

ARMENIA
and the Settlement

BY

*The Rt. Hon. Viscount Gladstone, The
Rt. Hon. Viscount Bryce, T. P. O'Connor,
Dr. Ronald M. Burrows, Dr. John Clifford,
Aneurin Williams, Sir Robert Perks,
Sir Arthur Crosfield, Noel Buxton,
G. P. Gooch, Athelstan Riley, Dr. Paul S.
Leinbach, The Rev. Dr. Abel Abrahamian*

ARMENIA & THE SETTLEMENT

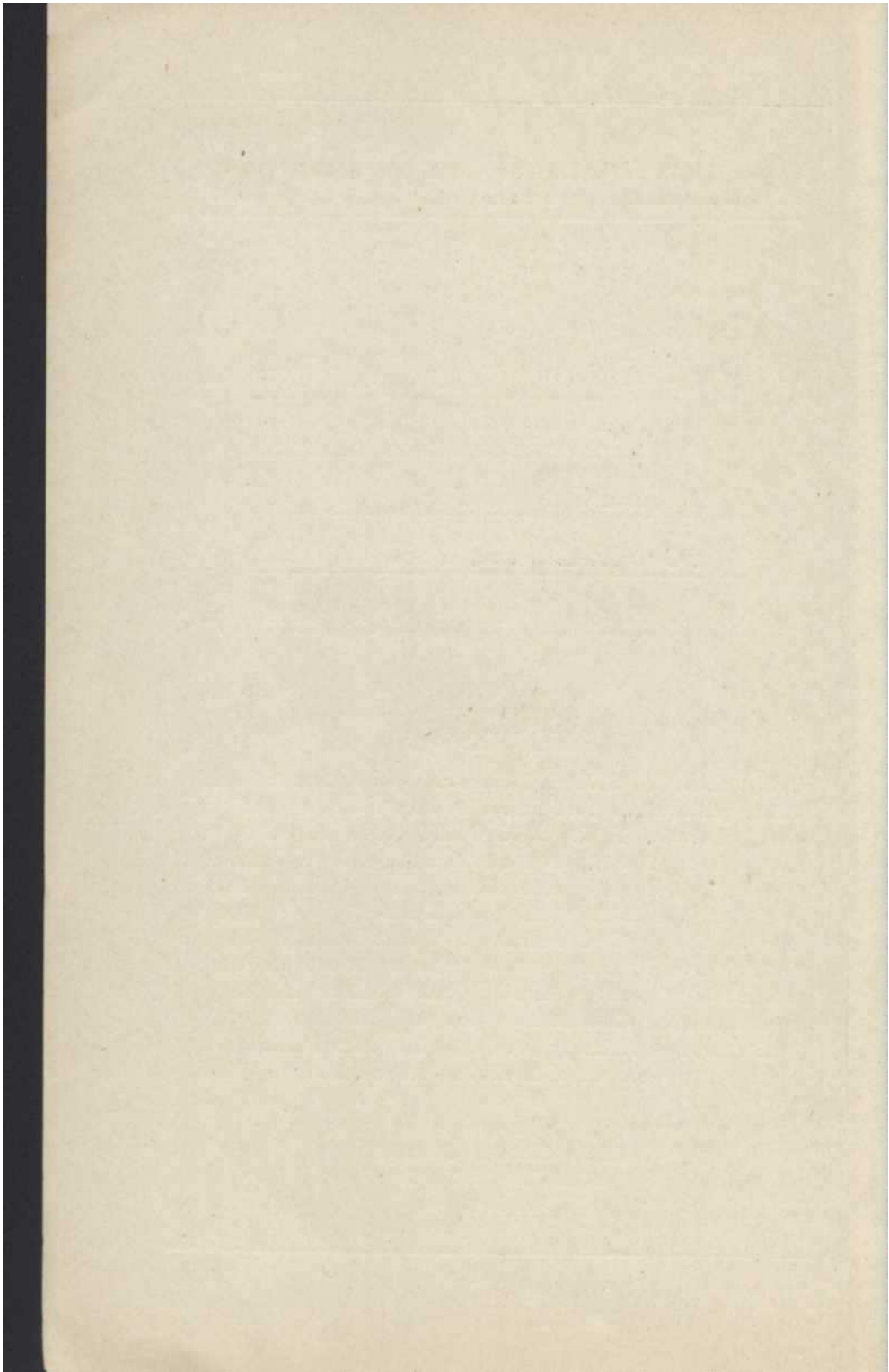
REPORT OF PUBLIC MEETING
TO EXPRESS SYMPATHY WITH
THE ARMENIAN CAUSE, HELD AT
THE CENTRAL HALL, WESTMINSTER,
ON THURSDAY, JUNE 19th, 1919.

SPEECHES *by* :

THE RT. HON. VISCOUNT GLADSTONE, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.B.E. (Chairman), THE RT. HON. VISCOUNT BRYCE, O.M., G.C.V.O., T. P. O'CONNOR, M.P., RONALD M. BURROWS, D.LITT., Principal King's College, London, THE REV. JOHN CLIFFORD, M.A., D.D., B.Sc., ANEURIN WILLIAMS, M.P., SIR ROBERT PERKS, BART., SIR ARTHUR CROSFIELD, BART., NOEL BUXTON, G. P. GOOCH, Editor of the "Contemporary Review," ATHELSTAN RILEY, M.A., DR. PAUL S. LEINBACH, Secy. of the American Commission to the Near East and Armenia, THE REV. DR. ABEL ABRAHAMIAN, the Armenian Priest of London, GENERAL ANDRANIK.

