our reply; we intend to address a note to the Porte in which we shall reserve our right to object to the appointment of unfit persons as Valis, and we shall take note of any other points which may seem to require it.

No. 202.

Sir P. Currie to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received October 21.)

My Lord,

Therapia, October 17, 1895.

WITH reference to my telegram of the 15th instant, I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship a copy of the Act* embodying the reforms for the six vilayets inhabited by Armenians, as drawn up by the Delegates of the three Embassies in conjunction with Munir Bey, the Secretary-General of the Foreign Department, and revised by the three Ambassadors and Saïd Pasha.

It is intended that this document should be promulgated in the form of an Annex to an Imperial Decree (probably a letter addressed to the Grand Vizier) which will notify the appointment of a High Commissioner, the amnesty, the arrangements for the return of the emigrants, and the application of the principles laid down in the Act to the other districts of Asiatic Turkey, which contain a considerable proportion of Christians.

The terms in which the above provisions will be stated in the Decree have also been agreed upon, and will be found at the end of the Act.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PHILIP CURRIE.

* For text, see Inclosure 3 in No. 204.

Sir P. Currie to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received October 24.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, October 24, 1895.

I WAS granted an audience by the Sultan this morning on the occasion of my leaving for England.

His Majesty expressed a hope that Her Majesty's Government would be satisfied with the steps he had taken in the matter of Armenian reforms, and would consider that the question was now finally closed.

I observed, in reply, that a great deal would depend on the manner in which the reforms were carried out, and in particular I urged the necessity for the appointment of good and reliable men to the Governorships and to the Commission of Control.

His Majesty assured me that this would be done, and that the reforms would be carried out faithfully. He said that he hoped that Her Majesty's Government would show their good-will by expressing their approval publicly. He complained bitterly of the hostility of the English press, and said that such an expression of approval might have the effect of modifying it.

No. 204.

Sir P. Currie to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received October 29.)

My Lord,

Therapia, October 22, 1895.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 17th instant, forwarding the scheme of reforms as agreed upon by the Ambassadors of the three Powers with Saïd Pasha, I have now the honour to inclose a copy of a *note verbale* from the Porte officially communicating the text of a Vizirial letter which has been addressed to Shakir Pasha, inclosing the scheme, and instructing him to superintend its execution. The letter adds that the reforms have at the same time been communicated to the Governors of Erzeroum, Van, Bitlis, Sivas, Kharput, and Diarbekir, and that measures in conformity with the principles laid down will be applied to other cazas, such as Zeitoun and Hadjin. We have, in reply, sent a collective note, of which a copy is inclosed, taking act of the arrangements made, and reserving to ourselves the right of calling the attention of the Sublime Porte to any unfit persons who may be designated for posts in the provincial Administration. We have also taken act of the intention of the Porte to extend the reforms to all cazas in Asia Minor where the Christians may be in a majority.

Saïd Pasha will formally acknowledge the receipt of this note.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PHILIP CURRIE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 204.

Note Verbale.

SA Majesté Impériale le Sultan ayant bien voulu dans sa haute sollicitude pour le bien-être de ses sujets sans distinction de race ni de religion, sanctionner spontanément le plan des réformes à introduire dans l'administration des vilayets d'Erzeroum, Sivas, Van, Diarbékir, Bitlis, et Mamouret-el-Aziz, le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères a l'honneur d'en transmettre ci-joint une copie à son Excellence, M. l'Ambassadeur de Sa Majesté Britannique avec le texte du Décret y relatif.

Le 20 Octobre, 1895.

(Translation.)

HIS Imperial Majesty the Sultan having been pleased, in his high solicitude for the welfare of his subjects without distinction of race or religion, to sanction spontaneously the scheme of reforms to be introduced into the administration of the vilayets of Erzeroum, Sivas, Van, Diarbekir, Bitlis, and Mamouret-el-Aziz, the Minister for Foreign Affairs has the honour to transmit herewith a copy of the scheme, together with the text of the Decree relative to it.

October 20, 1895.

Inclosure 2 in No. 204.

Vizirial Order addressed to the Valis of Erzeroum, Van, Bitlis, Diarbekir, Maamouret-ul-Aziz, and Sivas, and to the Inspector, Shakir Pasha.

(Translation.)

IN accordance with the glorious provisions of the Khatt-i-Humayoun of Gulkhané, promulgated on the 26th Shaaban, 1255, by His late Imperial Majesty Abdul-Mejid Khan, the illustrious father of the Sovereign, as well as the terms of the Firman of Reforms issued in the beginning of Jemazir-el-Akhiri 1272, and in pursuance of the laws actually laid down and in force, as all men know, the selection and appointment of the officials and employés of the Imperial Government is effected by virtue of an Imperial Iradé and in due compliance with the special regulations on the point, and all classes of Ottoman subjects, to whatsoever nationality they may belong, are to be admitted to the service of the State.

Accordingly, it has been decided that these shall be employed according to their merits and capacity, in accordance with regulations which shall be observed in respect to all classes alike, and also that all Ottoman subjects who comply in point of age and attainments with the existing regulations of the State schools shall be received into such schools without any distinction being made.

Moreover, just as from time to time a number of measures and regulations have been introduced of a nature to bring about the necessary reforms in proportion as these are requisite and possible in every part of the Ottoman dominions, and to improve the well-being of the subjects, and increase the prosperity of the country, so, since the auspicious accession of His Imperial Majesty, his thoughts have been directed towards the complete realization of these benevolent designs.

It is therefore intended by the Imperial Government to carry out gradually useful reforms throughout His Majesty's dominions corresponding with local requirements and the nature of the inhabitants, and accordingly it has been decided to effect reforms in the Asiatic Vilayets of Erzeroum, Van, Bitlis, Diarbekir, Mamouret-el-Aziz, and Sivas, to comprise the application of the laws and regulations contained in the Destour, as well as the provisions of the aforesaid Khatt-i-Humayoun of Gulkhané, and the Firman of Reforms.

This decision, being submitted by a special Council of Ministers to the Sultan, has been sanctioned by His Majesty in an Imperial Iradé, and certified copies, obtained from the Imperial Divan, of the schedule containing the points of reform decided upon having been transmitted to each of the six vilayets mentioned, a copy is inclosed to your Excellency herewith.

Besides this, four other Articles, included in the decision, and sanctioned in the Imperial Iradé, are subjoined as follows:—

1. An official in every respect worthy of regard shall be appointed by the Imperial Government, with the title of General Inspector, to attend to the carrying out of the reforms, and superintend their application, and shall proceed to his post. In the event of the absence of the Inspector, or of any impediment, another high Mussulman official will be temporarily appointed by His Majesty to replace him. The Inspector will be accompanied during the execution of his duties by a non-Mussulman Assistant.

2. As the Armenians accused or convicted of being implicated in political events were granted the Imperial pardon on the 11th (23rd) July, 1311 (1895), this measure will be applied to all Armenians who shall not be proved to be directly concerned in any offence at common law, and who, having been imprisoned before that date, still remain in confinement.

3. Armenians exiled from the country, or who have fled for refuge to foreign countries, shall, upon proving their Ottoman nationality and their good behaviour, be allowed to return freely to the Ottoman dominions.

4. In cazas such as Zeitoun and Hadjin measures similar to the aforesaid rules shall be applied.

It is unnecessary to explain or repeat that the most ardent desire of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, the bounteous benefactor, is the increase of the prosperity of the Ottoman dominions, and in general of all his subjects, and the insuring of their comfort and happiness, and these Articles and enactments will still further assure the realization of this aim.

His Excellency Shakir Pasha, one of His Imperial Majesty's Aides-de-camp, who has been appointed to the important post of General Inspector, has been named in accordance with an Imperial order to the six vilayets aforesaid; and the appointments of the Assistant who is to accompany him, as well as the Commission of Inspection to be named in

accordance with the schedule already mentioned, are in course of progress, and I have to desire you to proceed to carry out the matters decided upon with extraordinary zeal, attention, and care in your district, and to report in due course upon the results thus attained.

30 *Rebi-ul-Akhir*, 1313 (*October 8 (20), 1311 (1895)*).

Inclosure 3 in No. 204.

Scheme of Reforms.

Chapitre I.—*Vilayets et Mutessarifats.*

ARTICLE 1. Auprès de chaque vilayet (Gouvernement-Général) sera nommé un Mouavin non-Musulman conformément aux dispositions du Chapitre II du Règlement sur l'Administration Générale des Vilayets du 29 *Chewal*, 1286.*

Il sera chargé conformément à ce Règlement de coopérer aux affaires générales du vilayet et d'en préparer l'expédition.

Art. 2. Seront également nommés des Mouavins non-Musulmans auprès des Mutessarifs et des Caïmacams Musulmans dans les sandjaks et les cazas où cette mesure sera justifiée par l'importance de la population Chrétienne.

Chapitre II.—*Caïmacams.*

Art. 3. Les Caïmacams seront choisis sans distinction de religion par le Ministère de l'Intérieur parmi les diplômés de l'École Civile et nommés par *Irâdê Impérial*.

Art. 4. Seront maintenus dans l'Administration ceux qui, étant actuellement en fonctions, seront reconnus capables bien que non-diplômés.

Dans le cas où il n'y aurait pas en ce moment un nombre de non-Musulmans diplômés de l'École Mulkié suffisant pour permettre de faire les nominations reconnues nécessaires, ces postes seront occupés par des personnes au service du Gouvernement qui, quoique non-diplômées, seront reconnues aptes à remplir les fonctions de Caïmacam.

Chapitre III.—*Proportion des Chrétiens dans les Fonctions Publiques.*

Art. 5. Les fonctions administratives seront confiées aux sujets Musulmans et non-Musulmans proportionnellement aux chiffres des populations Musulmanes et non-Musulmanes de chaque vilayet.

Le nombre des fonctionnaires non-Musulmans de l'Administration de la Police et de la Gendarmerie sera fixé par la Commission Permanente de Contrôle.

Chapitre IV.—*Conseils des Sandjaks et Cazas.*

Art. 6. Les Conseils Administratifs des sandjaks et des cazas composés de membres élus et de membres de droit sont maintenus et fonctionneront conformément à l'Article 61 du Règlement sur l'Administration Générale des Vilayets de 1286,† et aux Articles 77 et 78 de la Loi des Vilayets de 1867, d'après lesquels ils ont été constitués.‡

Leurs attributions sont fixées par les Articles 90, 91, et 92 du Règlement sur l'Administration Générale des Vilayets,† et par les Articles 38, 39, et 40 des Instructions relatives à l'Administration Générale des Vilayets du 25 *Mouharrem*, 1293.§

* See Appendix, p. 171.

† Ibid., p. 172.

‡ Ibid., p. 173.

Chapitre V.—*Nahiés.*

Art. 7. Les nahiés seront organisés conformément aux prescriptions des Articles 94 à 106 du Règlement sur l'Administration Générale des Vilayets de 1286,* et des Articles 1 à 19 du Règlement sur l'Administration des Communes du 25 Mars, 1292.†

Art. 8. Chaque nahié sera administré par un Moudir et un Conseil composé de quatre membres élus parmi les habitants.

Le Conseil choisira parmi ses membres un Moudir et un Adjoint. Le Moudir devra appartenir à la classe qui forme la majorité des habitants et l'Adjoint à l'autre classe. Le Conseil aura, en outre, un Secrétaire.

Art. 9. Si les habitants d'un nahié sont d'une même classe les membres du Conseil seront élus exclusivement parmi les habitants appartenant à cette même classe; si la population du Cercle Communal est mixte la minorité devra être représentée proportionnellement à son importance relative à condition qu'elle comprenne au moins vingt-cinq maisons.

Art. 10. Les Moudirs et les Secrétaires des nahiés sont rétribués.

Art. 11. Les candidats aux Conseils des Nahiés devront remplir les conditions prévues par l'Article 10 du Règlement sur l'Administration des Communes.‡

Art. 12. Les Imams, les prêtres, les professeurs d'écoles, et tous ceux qui se trouvent au service du Gouvernement ne pourront être élus Moudirs.

Art. 13. Le Conseil sera renouvelé par moitié chaque année. Ses membres ainsi que le Moudir seront rééligibles.

Art. 14. Les attributions du Moudir et des Conseils des Nahiés sont réglées par les Articles 20 à 27 du Règlement sur l'Administration des Communes.‡

Villages des Nahiés.

Art. 15. Chaque village du nahié aura un Moukhtar. S'il y a plusieurs quartiers et plusieurs classes d'habitants il y aura un Moukhtar par quartier et par classe.

Art. 16. Aucun village ne pourra relever de deux nahiés à la fois.

Chapitre VI.—*Justice.*

Art. 17. Il y aura dans chaque localité un Conseil des Anciens présidé par le Moukhtar et dont la mission sera de concilier à l'amiable les contestations entre les habitants, contestations prévues par les lois judiciaires.

Art. 18. Les fonctions de Juges de Paix sont exercées dans les villages par les Conseils des Anciens et dans les communes par les Conseils Communaux. Leurs attributions et le degré de leur compétence sont déterminés par la loi.

Art. 19. Des Inspecteurs Judiciaires dont le nombre ne sera pas moindre de six et qui seront par moitié Musulmans et non-Musulmans, seront chargés dans chaque vilayet d'accélérer le jugement de tous les procès en cours et de surveiller l'état des prisons conformément au Règlement de . . . §

Les inspections devront être faites en même temps par deux Inspecteurs, dont l'un Musulman et l'autre non-Musulman.

Chapitre VII.—*Police.*

Art. 20. Les agents de la police seront recrutés parmi les sujets Musulmans et non-Musulmans de l'Empire proportionnellement aux chiffres des populations Musulmane et non-Musulmane du vilayet.

Art. 21. Des contingents suffisants seront affectés à chaque subdivision administrative, y compris le nahié.

Les agents de police du nahié sont placés sous les ordres du Moudir et commandés par des Commissaires.

Leurs armes et leurs uniformes seront identiques aux modèles déjà adoptés.

Chapitre VIII.—*Gendarmerie.*

Art. 22. Les officiers, sous-officiers, et soldats de la gendarmerie seront recrutés parmi les habitants Musulmans et non-Musulmans de l'Empire, proportionnellement aux chiffres des populations Musulmane et non-Musulmane de chaque vilayet.

* See Appendix, p. 173.

† Ibid., p. 174.

‡ Ibid., p. 175.

§ The reference in the Turkish text is to Chapter II of "La Loi sur la Formation des Tribunaux Civils."

La gendarmerie sera soldée et entretenue aux frais de la caisse du vilayet.
La solde des gendarmes est supérieure à celle des soldats de l'armée Impériale, et celle des officiers équivalente à la solde des officiers de l'armée Impériale.

Art. 23. La gendarmerie est chargée du maintien de l'ordre et de l'escorte de la poste.