1919

THE ARMENIAN BUREAU
153 REGENT STREET
LONDON, W-1



**TELEGRAM from THE UNITED ARMENIAN
NATIONAL DELEGATION IN PARIS.**

"The Delegation of Integral Armenia sends its salutations and the expression of its gratitude to the meeting organised in favour of the Armenian cause, under the Presidency of Lord Gladstone. At the moment of its liberation the Armenian nation recalls with gratitude the glorious campaign of the 'Grand Old Man,' and the sympathy expressed by the English people for its sufferings and aspirations. After four years of War and seven months of Armistice, the Armenian people continue to suffer and to struggle for their national life, and they hope that the efforts of the friends of Armenia will succeed in obtaining the recognition of the Union and independence of the Armenian people."

(Signed) **BOGHOS PASHA NUBAR,**

The President of the Armenian Delegation.

(Signed) **A. AHARONIAN,**

The President of the Delegation of the
Armenian Republic to the Peace Conference.

Letters of Apology and Sympathy.

A FEW EXTRACTS.

The Right Hon. Lord Henry Cavendish-Bentinck.

. I regret that I was prevented from attending your meeting on June 19th, and was therefore unable to second the Resolution proposed by Viscount Bryce. I hope that, in the Peace Settlement, the just aspirations of the Armenian people may be fully realised, and that the foundations will be laid for the free and peaceful self-development of the Armenian people.

Lord Sydenham, G.C.M.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.B.E.

. I wish that the strong claims of the Armenians and the appalling treatment they have received were better understood by the public.

I trust that it is now certain that Armenia will be established as a free State under the protection of one of the Great Powers.

Lord Parmoor.

. I am in full sympathy with your movement.

Lord Weardale.

. I have great sympathy with the Armenian people who for generations have suffered such cruel hardships, and I sincerely trust that the suggested mandate to the United States of America to give fostering care to the gradual re-establishment of Armenia may become an accomplished fact, and offer to your country the hope of a prosperous and independent future.

The Bishop of Winchester.

. I hope you will allow me to express my unreserved and cordial sympathy, not only with the sufferings of Armenia, but with every effort to secure arrangements which may guard the life and prosperity of the Armenian race in the future.

The Bishop of Ely.

. I have great sympathy with the meeting on June 19th, and send my best wishes.

The Chief Rabbi.

. The Chief Rabbi very much regrets that owing to previous arrangements he will be unable to be present at the Public Meeting on Thursday next.

He desires me to convey to you the expression of most sincere sympathy with the cause of Armenia.

His Excellency D. Caclamanos, The Greek Minister, Greek Legation.

. I would take the opportunity of assuring you of my full and hearty sympathy with the cause of your martyred nation whose sufferings have been shared by my own.

Dr. Holland Rose, Litt. D., Cambridge University.

. I earnestly hope that your claims to just and generous treatment by the Powers will be fully voiced at the meeting and will meet with a wide and powerful response. No nation has contracted duties so binding and sacred towards the Armenian nation as Great Britain; and now is the time for her solemnly to fulfil those duties.

Professor Henry Spencer Wilkinson, All Souls' College, Oxford.

. As a sympathiser for many years with the Armenian people and as an advocate, for many years, of their cause, I should like to have been present at your meeting on the 19th. inst., but my engagements here make it quite impossible for me to leave Oxford on that day.

Professor G. Lowes Dickinson, King's College, Cambridge.

. I am of course in full sympathy with your object, and should suppose it to be one of the things which there is good likelihood of being accomplished.

Professor Gilbert Murray, LL.D., Oxford.

. I am heartily in sympathy with you.

Dr. Albert Gresswell, M.A., M.D., M.R.C.S., F.R.S.

. My sympathies are with the Armenians, and I shall do all I can for them; always I have studied their race and type and I know the Armenian Patriarch at Jerusalem. I think your country will soon be freed from the tyranny of the Turks and I hope your people will have a much happier time in store for them.

Dr. Herbert G. Wood, M.A., Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. Birmingham.

. I am very glad the meeting is being held. I am in entire sympathy with the cause, and I do hope the Peace Conference will lay the foundations of Armenian autonomy.

The Right Hon. H. H. Asquith, K.C.

. I wish you all success.

Major The Hon. George Peel.

. I had fully hoped, until this morning, to have attended the meeting on behalf of the Armenian Cause. Unfortunately the change of date in the meeting, which could not be avoided, rendered my attendance uncertain, and I had an important meeting in Oxford on that day. I had expected to find someone to take my place at the Oxford meeting until to-day, when I hear that my substitute has failed me and I am most reluctantly obliged to keep my previous engagement at Oxford.

You will have gathered, I am sure, from what I have said last year in the House of Commons how keenly I sympathise with the Armenian Cause.

Many years ago—in 1896, near the close of his life—I stayed with Mr. Gladstone, and I found that it was Armenia and its rights which filled the mind of Mr. Gladstone at that period almost to the exclusion of any other preoccupation. It was our obligation as a nation to Armenia which appeared to him, as I gathered, to be the pivot of our duties in the Near East.

I served with several Armenians, in the Gallipoli campaign and admired and appreciated their nerve and resolution throughout that trying experience.

With all good wishes.

Sir Valentine Chirol.

. I need hardly say that I am in fullest sympathy with the purpose of your meeting.