Chapitre IX.—*Gardes-Champêtres.*

Art. 24. Le Conseil du Nahié choisira des gardes-champêtres dans les différentes classes de la population.

Leur nombre sera fixé par la Commission Permanente de Contrôle, conformément aux besoins de chaque nahié, sur le rapport du Moudir et la proposition du Vali.

Leur uniforme et leur armement seront arrêtés par le Département de la Guerre.

Chapitre X.—*Prisons et Comité d'Enquête Préliminaire.*

Art. 25. Les Règlements existants sur la tenue des prisons et des maisons d'arrêt seront strictement exécutés.

Art. 26. Le Comité d'Enquête Préliminaire prévu par les Articles 11 et 12 des Instructions relatives à l'Administration Générale des Vilayets* est appelé à fonctionner de la façon la plus régulière.

Chapitre XI.—*Contrôle des Kurdes.*

Art. 27. Les localités de migration des Kurdes seront fixées d'avance de façon à éviter tout dommage aux habitants de la part des Achirets. Un officier ayant sous ses ordres une force armée suffisante et des gendarmes accompagnera chaque tribu dans sa migration. Un Commissaire de Police lui sera adjoint.

Les Kurdes remettront à l'autorité des ôtages pendant leurs migrations.

Les Règlements sur les feuilles de route et le port d'armes seront appliqués aux Kurdes.

Les tribus nomades et errantes seront engagées à se fixer sur des terres qui leur seront concédées par le Gouvernement.

Chapitre XII.—*Cavalerie Hamidié.*

Art. 28. Le port d'armes et d'uniformes par les cavaliers Hamidiés en dehors des périodes d'instruction est prohibé.

En dehors de ces périodes, les cavaliers Hamidiés sont justiciables des Tribunaux ordinaires.

Un Règlement Militaire qui déterminera tous les détails de leur service sera élaboré sans retard.

Chapitre XIII.—*Titres de Propriété.*

Art. 29. Il sera institué au chef-lieu du vilayet et des sandjaks des Commissions pour la revision des titres de propriété.

Ces Commissions seront composées de quatre membres (deux Musulmans et deux non-Musulmans), et présidées par le Directeur des Archives ou le préposé aux Immeubles.

Leurs décisions seront soumises aux Conseils d'Administration.

En outre, quatre Délégués seront envoyés chaque année de Constantinople dans les vilayets pour examiner les irrégularités qui auraient pu surgir dans les affaires de propriétés.

Chapitre XIV.—*Perception des Impôts.*

Art. 30. Pour éviter l'emploi de la force publique, des agents spéciaux, qui ne pourront faire aucune réquisition de fourrages ni de vivres, et qui n'auront aucun

* See Appendix, p. 176.

manièrement de fonds, remettront aux Moukhtars et aux Receveurs des villages et quartiers élus par les habitants, les feuilles sur lesquelles sont inscrits les impôts dus par chaque habitant.

Les Moukhtars et Receveurs susnommés seront seuls chargés de la perception des impôts et de leur consignation aux caisses de l'État.

Chapitre XV.—*Dîmes.*

Art. 31. La perception de la dîme se fera par voie d'affermage. L'affermage en gros demeure aboli et est remplacé par la mise en adjudication par villages et au nom des habitants.

En cas de difficulté, ceux-ci pourront recourir aux Tribunaux. Dans le cas où personne ne se présenterait pour l'affermage des dîmes de certains villages, ou bien si le prix offert était inférieur à la valeur réelle des dîmes à adjuger, ces dîmes seront administrées en régie, conformément au Règlement sur la matière.

La corvée étant abolie la prestation en nature et en argent est maintenue pour les travaux d'utilité publique.

Le budget de l'Instruction Publique dans chaque vilayet est fixé par le Ministère de l'Instruction Publique.

La vente pour cause de dettes fiscales ou personnelles de la demeure du contribuable, des terrains nécessaires à sa subsistance, de ses instruments de travail, de ses bêtes de labour, et de ses grains demeure interdite.

Chapitre XVI.—*Commission Permanente de Contrôle.*

Art. 32. Il sera institué à la Sublime Porte une Commission Permanente de Contrôle composée par moitié de membres Musulmans et non-Musulmans, et chargée de surveiller l'exacte application des réformes.

Les Ambassades feront parvenir à cette Commission, par l'intermédiaire de leurs Drogmans, les avis, communications, et renseignements qu'elles jugeront nécessaires, dans les limites de l'application des réformes et des mesures prescrites par le présent Acte.

Lorsque la Sublime Porte et les Ambassades seront d'accord pour considérer la Commission comme ayant accompli son mandat, elle sera dissoute.

Paragraphes figurant dans le Décret.

Paragraphe 1.—Haut Commissaire de Surveillance pour l'Application des Réformes.

(Traduction.)

Un fonctionnaire digne de considération à tous égards sera nommé et envoyé sur les lieux à titre de Haut Commissaire (Mufettich) par le Gouvernement Impérial avec mission spéciale de surveiller l'exécution des réformes et de présider à leur application.

En cas d'absence ou d'empêchement ce Haut Commissaire sera remplacé provisoirement par un autre haut fonctionnaire Musulman désigné par Sa Majesté Impériale.

Le Haut Commissaire Impérial sera accompagné dans sa mission par un Adjoint (Moavin) non-Musulman.

Paragraphe 2.—Amnistie.

Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan, ayant accordé, le 23 Juillet, 1895, une amnistie aux Arméniens accusés ou condamnés pour des faits politiques, cette mesure sera appliquée à tous ceux qui auraient été incarcérés avant cette date, et qui seraient encore détenus, et qui ne seraient pas convaincus de participation directe à des crimes de droit commun.

Paragraphe 3.—Rentrée des Émigrés.

Les Arméniens qui auraient été expulsés ou éloignés de leur pays ou qui auraient émigré en pays étranger, pourront rentrer librement en Turquie, après que leur nationalité Ottomane et leur bonne conduite auront été démontrées.

Paragraphe 4.—Situation des Non-Musulmans dans les autres Vilayets de l'Anatolie.

Des mesures conformes aux principes ci-dessus seront appliquées dans les cazas tels que Zéitoun et Hadjin.

(Translation.)

Chapter I.—*Vilayets and Mutessarifliks.*

ARTICLE 1. A non-Mussulman Moavin will be appointed to each vilayet (Governor-Generalship), in accordance with the provisions of Chapter II of the Regulations for the general administration of the vilayets of the 29th Shewal, 1286.*

In accordance with those Regulations it will be his duty to assist in the general business of the vilayet, and to attend to its dispatch.

Art. 2. Non-Mussulman Moavins will also be attached to the Mussulman Mutessarifs and Kaïmakams in sandjaks and cazas where this measure is justified by the importance of the Christian population.

Chapter II.—*Kaïmakams.*

Art. 3. The Kaïmakams will be chosen without distinction of religion by the Ministry of the Interior among persons holding diplomas of the Civil School, and will be appointed by Imperial Iradé.

Art. 4. Those already in office, and considered efficient, will be retained in the service, although not holding diplomas.

If there are not at the present time a sufficient number of non-Mussulmans holding diplomas of the Mulkié School to allow of the appointments which are considered necessary, the posts in question will be occupied by persons in the service of the Government who, although they do not hold diplomas, are considered fit to fill the post of Kaïmakam.

Chapter III.—*Proportion of Christians holding Public Offices.*

Art. 5. The administrative posts will be assigned to Mussulmans and non-Mussulmans in proportion to the numbers of the Mussulman and non-Mussulman population of each vilayet.

The number of non-Mussulman officials in the administration of the police and of the gendarmerie will be fixed by the Permanent Commission of Control.