Sir George Greenwood.

. I should esteem it a privilege to be allowed to speak on behalf of a cause so just, and of a people which has such overwhelmingly strong claims upon our sympathy, but it will be, I fear, very much to my regret, impossible for me to be at the meeting, as I shall be away from London at the date in question.

J. L. Garvin, Esq., the Editor of the *Observer*.

. I am very sorry that an important prior engagement for the evening of June 19th will prevent my attendance at your meeting. Otherwise I would have been very glad to attend.

You and your friends know that the Armenian cause has my profound sympathy.

Lady Sykes.

. In reply to your invitation to speak a few words at your meeting on behalf of Armenia on the 19th. I regret much to have to decline, great as is my sympathy with you. I do not feel equal to appearing at a public function so soon after my husband's death and I know you will understand and excuse me.

My husband's eloquence would most surely have been heard on the occasion had he been spared, for he was ever ready to help your suffering nation and I shared with him his hopes and prayers for the success of your cause.

My thoughts will be with you on June 19th, and I feel sure that the Government will be successful in its efforts to establish a free Armenia, for the whole civilised world is anxious to see justice done to you. Believe me your sincere friend.

Lord Tenterden.

. My sympathies are entirely with the Armenians, who should be made a free people, if all that this War has been fought for counts for anything,—the freedom from oppression of the smaller and weaker nationalities.

Lt.-Col. The Hon. Walter Guinness, D.S.O., M.P.

. I should have been delighted to come to your meeting on June 19th, but am unfortunately already engaged that evening.

With best wishes for a successful evening.

Lt-Col. L. S. Amery, M.P., L.C.M.S.

. As you know I am in entire sympathy with the aspirations of the Armenian people towards freedom and good government after all the sufferings it has undergone in the past.

George Leveson Gower, Esq., Commissioner of Woods and Forests.

. I sincerely hope that the time has at last come when the just claims of the heroic and martyred nation of the Armenians may receive full and final recognition. If this were, as I trust it may be, accomplished it would personally give me great happiness, as I have in a humble way during nearly 40 years striven in Parliament and elsewhere to secure justice for their cause.

***John Galsworthy, Esq.**

. I regret that I shall be unable to attend the meeting on June 19th.

By the way, I am not *Sir* John Galsworthy, I refused the Knighthood.

*Mr. John Galsworthy has contributed £1,000 towards the Armenian-Syrian Relief. This gift was the net profit resulting from his lecture tour in the United States.

Maurice³ Louis Perlzweig, B.A., President Junior Zionist Assoc.

. I venture in the name of the Jewish Youth of the United Kingdom to send to the representatives in London of the heroic Armenian people a message of cordial and fraternal greeting. Our two peoples, drawn together by a common suffering and united by their infinite hope in the future, will collaborate in the glorious task of restoring to the Near East its ancient splendour; and I am convinced that our Entente, founded in exile, will with the restoration of our peoples become the foundation of peace and order in a region where this Government and oppression have reigned for centuries. Our hearts are with you in your heroic struggle for national emancipation, and we await with impatience the moment when we shall be able to unite with you in building up a civilisation in the East from which we pray a new message of hope may once again go forth to uplift suffering humanity.

Mrs. Mary Hickson, Hon. Sec., Friends of Armenia.

. I can imagine nothing that would give me such joy and thankfulness ere I "go hence" than to know that a good prospect of peace and rest and happiness were vouchsafed to those children of "Our Father" who have suffered more than any other

of His children, and have bravely borne unheard-of persecution and cruelty for His sake. I pray daily that "they, being delivered from the fear of their enemies, may be enabled to serve Him without fear." There is now every hope that this prayer may be fully answered. May His tender mercy grant it and bless your sorely stricken people all the days of their lives.

The Rev. W. Y. Fullerton, Secretary, Baptist Missionary Soc.

. I am, and have long been, interested in your country, and I trust that the news to hand that America is to be made the mandatory power is likely to be fulfilled, and that your nation may rise to eminence and prosperity in the days to come.

The Rev. C. Usher Wilson.

. Your nation can interpret the East to the West and the West to the East as no other nation can possibly do. England's opportunity and God-given duty is to establish your people as one of the free nations of the world; and by that act England will do more for the conversion of Asia than by centuries of work through her own Missionaries. Do not think by what I say that my interest in Armenia is secondary in character. The grandeur of Armenia's martyrdom forbids any such idea. It has never entered the heads of the Armenians that by embracing Mohammedanism they could purchase immunity from persecution. Men, women and children have died because they were Christians and would not deny their Lord. A million martyrs for the Faith of Christ—is there any nation that can say the same? God save Armenia! May that salvation be given *now*.

Robert Muirhead Collins, Esq., C.M.G.

. I only wish some abler pen than mine had taken up the cause of Armenia, for no one can read the accounts of the terrible cruelties without a desire that, in the cause of justice and right, the Allied Governments had taken at the time of the Armistice stronger measures to put an end to these happenings. I am afraid that the majority of the British nation do not realise them. Had there been, as I consider there should, a condition under the Armistice for the surrender of Enver and his chief associates, and a prompt trial by court-martial with execution on conviction, I believe a most wholesome lesson and warning to the Turks would have been effected and good results obtained.

I hope the news in the press that a British Force is now operating in the Caucasus may have good effect.

The Rt. Rev. Bishop George L. King.