Chapter IV.—*Councils of Sandjaks and Cazas.*

Art. 6. The Administrative Councils of the sandjaks and cazas, composed of elected and *ex officio* members, are retained, and will act in conformity with Article 61 of the Regulations for the general administration of the vilayets of 1286,† and Articles 77 and 78 of the Law of the Vilayets of 1867, in accordance with which they were constituted.‡

Their duties are fixed by Articles 90, 91, and 92 of the Regulations for the general administration of the vilayets,† and by Articles 38, 39, and 40 of the Instructions relative to the general administration of the vilayets of the 25th Muharrem, 1293.‡

Chapter V.—*Nahiés.*

Art. 7. The nahiés will be organized in accordance with the provisions of Articles 94 to 106 of the Regulations for the general administration of the vilayets of 1286‡, and Articles 1 to 19 of the Regulations for the administration of communes of the 25th March, 1292§.

Art. 8. Each nahié will be administered by a Mudir and a Council composed of four members, elected from the inhabitants.

* See Appendix, p. 171.

† Ibid., p. 173.

‡ Ibid., p. 172.

§ Ibid., p. 174.



The Council will choose among its members a Mudir and an Assistant. The Mudir must belong to the class which forms the majority of the inhabitants, and the Assistant to the other class. The Council will have, in addition, a Secretary.

Art. 9. If the inhabitants of a nahié are of one class, the members of the Council will be elected exclusively from the inhabitants belonging to that class; if the population of the communal district is mixed, the minority must be represented in proportion to its relative importance, so long as it comprises at least twenty-five houses.

Art. 10. The Mudirs and Secretaries of nahiés will receive salaries.

Art. 11. Candidates for membership of Councils of nahiés must fulfil the conditions laid down in Article 10 of the Regulations for the administration of communes.*

Art. 12. Imams, priests, schoolmasters, and persons in the service of the Government cannot be elected Mudirs.

Art. 13. Half the members of the Council retire annually. The members of the Council and the Mudir are eligible for re-election.

Art. 14. The duties of the Mudir and of the Councils of nahiés are defined by Articles 20 to 27 of the Regulations for the administration of communes.*

Villages of Nahiés.

Art. 15. Each village of the nahié will have a Mukhtar. If there are several wards and several classes of inhabitants, there will be a Mukhtar for each ward and for each class.

Art. 16. A village cannot belong to two nahiés.

Chapter VI.—Justice.

Art. 17. There will be in each locality a Council of Elders, with the Mukhtar as President, the duty of which will be to settle amicably disputes between inhabitants in cases where the disputes are foreseen by the laws.

Art. 18. The duties of Magistrates are performed in the villages by the Councils of Elders, and in the communes by the Communal Councils. Their duties and the extent of their powers are determined by law.

Art. 19. In each vilayet it will be the duty of Judicial Inspectors, to the number of not less than six, half of whom must be Mussulmans and half non-Mussulmans, to expedite the trial of all pending cases, and to watch over the condition of the prisons in accordance with the Regulations of . . . †

The inspections must be held by two Inspectors at a time, one of whom must be a Mussulman and the other a non-Mussulman.

Chapter VII.—Police.

Art. 20. The police agents will be recruited from the Mussulman and the non-Mussulman subjects of the Empire in the proportion of the numbers of the Mussulman and the non-Mussulman population of the vilayet.

Art. 21. A sufficient force will be assigned to each administrative subdivision, including the nahié.

The police agents of the nahié are placed under the orders of the Mudir, and are commanded by Commissaries.

Their arms and uniforms will be of the pattern already adopted.

Chapter VIII.—Gendarmerie.

Art. 22. The officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates of the gendarmerie will be recruited from the Mussulman and the non-Mussulman inhabitants of the Empire in proportion to the numbers of the Mussulman and the non-Mussulman population of each vilayet.

* See Appendix, p. 175.

† The reference in the Turkish text is to Chapter II of "La Loi sur la Formation des Tribunaux Civils."

The gendarmerie will be paid and maintained at the expense of the treasury of the vilayet.

The pay of the gendarmes is higher than that of the soldiers of the Imperial army, and the pay of the officers is the same as that of the officers of the Imperial army.

It is the duty of the gendarmerie to keep order and to escort the post.

Chapter IX.—*Rural Police.*

Art. 24. The Council of the nahié will choose rural police among the different classes of the population.

Their number will be fixed by the Permanent Commission of Control, according to the wants of each nahié, on the report of the Mudir and the nomination of the Vali.

Their uniform and arms will be settled by the War Department.

Chapter X.—*Prisons and Committee of Preliminary Inquiry.*

Art. 25. The existing Regulations for the management of prisons and houses of detention will be strictly carried out.

Art. 26. The Committee of Preliminary Inquiry, provided for by Articles 11 and 12 of the Instructions relative to the general administration of the vilayets,* will carry out its duties with the utmost regularity.

Chapter XI.—*Control of the Kurds.*

Art. 27. The places of migration of the Kurds will be fixed beforehand, so as to prevent any loss being suffered by the inhabitants at the hands of the Ashirets. An officer with a sufficient armed force and gendarmes under his command will accompany each tribe in its migration. A Commissary of Police will be attached to him.

The Kurds will give hostages to the authorities during their migrations.

The Regulations regarding passes and the carrying of arms will be applied to the Kurds.

Nomadic and wandering tribes will be called upon to settle on lands which will be granted to them by the Government.

Chapter XII.—*Hamidié Cavalry.*

Art. 28. Members of the Hamidié cavalry are forbidden to carry arms or wear uniforms outside the periods of training.

Outside these periods, members of the Hamidié cavalry are subject to the jurisdiction of the ordinary Courts.

Military Regulations determining all the details of their service will be drawn up without delay.

Chapter XIII.—*Titles to Property.*

Art. 29. Commissions for the revision of titles to property will be established in the principal towns of the vilayet and of the sandjaks.

These Commissions will consist of four members (two Mussulmans and two non-Mussulmans), and will be presided over by the Director of Archives or the Superintendent of Real Property.

Their decisions will be submitted to the Administrative Councils.

Further, four Delegates will be sent every year from Constantinople to the vilayets to inquire into any irregularities which may have occurred in matters relating to property.

* See Appendix, p. 176.

Chapter XIV.—*Levy of Taxes.*

Art. 30. To avoid employing the public force, special agents, who will not be allowed to requisition any forage or provisions, and through whose hands no money may pass, will furnish to the Mukhtars and village and ward Receivers elected by the inhabitants, papers stating the taxes payable by each inhabitant.

The above-mentioned Mukhtars and Receivers will alone be charged with the collection of the taxes and their delivery to the State treasuries.

Chapter XV.—*Tithes.*

Art. 31. The tithe will be farmed out. Farming out on a large scale remains abolished, and is replaced by farming out by villages, and in the name of the inhabitants.

If a difficulty arises, the inhabitants can appeal to the Courts. If, in any village, no one offers to farm the tithe, or if the price offered is below the real value of the tithe, the latter will be administered by the Government in accordance with the Regulations on the subject.

The corvée having been abolished, contributions in kind and in money will continue to be made for works of public utility.

The budget of Public Instruction in each vilayet is fixed by the Ministry of Public Instruction.

The sale, for debts to the Treasury or personal debts, of the taxpayer's house, the lands necessary for his support, his implements, his beasts of labour, or his seeds, is forbidden, as hitherto.

Chapter XVI.—*Permanent Commission of Control.*

Art. 32. A Permanent Commission of Control, half of the members of which will be Mussulmans and half non-Mussulmans, and which will be charged with superintending the strict execution of the reforms, will be established at the Sublime Porte.

The Embassies will address to this Commission, through their Dragomans, any notifications, communications, or information they think necessary, bearing upon the execution of the reforms and the measures prescribed by the present Act.

When the Sublime Porte and the Embassies agree that the Commission has completed its task, it will be dissolved.

*Paragraphs appearing in the Decree.**Paragraph 1.—High Commissioner to superintend the execution of the Reforms.*

An official in all respects worthy of consideration will be appointed and sent to the spot as a High Commissioner (Mufettish) by the Imperial Government, specially charged with superintending the execution of the reforms and supervising their application.

If this High Commissioner is absent or is prevented from attending to his duties, he will be temporarily replaced by another high Mussulman official appointed by His Imperial Majesty.

The Imperial High Commissioner will be accompanied on his mission by a non-Mussulman Assistant (Moavin).

Paragraph 2.—Amnesty.

His Imperial Majesty the Sultan having, on the 23rd July, 1895, granted an amnesty to the Armenians accused or convicted of political offences, this measure will be applied to all imprisoned before that date, and still in custody, who may not be convicted of direct complicity in crimes against the common law.

Paragraph 3.—Return of Emigrants.

Armenians who have been expelled or removed from their homes, or who have emigrated to a foreign country, may freely return to Turkey, after their Ottoman nationality and their good behaviour have been proved.

Paragraph 4.—Position of non-Mussulmans in the other Vilayets of Anatolia.

Measures in conformity with the principles stated above will be adopted in cazas such as Zeitun and Hadjin.

Inclosure 4 in No. 204.

Collective Note addressed by the Ambassadors of Great Britain, France, and Russia to Saïd Pasha.

LES Soussignés, Ambassadeurs de Russie, de France, et de Grande-Bretagne ont reçu la note verbale que la Sublime Porte leur a adressé le 20 de ce mois, et ont l'honneur d'en accuser réception à son Excellence M. le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères.

Ils ont pris connaissance du texte du Décret relatif aux réformes dont Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan vient de décider l'application ainsi que du plan qui en contient l'exposé, et c'est avec satisfaction qu'ils constatent que le Gouvernement Impérial a résolu de mettre en pratique les Règles solennellement formulées dans les Hatts précédents des Souverains Ottomans, et les mesures découlant des principes exposés par la Sublime Porte dans ses communications des 2 Juin, 17 Juin, 5 Août, 17 Août, et 5 Octobre de la présente année.

En prenant acte de ces dispositions et de l'intention de la Sublime Porte de les étendre outre les vilayets mentionnés dans le Décret à tous les cazas d'Anatolie où les Arméniens forment une partie notable de la population, les Ambassadeurs de France, de Grande-Bretagne, et de Russie, ne doutent pas que les fonctionnaires chargés d'exécuter et d'appliquer les réformes n'assurent par leur intelligence, leur zèle, et leur désintéressement, à tous les sujets Ottomans sans distinction, les bienfaits d'une Administration soucieuse du bien-être général et de la prospérité de l'Empire.

Les garanties dont le Gouvernement Impérial déclare dans ses communications susmentionnées vouloir entourer le choix et la nomination des fonctionnaires de tous ordres, témoignent de l'importance que la Sublime Porte attache à ce que ses Agents dans les provinces remplissent leur mission à la satisfaction de toutes les communautés et à ce que les Valis, notamment, donnent à l'administration de chaque vilayet une impulsion conforme aux vues que vient d'affirmer à nouveau Sa Majesté Impériale.

C'est dans cette confiance que les Ambassadeurs de France de Grande-Bretagne, et de Russie croient pouvoir le mieux servir les intentions manifestées par la Sublime Porte en se réservant de lui signaler lors de leur désignation les personnes dont les antécédents et le caractère ne sembleraient pas répondre aux conditions indiquées comme nécessaires par le Gouvernement Ottoman lui-même.

C'est aussi dans cette confiance qu'ils seront heureux de prêter, à l'occasion, tout leur concours au Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Impériale pour la réalisation des réformes qu'elle vient de décréter.

Les Soussignés prient son Excellence M. le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères de vouloir bien leur accuser réception de la présente communication, et saisissent, &c.

(Signé)

NÉLIDOW.

P. CAMBON.

PHILIP CURRIE.

Le 24 Octobre, 1895.

(Translation.)

THE Undersigned, Ambassadors of Russia, France, and Great Britain, have received the *note verbale* addressed to them by the Porte on the 20th instant, and have the honour to acknowledge its receipt to his Excellency the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

They have perused the text of the Decree concerning the reforms which His

Imperial Majesty has decided to introduce, and the scheme of reforms, and they note with satisfaction that the Imperial Government has decided to put in force the Rules formally promulgated in preceding Hatts of the Ottoman Sovereigns, and the measures which follow from the principles enunciated by the Sublime Porte in its communications of the 2nd June, 17th June, 1st August, 19th August, and 5th October of the present year.

In taking note of these measures and of the intention of the Sublime Porte to apply them, not only to the vilayets mentioned in the Decree, but to all the cazas of Anatolia where the Armenians form a considerable part of the population, the Ambassadors of France, Great Britain, and Russia do not doubt that the officials charged with executing and applying the reforms will, by their intelligence, zeal, and disinterestedness, assure to all Ottoman subjects without distinction the benefits of an Administration solicitous for the well-being of all and the prosperity of the Empire.

The guarantees with which the Imperial Government declares in its above-mentioned communications that it desires to surround the selection and appointment of officials of all classes show how important the Sublime Porte considers it that its Agents in the provinces should perform their duties to the satisfaction of all the communities, and that, in particular, the Valis should promote in the administration of each vilayet the views to which His Imperial Majesty has now again given expression.

Confident that this is so, the Ambassadors of France, Great Britain, and Russia consider that they will best further the aims of the Sublime Porte by reserving the right to call its attention to any appointments of persons whose antecedents and character do not appear to fulfil the conditions indicated as necessary by the Ottoman Government itself.

They will also be happy, should occasion arise, to give all the assistance in their power to the Government of the Sultan in carrying out the reforms which His Imperial Majesty has just decreed.

The Undersigned request his Excellency the Minister for Foreign Affairs to be so good as to acknowledge the receipt of this communication, and they avail, &c.

(Signed)

NELIDOW.

P. CAMBON.

PHILIP CURRIE.

October 24, 1895.

APPENDIX.

Articles in the Turkish Règlemens, &c., referred to in the Project of Reforms of October 15, 1895.

CHAPITRE I.—ARTICLE 1.

*Règlement sur l'Administration Générale des Vilayets du 29 Cheval, 1287.**

ARTICLE 17. Les Muavins ont pour devoirs d'aider les Valis dans leur pouvoir exécutif général du vilayet.

Ces devoirs consistent à coopérer avec le Vali dans toutes les affaires ressortissant des attributions de ce dernier, désignées dans le Chapitre I, à étudier les papiers qui seront adressés par les divers bureaux du vilayet ainsi que les autres lettres et documents dont le Vali lui permettra de prendre connaissance, à les renvoyer aux bureaux respectifs, à soumettre au Vali, par l'entremise du Directeur des Archives, un résumé des pièces décrétées, à écrire sur le dos des documents relatifs aux affaires intérieures du vilayets l'avis et la décision du Gouvernement Général, et à soumettre à la décision du Vali les questions qui exigent l'opinion personnelle de ce dernier.