. I have been enormously interested for a long time past in the sufferings of the Armenians, and have read several papers about it. If I can do anything to bring the claims of the Armenian Church to my fellow Christians at home, I should be only too glad to do so.

The Rev. W. H. Hulton, Archdeacon of Northampton.

. It is clear to me that strong efforts must be made to prove to the British public that the Turks have forfeited all claims to hold Constantinople.

Herbert B. Dale, Esq.

. If I may say so, I think that where the friends of Armenia are going astray now is in not driving home sufficiently to British people that Armenians are a race and not merely a group of tribes, held together by Christian unity. This is a lazy world, and you have to smite the people's eye to grip them.

Edmund Ogden, Esq.

. For years before the present War your peoples and country had been my interest, and during the War I have willingly assisted financially the Society in England which has sent out money to buy food, etc., for the homeless Armenian refugees. With a view to helping you, I would suggest that you state your case frankly and fearlessly to the honest leaders of labour, through them to the workers—always being careful to keep to exact facts—and I feel sure then that sympathy will be extended to your people, and from sympathy practical help. It will please me to hear of the success of your mission.

The Rev. David Jenks, M.A., Warden, Kelham Theological College.

. I have seen many sides of your national life in Armenia, and have visited a number of towns which have gained painful notoriety in the last years of the century and during the war. You can imagine how harrowing it is to my feelings now to recall my visits to the splendid German industrial missions which were opened after the massacres of the last decade of the 19th century. My more intimate knowledge is of the little body of East Syrians, called Nestorians. But while I sincerely hope that their welfare is to be cared for, it would be a loss of all perspective to lose sight of the outstanding facts that they are a little people, pastoral, and without national history, while the Armenians present to the world a nationality which the history of centuries has not succeeded in destroying,

a people who until the recent atrocities could not be regarded as too small to be treated as a nation, and a degree of culture, energy and capacity which makes them at the least among those who should be regarded as the Greeks were regarded last century.

In writing to the Prime Minister I tried to suggest that it should be definitely declared by the Entente nations that St. Sophia was taken from the Turks and restored to the Christians as a public reparation for the atrocities committed against the Armenians, emphasising the fact that the atrocities were Turkish and not Mohammedan in essence, and distinctly associating our loyal Mohammedan subjects with ourselves and with strong disapproval of the atrocities which have done dishonour to their religion.

I well remember sitting in the Patriarch's garden at Etchmiadzin in 1897, when he said "There is one question that I always ask of Europeans—How long is this to last?"

Arthur E. Henderson, F.S.A., R.B.A., LIC. R.I.B.A.

. . . . Unfortunately I shall not be able to attend your meeting, but the tickets will be used by my wife and son.

I arrived in Constantinople the year after the massacres and lived there nigh on ten years, and I am now firmly convinced that Constantinople is the Metropolis of the Near East and should be out of Turkish Government.

This city is *par excellence* the place for the Executive, and it should be their Headquarters. This would solve the Near Eastern question, as the Marmora, Bosphorus and Dardanelles would be under control, and an eye would be kept upon all friendly nationalities around and it would still remain their capital city, in a way, as is London the capital of Scotland, Wales and Ireland. When the Scotch capital was moved to London the Scotch were very different from the English.

Under the League of Nations, the Jews would remain and still look upon Constantinople as their Headquarters. I am sure your people would remain, and so would the Greeks.

If a Mandate is given to any Power or Powers, it or they would favour one nationality at the cost of the others.

Go over the Powers: which would you vote for other than us? Italy? Greece? Yes, for the Greeks, but you and the Jews would be ousted. America?—only for a time and no lasting settlement. Ourselves? France would not like it, etc.

If the League of Nations were to make it their Headquarters, Constantinople would rise to being again the principal city of the world as it was in early Byzantine days. Its geographical position is perfect, a bridge over the Bosphorus would follow at once, and the whole of Europe, Asia and Africa would have easy access. Not so Holland or Geneva.

Constantinople is three days from London, say five days from Peking, and seven from the Cape when the railway is finished, and would be one day longer from New York than Holland or Geneva. No spot on the globe could be more central.

A. Green, Esq.

. I have always taken the greatest interest in your nation, and have viewed with horror the atrocities to which they have been subjugated by the Turks, Kurds, and other accursed peoples. However, I hope a brighter day is now dawning and that all these persecutions will cease.

Artin Pasha, for many years Minister of Education at Cairo, was a friend of mine, and I also knew Nubar Pasha and his family.

Letters were also received from the following :

General The Rt. Hon. Jan Christiaan Smuts, The Rt. Hon. The Marquess of Crewe, K.G., The Rt. Hon. Lord Robert Cecil, P.C., M.P., The Rt. Hon. The Earl of Denbigh, C.V.O., The Rt. Hon. The Viscount Edward Grey of Falloden, K.G., His Grace The Archbishop of Canterbury. His Eminence Cardinal Francis Bourne, The Rt. Rev. The Lord Bishop of London, The Rt. Rev. The Lord Bishop Gore, The Rev. Canon Masterman, The Rt. Rev. The Bishop Herbert Bury, The Rt. Rev. The Lord Bishop of Bangor, The Rt. Hon. Lord Gainford, P.C., Sir H. H. Johnston, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., Sir Robert Cooper, Bart., Major S. D. Chapple, Sir Charles Walston, G. K. Chesterton, Esq., Mr. & Mrs. Sidney Webb, Capt. W. Wedgwood Benn, D.S.O., D.F.C., M.P., Professor Arnold Toynbee, Professor Conybeare, Professor Rendell Harris, Prof. J. Y. Simpson, Lady Henry Somerset, Ralph Butler, Esq., J. M. Hogge, Esq., M.P., Sir Herbert Nield, K.C., J.P., D.L., Dr. G. Frank, Robert Machray, Esq., W. Dalrymple Deane, Esq., M.A., and others.