Les fonctions du Muavin peuvent être aussi déléguées à un autre fonctionnaire du chef-lieu du vilayet.

*. Date as given in Aristarchi's "Législation Ottomane."

CHAPITRE IV.—ARTICLE 6.

Règlement sur l'Administration Générale des Vilayets du 29 Cheval, 1287.

Art. 61. Pour la délibération sur les affaires relatives à l'administration générale et particulière des vilayets, lesquelles seront spécifiées dans les Chapitres suivants, ont été institués un Conseil Général convoqué une fois par an au siège du vilayet, et les Conseils d'Administration permanents siégeant dans les chefs-lieux des vilayets, des arrondissements, et des cantons. Outre ces Conseils, les villages et nahies ont des Conseils particuliers pour leurs affaires respectives, et chaque ville et bourg ont de même à part leurs Conseils spéciaux pour le règlement des affaires particulières propres à chaque communauté ainsi que de leurs affaires municipales.

Loi des Vilayets de 1867.

Art. 77. Le Chef de la Magistrature, le Contrôleur-Général, le Directeur de la Correspondance, le fonctionnaire attaché à la Cour Civile et Criminelle, le Mufti, le Cadi, et les Chefs religieux des communautés non-Musulmanes, siégeant de droit au Conseil d'Administration du chef-lieu du vilayet, se réunissent en Comité Electoral sous la présidence du Vali. Ce Comité choisit sur la liste des sujets Ottomans résidant tant aux chefs-lieux du vilayet et des sandjaks que dans les chefs-lieux des cazas, payant 500 piastres, au moins, de contributions directes, jouissant de crédit et de considération dans le vilayet et sachant lire et écrire, des personnes en nombre égal au triple de celui des membres à nommer au Conseil d'Administration Centrale et à la Cour Civile et Criminelle.

La liste des éligibles est réduite dans les chefs-lieux des sandjaks, conformément aux prescriptions relatives à l'élection des Conseillers et des Mumeiz des sandjaks et des cazas.

Les procès-verbaux contenant le résultat de ces opérations électorales et transmis par les chefs-lieux des sandjaks, sont adressés au Vali qui soumet à la Sublime Porte les noms des personnes qu'il aura choisies, d'après les règles établies aux Articles précédents. Les élections sont confirmées par lettres Vizirielles.

Art. 78. Les quatre Conseillers des cazas de chaque sandjak se réunissent au chef-lieu du sandjak, un mois avant la convocation du Conseil-Général qui sera tenu chaque année au centre du vilayet, pour procéder à l'élection, sur la liste des habitants tant des chefs-lieux du sandjak que de ces cazas, de trois personnes réunissant les conditions d'éligibilité des Conseillers et appelées à faire partie du Conseil-Général. Elles se rendent au siège du Gouvernement Central sur l'invitation du Mutesarîf.

Les Conseillers des cazas, qui se sont rendus au chef-lieu du sandjak pour y élire les membres du Conseil-Général, leur remettent et font parvenir, par leur intermédiaire, au Vali, toutes les demandes des cazas relatives aux travaux d'utilité publique, à l'agriculture, au commerce, et autres matières pouvant faire l'objet des délibérations du Conseil.

Règlement sur l'Administration Générale des Vilayets du 29 Cheval, 1287.

Art. 90. Les affaires dont il est parlé dans le Chapitre II et qui se rapportent à l'administration de l'arrondissement sont du ressort de ce Conseil, à savoir, le contrôle, d'après les Règlements spéciaux, des revenus et dépenses de l'arrondissement; la revision des comptes des caisses d'épargne; la surveillance et la conservation des biens mobiliers et immobiliers du Gouvernement; l'examen, dans la limite de sa juridiction, des différends surgis entre les employés Gouvernementaux; la création des routes vicinales dans les cantons; l'adjudication des revenus publics et la conclusion des contrats et achats, qui sont, d'après les lois ou les ordres spéciaux du Gouvernement, du ressort du Mutessarîfat. Les affaires qui, conformément à la loi, ne sont pas de la compétence du Mutessarîfat sont référées au Conseil Administratif du vilayet.

Le Conseil délibère aussi sur les questions relatives à l'agriculture, au commerce, à l'instruction et aux travaux d'utilité publique, ainsi que sur les questions concernant les institutions utiles et la santé publique. Les questions de la répartition dans les cantons et de la rentrée des impôts, dont, à la suite d'une décision du Gouvernement, il serait chargé par le Conseil d'Administration du vilayet, ainsi que les documents que les Gouvernements des cantons lui adresseront relativement aux questions susmentionnées, font également l'objet des délibérations du Conseil.

Les décisions de ce Conseil sont consignées en Mazbatas qui sont transmis au Mutessarîf.

Art. 91. La forme des délibérations, la rédaction des procès-verbaux, et le mode de procédure de ces Conseils sont déterminés dans les Articles du Chapitre II sous le titre "Dispositions Générales."

Art. 92. Les attributions de ce Conseil sont: le contrôle des recettes et dépenses du canton; la revision des comptes des caisses d'épargne; l'administration et la conservation de tous les biens mobiliers et immobiliers de l'Etat; la répartition dans les quartiers et villages des impôts, d'après les décisions du Conseil Administratif de l'arrondissement; la prise de toute mesure relative à la santé publique; l'examen, dans les limites de sa juridiction, des procès surgis entre les fonctionnaires publics; la construction de routes vicinales dans les villages et les nahies; l'adjudication des revenus

publics et la conclusion des contrats et achats, dont le Caïmakam est directement autorisé par la loi ou en vertu d'un ordre spécial. Pour les affaires qui ne sont pas du ressort du Caïmakamat, il s'en réfère au Conseil d'Administration de l'arrondissement.

Le Conseil soumet au Caïmakam de l'arrondissement les Mazbatas contenant ses décisions.

Instructions relatives à l'Administration Générale des Vilayets du 25 Mouharrem, 1293.

Art. 38. Les Conseils d'Administration présidés par les Valis dans les vilayets, par les Mutes-sarifs dans les sandjaks, et par les Caïmacams dans les cazas, connaissent des affaires administratives concernant l'État et le pays. Leur devoir consiste à donner librement leur avis sur les affaires qui sont soumises à leurs délibérations conformément à la loi et à l'usage.

Art. 39. Les membres des Conseils d'Administration ne sont pas responsables d'une exécution contraire à leurs décisions. Ils doivent toutefois s'abstenir de tout abus dans l'exercice de leurs fonctions. La responsabilité résultant des actes exécutés, contrairement aux décisions des Conseils Administratifs ou de décisions annulées ou ajournées sans motifs, retombera sur les fonctionnaires chargés du Pouvoir Exécutif.

Art. 40. Dans le cas où les membres des Conseils d'Administration reconnaîtraient des irrégularités ou des injustices dans le service administratif, ils pourront communiquer, par un Rapport à la Sublime Porte, le résultat des constatations qu'ils auront effectuées, en se tenant dans les limites de la stricte justice. Tout individu qui serait l'objet de vexations exercées contre sa personne ou d'injustices commises contre ses intérêts, de la part d'un fonctionnaire public ou d'un simple particulier, a le droit de s'en plaindre directement à la Sublime Porte. Toutefois, s'il est constaté que ces plaintes sont le résultat d'une animosité personnelle, le calomniateur sera passible des peines édictées par la loi.

CHAPITRE V.—ARTICLE 7.

Règlement sur l'Administration Générale des Vilayets du 29 Chewal, 1287.