Among those present on the Platform were :

Chairman :

THE RT. HON. VISCOUNT GLADSTONE, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.B.E.

Speakers :

THE RT. HON. VISCOUNT BRYCE, O.M., G.C.V.O.
T. P. O'CONNOR, M.P.
RONALD M. BURROWS, D.Litt., Principal King's College, London.
THE REV. JOHN CLIFFORD, M.A., D.D., B.Sc.
ANEURIN WILLIAMS, M.P.
SIR ROBERT PERKS, BART., J.P.
NOEL BUXTON.
G. P. GOOCH, Editor of the *Contemporary Review*.
ATHELSTAN RILEY, M.A.
DR. PAUL S. LEINBACH, Secretary of the American Commission to the
Near East and Armenia.
THE REV. DR. ABEL ABRAHAMIAN, the Armenian Priest of London.

Others on the Platform.

GENERAL ANDRANIK.
EIGHTEEN MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN COMMISSION TO THE
NEAR EAST AND ARMENIA.
THE REV. HAROLD BUXTON, Hon. Sec., Armenian Refugees (Lord
Mayor's) Fund.
MAJOR HAMILTON, Representing General Booth and the Salvation Army.
MR. E. HARRISON YELVERTON, the American Vice-Consul, Represent-
ing the American Ambassador and Mr. R. Skinner, American Consul-Gen.
SIR ISRAEL AND LADY GOLLANCZ.
SIR SIDNEY LEE.
LADY BRYCE.
MISS E. J. ROBINSON, Hon. Sec., Armenian Red Cross and Refugee Fund.
MRS. G. P. GOOCH.
MRS. ANEURIN WILLIAMS.
MRS. NOEL BUXTON.
LT. COL. WIGHTWICK HAYWOOD, D.S.O., F.R.G.S.
E. A. BRAYLEY HODGETTS, Chairman, British Armenian Chamber of
Commerce.
LLEWELLYN WILLIAMS, Secretary of the League of Nations' Union.
ARTHUR SYMONDS, Secretary, British-Armenia Committee,
SIR JAMES MARTIN, Chairman of the Council of the London Chamber of
Commerce.
SIR C. C. WAKEFIELD, Hon. Treas. of the London Chamber of Commerce.
SIR ALBERT K. ROLLIT, K.B., D.C.L., LL.D., Consul-General for Rumania;
Ex-President of the London Chamber of Commerce; President, Anglo-
Portuguese Chamber of Commerce.
SIR J. ROPER PARKINGTON, Consul-General for Montenegro.
C. E. TOWN, Hon. Secretary, British-Armenian Chamber of Commerce.
And Others.

Some of the Societies and Institutions Represented.

THE NATIONAL LIBERAL CLUB.

THE EIGHTY CLUB.

THE SALVATION ARMY.

ANGLICAN AND EASTERN ASSOCIATION. The Rev. H. J. FYNES
CLINTON, Secretary.

THE ZIONIST ORGANISATION OF THE UNITED KINGDOM (English
Zionist Federation).

THE LONDON COMMITTEE OF THE UNREDEEMED GREEKS.

THE POLISH, SERBIAN, CZECHO-SLOVAK SOCIETIES.

THE SYRIA AND PALESTINE RELIEF FUND.

THE FREE CHURCH LEAGUE. Miss BEATRICE BROWN, Secretary.

WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE. Miss F. A. UNDERWOOD, Secretary.

REPRESENTATIVES OF THE WORLD ASSOCIATION FOR ADULT
EDUCATION.

THE ZIONIST ORGANISATION (LONDON) BUREAU.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS' UNION.

THE RUSSIAN SOCIETY OF KING S COLLEGE, (University of London).

NATIONAL PHYSICAL RECREATION SOCIETY. EUGENE SULLY,
Esq., Hon. Secretary.

THE ARMENIAN REFUGEES (LORD MAYOR'S) FUND.

THE BRITISH ARMENIA COMMITTEE.

FRIENDS OF ARMENIA.

THE ARMENIAN RED CROSS AND REFUGEES FUND.

WOMEN'S ARMENIAN RELIEF FUND. Mrs. MADELEINE COLE, Hon.
Secretary.

THE BRITISH-ARMENIAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

THE LONDON CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

THE REPRESENTATIVE ARMENIAN COMMITTEE OF MANCHESTER

THE ARMENIAN UNITED ASSOCIATION OF LONDON.

THE ARMENIAN CHURCH COUNCIL OF LONDON.

THE ARMENIAN LADIES' GUILD,

THE ARMENIAN BUREAU.

And Others.

REPORT OF THE PUBLIC MEETING

A PUBLIC MEETING was held at the Central Hall, Westminster, on Thursday, June 19th, 1919, to express sympathy with the Armenian Cause. The Rt. Hon. Viscount Gladstone presided. Speeches were delivered by the Rt. Hon. Viscount Bryce, T. P. O'Connor, M.P., Dr. Ronald M. Burrows, The Rev. John Clifford, Aneurin Williams, M.P., Sir Robert Perks, Noel Buxton, G. P. Gooch, Athelstan Riley, Paul S. Leinbach, and The Rev. Dr. Abel Abrahamian.

VISCOUNT GLADSTONE:—

OUR object to-night is to strengthen and increase practical sympathy with the Armenians, and I am glad that we have amongst us several distinguished individuals, who have come straight from Armenia and who, some of them, perhaps, will say a few words to you. First of all, there is General Andranik (enthusiastic applause), whose gallant leadership and exploits are known to all who have followed the course of military events in the Middle East. We have also eighteen United States Relief Commissioners, who have been engaged in the actual work of relief. (Applause.)

My duty as Chairman is to be brief, and I shall not fail in it. I have said we have met for a definite object. Armenia for generations has been spoken of, written of, sympathised with; there have been floods of sympathy. But until the time of War little else. The time for action on her behalf has now arrived, and I ask you whether the case of Armenia is not a conclusive argument for the League of Nations? We know the difficulties, great difficulties,—difficulties at present, perhaps insuperable in some respects. But it is inconceivable that any association of Great Powers, organised for the purpose of guaranteeing the peace and safety and liberties of the weaker nations of the world, should not be enabled to rescue the Armenians from the hideous state of oppression and brutality under which they have laboured for so many years.

Up to now the Turk has snapped his blood-stained fingers in the face of Europe. He has been cunning. He has not acted secretly, but has massacred openly. But he has always chosen a time convenient to himself, and one thing is certain that whether it was in 1896 or 1909, the Turk operated at a time when he knew that European divisions would prevent any united action against him. Also he knew that he could count on the indifference, if not the sympathy, of Germany and Austria, those two great bulwarks of European civilisation! When the Turk acted, he did not act as the nations and tribes of old sometimes did, on a rough and brutal method in war of exterminating the population and have done with it. No, he deliberately settled, even in times of peace, on a policy of extermination by degrees. He accompanied these butcheries with every feature and circumstance of horror, as regards women and children as well as men.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, we come, then, to the climax in 1915. I am not going to speak to you about that, because what happened is too well known. The world has never seen such slaughter on such a scale, in such a manner. The militant powers of Europe have suffered heavily in open fight, but the Armenians were slain and tortured when they could not defend themselves. And now the War is over. Germany and Austria are in the dust, the Turkish dominions are in the hands of the Great Powers; the clouds, we trust, are clearing. But do not let us forget at this Meeting that the present condition of the Armenian territories is appalling. I have been asked to read a telegram from the Prime Minister of the Armenian Republic, which was received last month by the Armenian Red Cross Society, in which he says:—

“Condition of refugees in Erivan-Alexandropol districts too awful to describe; 150 dying daily from starvation and disease; more than 10,000 orphans want care, food, clothing; large quantities of flour, food stuffs, medicals and clothing urgently needed; shipments at once; if possible, cable funds.”

Now, ladies and gentlemen, we know there is a very excellent Organisation which has been sending help to the Armenians, but I cannot let this occasion pass without calling your attention to its work and to its necessities. Every pound given to the Armenians will do something to relieve the misery of somebody, and this Society ought to be far better supported than it is, though I know the numberless claims which are made on everybody's purse.

In face of these facts our hope centres in the Conference at Paris and in the League of Nations. I remember the old phrase “Bag and Baggage.” When it was used, it was used in a limited sense, for it referred directly to the North of the Bosphorus; it was there to be a complete clearance,—bag and baggage. Now we do not stop at the Bosphorus (cheers), we say the Turk must clear out of all Christian territories, whether they are Greek or whether they are Armenian. He cannot be permitted to repeat the shameful past, and the policy of “Bag and Baggage” in the Asiatic Dominions of Turkey must be insisted upon.

I have heard some people say, “Why do you take so much interest in the Armenians? They haven't fought.” But haven't they fought? It is all very well for us, with trained and organised armies to fight on equal terms. But when you are living with your wife and family in the midst of Kurds, always ready to obey commands from Constantinople, it is very difficult to fight when, if you take up a stick, you will have your throat cut. But, as we know, the Armenians did fight. At the time of the Russian collapse they did much to support our Armies in Mesopotamia by their gallantry. Let us never forget when it comes to the question of courage what the Armenians have done. It should come home to many of us, who take our religion in a pretty easy-going way, in peace and comfort. These people have stuck to their religious faith for centuries, knowing the risks and taking the risks; they have stuck to their religion with almost incredible tenacity, faithfulness and most heroic devotion, and by the courage they have shown, it seems to me, even gallantry on the field must take a second place. (Applause.)

There are many speakers to-night, but I do want to say this. We owe a great deal to Armenia, not so much for what the Armenians have done for us, but for what we have not done for them which we ought to have done. There have been occasions when this country, with its wealth and power, could have intervened to save them, and did not intervene. Time has been lost. Therefore, now that the opportunity has come, do not let us delay action, and let us insist that the result of the Conference shall be to give security to the Armenians, security on which they can absolutely rely. Security for themselves, for their property, for their Church, for their Religion. Security to develop as, I am sure, they will develop, when they have the reasonable conditions required by civilised life,—develop into a free and happy, prosperous and contented Nation. (Loud applause.)

THE RT. HON. VISCOUNT BRYCE:—

BEFORE the few words which I have to say to you, I should like to read a telegram which I have received from His Excellency Nubar Pasha, who, as you know, is the President of the Armenian National Delegation, which has been long established at Paris and which has been watching over the interests of the Armenian people and making the representations which are needed on their behalf to the Powers assembled in the Conference.