Art. 94. Ces Conseils sont composés des membres des Démogeronties du nahié et des villages placés dans la circonscription du gouvernement du nahié. Chaque Démogerontie n'enverra dans le Conseil que quatre de ses membres au plus. Le Conseil est convoqué, à des époques fixées, dans le chef-lieu du nahié.

Art. 95. La durée de chaque session de ces Conseils ne peut pas dépasser une semaine. Ils sont convoqués quatre fois par an à des époques choisies et fixées par le Gouverneur-Général.

Le Mudir du nahié est le Président de ce Conseil.

Art. 96. Le Caïmacam, sur l'ordre du Gouverneur de l'Arrondissement, informe le Mudir du nahié du temps de la convocation du Conseil.

Art. 97. Le Mudir invite les membres qui doivent siéger dans ce Conseil et qui seront pris dans les Démogeronties des villages placés dans la circonscription du nahié et ouvre les débats. Le nombre des membres que chaque Démogerontie de village enverra au Conseil ne peut être plus de quatre.

Art. 98. Les décisions des Conseils du nahié sont prises à la pluralité des voix. En cas d'égalité des votes, la voix du Président forme la majorité.

Art. 99. Si les membres convoqués ne sont pas présents à l'époque fixée pour l'ouverture des séances, le Mudir peut en ajourner à une semaine l'ouverture. Ce délai passé, si les membres arrivés, par rapport au nombre des villages qui forment le nahié, constituent la majorité, c'est-à-dire si le nahié se compose par exemple de cinq villages et que trois des villages seulement ont envoyé leurs délégués, les débats peuvent être commencées.

Art. 100. Ces Conseils s'occupent des institutions d'utilité publique dont l'exécution est désirée et peut être obtenue avec le concours manuel et pécuniaire de la population des villages du nahié. Ils s'occupent également de la construction des routes entre les villages, ainsi que des questions relatives aux pâturages, aux forêts et bois appartenant en commun aux villages du nahié, et des questions que les Démogeronties des villages soumettront au Conseil relativement à l'agriculture, à l'industrie, et au commerce. La multiplication et la conservation des outils d'agriculture et des bêtes de labour ainsi que la salubrité publique et le règlement des affaires municipales communes entre les villages, sont aussi des devoirs de ces Conseils. Ils s'occupent en outre du contrôle des décisions des Démogeronties quant à la répartition des impôts, et ils examinent les demandes ayant trait à la modification de cette répartition.

Le résultat des débats du Conseil du nahié est transmis par le Mudir au Caïmacam du canton.

Art. 101. Les décisions prises au sein de ce Conseil ne sont pas exécutoires. Elles sont mises à exécution suivant que le Caïmacam en autorisera le Mudir.

Art. 102. La partie technique des travaux à exécuter, tels que routes vicinales, édifices publics et d'intérêt général, dont la création a été arrêtée par le Conseil du nahié et approuvée par le Gouvernement cantonal, regarde ce Gouvernement-ci. Sous ce rapport le Conseil du nahié n'intervient dans ces affaires que pour examiner les questions dont il serait saisi par le Gouvernement cantonal, et pour transmettre par l'intermédiaire du Mudir le résultat de ses délibérations à ce sujet.

Art. 103. Il est interdit aux Conseils des nahiés de statuer sur des procès, d'infliger des amendes et de se saisir de toute question en dehors des limites de leurs attributions, prescrites dans les Articles précédents.

Art. 104. La partie des revenus municipaux du canton revenant aux nahiés, sera allouée à l'exécution des travaux d'utilité publique décidés par les Conseils des nahiés.

Le produit des offrandes et des dons des particuliers sera ajouté à la somme précitée et ce capital sera gardé dans le chef-lieu du nahié sous la surveillance des membres du Conseil Communal.

Art. 105. Les membres du Conseil à la clôture des débats de chaque session rentrent dans leurs villages respectifs.

Outre les réunions régulières le Mudir peut, sur l'invitation du Caïmacam et en cas d'une affaire urgente, convoquer en session extraordinaire les membres du Conseil, qui sont tenus à se rendre à l'invitation.

Art. 106. Les membres du Conseil ne peuvent se réunir à l'insu du Mudir ni s'entendre et provoquer des réunions communes avec les membres du Conseil d'un nahié voisin. Dans le cas contraire ils seront tenus responsables par-devant la loi.

Règlement sur l'Administration des Communes du 28 Mouharrem, 1292.

Art. 1. Les villages, les fermes, et les maisons isolées dépendant de chaque district, formeront plusieurs cercles eu égard à leur situation portant le nom des cercles communaux.

Art. 2. Les cercles communaux se divisent en deux catégories; la première contient les cercles qui se composent d'un seul village et l'autre ceux qui comprennent de plusieurs villages. Les cercles de la première catégorie seront composés de villages contenant plus de 200 maisons; ceux de la deuxième comprennent les villages et les quartiers contenant jusqu'à 200 maisons. Les villages contenant plus de cinquante maisons pourront former des cercles de la première catégorie, après avoir accompli les conditions énoncées dans le neuvième Article; toutefois les villages qui contiennent moins de cinquante maisons, ne pouvant former un cercle à part, seront annexés aux autres.

Art. 3. Il est entendu que les villages formant le cercle communal ne pourront être éloignés de l'endroit qui sera choisi comme chef-lieu que de trois heures au plus.

Art. 4. Aucun village ne pourra être annexé en parti à un autre cercle communal, quel que soit le nombre de ses habitants. En cas même qu'un village dépendant d'un caza se trouve situé près d'un autre caza, il ne pourra faire partie du cercle communal de ce dernier.

Art. 5. Si le cercle communal comprend un seul village, il prend le nom de ce village; mais quand il est composé de plusieurs villages, et d'autres habitations isolées, il prend le nom du plus grand, qui est aussi le chef-lieu du cercle; toutefois les villages compris dans le cercle ne pourront changer leurs noms.

Art. 6. Les propriétés immeubles, terrains, pâturages, et autres terres qui se trouvent dans le village compris dans le cercle communal des deux catégories susmentionnées ne subiront aucune modification, et resteront sous l'administration de ce cercle communal.

Art. 7. Chaque cercle communal aura un Mudir et un Conseil, composé de quatre membres au minimum et huit au maximum, élus par les habitants; l'un de ces membres exercera les fonctions de l'Adjoint du Mudir. Le Conseil aura en outre un Secrétaire.

Art. 8. Les villages compris dans les cercles communaux auront, comme par le passé, chacun un Mukhtar. Si un village contient plusieurs quartiers, et ses habitants sont divisés en différentes classes, il y aura un Mukhtar pour chaque quartier et pour chaque classe des habitants.

Art. 9. Les Mudirs et leurs adjoints, ainsi que les membres des Conseils des cercles communaux, exerceront, sans aucune rétribution, leurs fonctions; cependant, les habitants du cercle donneront annuellement une somme convenable aux Mudirs en compensation de leurs dépenses. Une somme convenable sera allouée annuellement au Secrétaire du Conseil, ainsi le montant des émoluments à donner chaque année, et le mode de leur répartition et perception seront contrôlés par les autorités supérieures du chef-lieu.

Art. 10. Les Mudirs et les membres du cercle communal devront être sujets Ottomans, avoir des intérêts dans la localité, être âgé à plus de 30 ans, et choisi parmi ceux qui paient une contribution annuelle à l'État de 100 piastres au minimum, et qui n'ont pas subi une condamnation.

Art. 11. Le Mudir du cercle doit savoir lire et écrire, mais comme ces Mudirs seront élus par les habitants, et jouiront conséquemment de leur confiance, ces derniers en seront garants et responsables. Après l'élection des Mudirs leur nomination sera approuvée par le Gouverneur-Général de vilayet, auquel le fait sera référé par le Caïmacam et le Mutessarif.

Art. 12. Les Imams, les prêtres, les professeurs d'écoles, et tous ceux qui se trouvent au service du Gouvernement, ne pourront être élus Mudirs.

Art. 13. Si les habitants du cercle d'une commune sont d'une même classe, le Mudir, les membres, et l'Adjoint seront élus exclusivement parmi les habitants appartenant à cette même classe. Si le village contient des habitants mixtes, les membres du Conseil seront moitié Musulmans, moitié non-Musulmans. Le Mudir sera élu parmi la classe qui forme la majorité des habitants, et l'adjoint parmi l'autre classe.

Art. 14. Le Mudir et les membres du Conseil seront élus parmi les habitants qui ont les qualités énoncées dans les Articles 10 et 11; ainsi, si le cercle est composé d'un seul village, ses habitants se réunissent à un jour fixe et font l'élection du Mudir et des membres du Conseil; et si le cercle est composé de plusieurs villages, ceux des habitants de chaque village qui jouissent de la considération et de la confiance du public réunis au chef-lieu du cercle choisissent le Mudir et les membres du Conseil.

Art. 15. Le Mudir et les membres du Conseil dans leur première réunion choisiront par majorité de voix un Adjoint, qui en l'absence du Mudir exercera les fonctions de ce dernier ; d'ailleurs il sera considéré comme les autres membres.

Art. 16. Les Mudirs seront changés toutes les deux années, et les membres seront changés chaque année en moitié. Le Mudir et les membres pourront être réélus. Si les membres du Conseil sont moitié Musulmans et moitié non-Musulmans, ils seront aussi changés en moitié, et leurs successeurs seront pris parmi ceux qui appartiennent à leur classe.

Art. 17. Si le poste du Mudir et de membre reste vacant, pour accomplir le reste de leur service ils seront nommés à leur place ceux qui ont eu le plus de voix au moment de l'élection.

Art. 18. Les Mukhtars seront élus parmi les habitants indiqués et hommes de confiance et seront remplacés chaque année.

Art. 19. Si des plaintes étaient élevées contre un membre ou tout le Corps Administratif et ces plaintes étaient constatées par le Tribunal où seraient examinés, ces employés seront remplacés.

CHAPITRE V.—ARTICLE 11.

Règlement sur l'Administration des Communes.

Art. 10. Les Mudirs et les membres du cercle communal devront être sujets Ottomans, avoir des intérêts dans la localité, être âgé à plus de 30 ans, et choisis parmi ceux qui paient une contribution annuelle à l'État de 100 piastres au minimum, et qui n'ont pas subi une condamnation.

CHAPITRE V.—ARTICLE 14.

Règlement sur l'Administration des Communes.

Art. 20. Les Conseils des cercles se réuniront au moins deux fois par semaine.

Art. 21. Le Mudir est chargé de l'exécution sur l'avis du Conseil des ordres et instructions qui lui seront délivrés par le chef-lieu du district dont relève le cercle communal ; il portera en outre à la connaissance des habitants les ordres supérieurs ; il fera un Rapport et le transmettra au Caïmacam du district dont relève le cercle, dans lequel il mentionnera les demandes des habitants et le résultat des enquêtes préparatoires qu'il exécutera en cas qu'un crime aura été commis dans le village ; il procédera aussi, avec le concours des habitants à l'arrestation des coupables de crime lorsqu'il n'y a pas des gendarmes dans ces endroits, et les enverra au chef-lieu du district.

Art. 22. Les Conseils Communaux auront à aviser aux moyens assurant le maintien des bons rapports parmi les habitants ; pourront résoudre à l'amiable les procès civils de peu d'importance et procéder à la réconciliation en cas qu'une rixe aurait éclatée parmi les habitants. Cependant ils n'auront pas le droit de procéder à l'examen des procès du ressort des Tribunaux et d'arranger à l'amiable les procès concernant les crimes et les délits. Si l'on constatait l'apparition de brigands et de voleurs et qu'on aurait conséquemment besoin de force publique, les Mudirs des Conseils auront recours à la station militaire la plus proche, ou au chef de la gendarmerie qui sera installée conformément à l'Article 28.

Art. 23. Les Conseils Communaux ont aussi pour attribution de percevoir des contribuables et d'envoyer au Gouvernement les revenus du fisc ; ils sont donc chargés d'encaisser ces revenus et de déposer la somme à la caisse du chef-lieu du district ; s'ils rencontrent de difficultés dans la perception, ils auront recours aux préposés des revenus du caza ; en cas de non réussite de ces derniers, ils demanderont le concours du chef-lieu du caza.

Art. 24. Il y aura dans le chef-lieu du cercle communal un registre, dans lequel seront inscrits, d'après un Tableau envoyé du caza, les taxes, l'impôt de l'exonération militaire, les dîmes et autres contributions de chaque village.

Art. 25. Les Conseils Communaux feront tout leur possible pour encaisser à temps et intégralement les revenus du fisc des villages compris dans le cercle ; à la fin de chaque année ils auront à rendre compte de tous les revenus ainsi que des sommes déposées à la caisse du caza.

Art. 26. Le Secrétaire du cercle communal est chargé aussi des affaires de la comptabilité ; il est en outre autorisé de délivrer en cas de besoin des certificats revêtus du sceau des membres du Conseil pour des affaires autres que celles concernant la collection des revenus. Les Secrétaires seront admis au service après avoir donné un garant.

Art. 27. Les Conseils Communaux auront un sceau spécial.

CHAPITRE X.—ARTICLE 26.

Instructions relatives à l'Administration Générale des Vilayets.

Art. 11. Les Valis prendront, avant tout, les dispositions nécessaires pour constituer les Conseils dans la forme recommandée. Ils désigneront les Directeurs et les gardiens des prisons. Ils établiront ensuite, dans le chef-lieu des vilayets et des sandjaks, un Comité d'enquête préliminaire composé d'un Président et de deux membres Musulmans et non-Musulmans.

Art. 12. Ces Comités auront pour mandat de s'enquérir des causes qui ont motivé l'arrestation, par les zaptiés, des prévenus et d'ordonner qu'ils soient emprisonnés et interrogés, dans les cas où l'acte qui leur est attribué serait de nature à entraîner des pénalités édictées par la loi; de faire mettre immédiatement en liberté, sous caution, ceux dont la conduite ne motiverait pas l'application de la loi; de veiller à ce que personne ne soit retenu sans nécessité en prison.

CHAPITRE V.—ARTICLE 11.

Instructions relatives à l'Administration des Communes.

Art. 10. Les Moudirs et les membres du Comité communal doivent être en mesure de fournir, à l'occasion de la visite de l'inspecteur, un rapport sur l'état de la commune, sur les contributions payées, sur les travaux effectués, sur les besoins de la commune, etc.

CHAPITRE V.—ARTICLE 14.

Instructions relatives à l'Administration des Communes.

Art. 20. Les Comités des communes ont pour mandat de s'enquérir des causes qui ont motivé l'arrestation, par les zaptiés, des prévenus et d'ordonner qu'ils soient emprisonnés et interrogés, dans les cas où l'acte qui leur est attribué serait de nature à entraîner des pénalités édictées par la loi; de faire mettre immédiatement en liberté, sous caution, ceux dont la conduite ne motiverait pas l'application de la loi; de veiller à ce que personne ne soit retenu sans nécessité en prison.

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