After reading the telegram, LORD BRYCE continued:—

We have a good many speakers, representing different branches of British opinion, who will address you this evening, so I will confine myself to a few remarks, and in these will endeavour to state to you certain facts which it is well you should know.

We are all here in sympathy with Armenia's Cause. We do not need to convert one another. We are all pervaded by a sense of the magnitude of this Cause. In the first place, let me reiterate the appeal which has been made by the Chairman for further charitable support for those who are suffering in Armenia. The suffering is great in many cases; we do not know how great it is in the interior, because in some parts the Allied troops have not penetrated. But we do know it is severe in the South and even more severe in the North, along the borders of what was Russian Transcaucasia. Here are a great crowd of refugees who fled from Central Armenia, and succeeded in saving their lives by escaping across the Russian frontier.

They are now held back from returning to their homes by the Turkish forces. They are sadly destitute of food, of clothing, of lodging, of everything that is needed to support life. Although the Armenians in Britain have done their duty nobly in sending out relief, and although the United States have almost surpassed their wonted liberality in the abundant relief they have sent—millions and millions of pounds sterling have been raised in the United States for Armenian relief (applause)—notwithstanding all that, the distress is terrible, and, as you have heard from the Chairman, hundreds are dying weekly all along the Northern part of Armenia for want of the necessities of life and by the diseases which these wants entail. Much as Britain has done already, generous as has been the response of this country, I would appeal to you once more to get all you can from your friends to help us to relieve this distress and to help the Armenian people, when they again recover peace and independence, to make a hopeful start in self-government with a population which has not been totally exhausted by the suffering it still undergoes.

Now at last we rejoice to know that the Powers at Paris appear to have finally decided that Turkish rule is to vanish for ever from all the Armenian regions. (Applause.)

I think, and probably you think, that the Turks had too much indulgence shown them in the Armistice. The Armistice terms ought to have been much more stringent. The abominable Turkish Government ought to have been made to realise that they were not only beaten, but that they had committed crimes much too atrocious to entitle them to any consideration whatever.

As regards Constantinople, we have been hearing lately a great deal of fantastic and misleading talk, most of which I think is mere Turkish bluff, regarding the supposed offence which would be offered to Moslem susceptibilities if Constantinople were to be taken away from Turkish rule. My knowledge of the East is not sufficient to enable me to speak with personal authority, but I have consulted those who know the East and know Islam and are familiar with its doctrines and theories, and from them I have learnt what I am going to tell you. In the first place, Constantinople is not a Turkish city. The Turks have never been in a majority there. I think not more than about one-third of the population is Turkish. In the second place, Constantinople is not, and never has been a sacred city to Mohammedans. Jerusalem and Mecca are sacred cities—Damascus in a way is a sacred city. But Con-

stantinople is not and never has been, and all this fuss that is made about the injury that would be done to Moslem sentiment in taking Constantinople away from the Turks is absolute rubbish. It is not sacred to them and they have no reason to be offended. There is no reason whatever why the Powers in Conference, or why Great Britain herself—who rules over many Moslem subjects with perfect justice and consideration—should be deterred from doing that which is right and just for fear of giving offence to this supposed Moslem susceptibility.

Some people have been frightened by the idea of what Moslems call a Jihad or Sacred War. Now the Germans and the Turks conceived the idea of proclaiming a Holy War against the Christians soon after the Turks entered the war against us. Nobody responded at all. Nobody wishes to offend any real Moslem sentiment. If they desire a Khalif somewhere, let them have him, but not in Constantinople. Courage is the only thing that succeeds in the East. The more courage we show, the more we shall be respected in the East.

I want to say a word to you about Asia Minor, because its future raises questions of great difficulty. There is a large part of the interior of Asia Minor which is inhabited almost entirely by Moslems, and there is no reason why there should not be a Caliphate there, say at Brusa or Konia, if it pleases the Moslems to establish one. I do not think we need apprehend any danger to the Christians from such a comparatively weak Sultanate as that would be.

I come to Armenia itself, and I want to submit to you that an Armenian State must include all Armenia. (Applause.) It must include Cilicia on the South, it must include the Valley of those gallant mountaineers who for so many centuries maintained at Zeitun their independence against the Turks. The Armenian State must have access to the sea, in order that its commerce may have the development it is entitled to demand. So also Armenia must include that which was the Russian territory in the Caucasus. In that quarter there has already been established an Armenian Republic, which has received a certain measure of recognition from the Powers as being *de facto* independent.

General Andranik has, by his military skill and his undaunted valour, been the means of establishing that Republic. (Loud applause).

I want to put it to you, Ladies and Gentlemen, that that Republic ought to be fully recognised as independent by the

Powers, and I hope and trust it will be, and that when the new Armenian State has been established, it and the Republic at Erivan may be united in that new and greater Armenia of which Cilicia also shall form a part.

The Czecho-Slovaks earned their recognition by deserting from the Austrian Army, constituting themselves an independent force and fighting bravely against Germany in the Russian Armies. A similar service has been rendered by General Andranik and his men. Other Armenians have fought in the Armies of France, and in the forces of General Allenby in Palestine. Therefore, on the same principle as that applied to the Czecho-Slovaks, I think the Armenian Republic is entitled to recognition.

That being so, we should have in Armenia a homogeneous Armenian population including all these territories. Of course it is true that there are other elements of population, and in many parts of the country these elements of population are pretty equally present. Besides the Christians there are the Kurds and other tribes and sects. Therefore the population of these districts is a very mixed one, and great care will be needed to arrange the system of local government in such a way that each department will have the direct management of its own affairs. But among all these elements, the most ancient, the most industrious, most educated, most reliable, is the Armenian element, and, therefore, to it belongs the leading place, and the State, although not entirely composed of Armenians, ought to be an Armenian State, with due protection and due regard to the rights and privileges of every minority there. And I trust that all Armenians will recognise that if a New Armenia is to be built for Liberty and Equality, liberty and equality must be extended to every element it contains.

The only trouble to be apprehended is from the Kurds, who are, as you know, a restless population. But, after all, the trouble which the Kurds have caused during the last sixty or seventy years is almost entirely due to incitement from the Turks, and once their influence is removed there is no reason why the Kurds should not settle down. It will help to this if proper means of communication are opened up. If the inhabitants have a better access to the outer world and to the means of developing a more industrious life, I believe that a comparatively small force would prevent trouble between the Kurds and their Christian neighbours. In some parts, where the Kurds are in the great majority, they might in some way or

other be recognised as having their autonomy. These questions may be presently settled if the Powers will devote themselves to the proper consideration of the methods of settlement.

It is necessary that some assistance should be given to the young Armenian State, and for that purpose it is proposed that some disinterested and impartial Power shall step in to give the requisite assistance to the young Community in its first progress towards development. You know that it has been suggested that the United States should be given this opportunity. But first of all it must be decided whether the United States enters the League of Nations. That remains to be settled. I venture to believe that the difficulties involved in the way of keeping order are very much less than has been represented in some quarters. Friends who know the country assure me that a comparatively small Army, or indeed a Gendarmerie, composed of a few thousand men, would be quite sufficient to maintain order; and I hope, that if the offer is made to the United States, they will not be debarred from accepting it by supposing the problem to be one of very great difficulty or involving a heavy expenditure. The country may in twenty years, or probably less, become self-supporting.

It is for the Armenians themselves now to set to work. To those Armenians who are here present I would say, What you most want is concord and internal peace, to show that you are animated first and foremost by the sense of the great opportunities that have at last come to you after all these centuries of suffering and steadfast endurance. May these regions which have so long been desolated by a cruel and rapacious enemy, be restored to prosperity by a peaceful, industrious and enlightened people. (Applause).

T. P. O'CONNOR, M.P. :—

WE have an Irish poem which begins with the words, "Doth not a meeting like this make amends?" And the words of that poem came forcibly back to my memory when I found myself surrounded by the figures on this platform to-night.

You have heard, I think, four of the oldest Gladstonian Armenophiles still living. Naturally I begin with the youngest of the four, Dr. Clifford. I go on to the second youngest, Lord Bryce and then take up Sir Robert Perks, and I come to myself, who only number a tally of 71 years as compared with the

83 of my young friend Dr. Clifford. To bring to a climax this collection of memorials of the ancient part of struggle for Armenia,—though the observation cannot apply to the next gentleman, whose name I am about to mention—we have in the chair a son of the great Gladstone. (Applause.)

Let me avoid, so far as I can, the characteristic weakness of growing years, that of anecdote. But I cannot help recalling the fact that I stood in Hyde Park in the year 1876, with considerable danger to my skull,—for there was a mob that assailed and broke up our meeting—and I remember that on the same evening the windows in the house which Mr. Gladstone occupied then in Harley Street were broken by a portion of this mob.

I am proud, my old Gladstonian friends, that forty-five years ago we were fighting for the cause of Armenia, that we were as right then as we are now, that we had to confront in those days a mad, stupid and villainous movement in favour of the Turks, that we had no share in the crime of the Treaty of Berlin, which gave back to servitude and massacre the Armenian men and women to whom the bravery and sacrifice of Russia had promised freedom.

I was guilty of the sin, in my youth, of writing a book. I had not sufficiently read the book of Job probably. I looked through its pages just as I came to this meeting to-night and I found this passage from an article of the late Mr. Gladstone, written in one of our Reviews, at that very period:—

“Our duty,—the duty of those with whom I sympathise, is to be true to our text such as it has been from the first, and to recollect that this question is above all and before all things the question of the subject races, of redeeming from a servitude worse than that of the negro, a population twice that of the negroes ever held in slavery and a population which before the yoke was laid on their necks were our competitors, our equal competitors in the race of civilisation.”

I read that passage for this purpose, among others. I was under the hospitable roof of a friend of mine about a year ago in Long Island, America, and I had been three days in bed when I announced to my friend that I was going back to New York that evening. He was very angry with me. I said, “I want to address a meeting about Armenia.” He said, “You want to address a meeting about the Fenians?” “No,” I said, “Armenians.” He said, “the Fenian Armenians, or the Armenian Fenians?” I use this illustration for the purpose of

directing attention to the fact that one of the difficulties for us who have been fighting the Armenian cause, is the ignorance of a large part of the world with regard to what Armenia means, and what the Armenians are. Lord Gladstone, I say that the Armenians come before the judgment of history and of mankind with as high title-deeds to their esteem as any other race in the history of men. They have been the bulwark and the postern gate of Christianity for centuries. You, sir, said in your address they could have purchased prosperity and security, the lives of their men, the honour of their women, at one price, the price of abjuring their faith, and rather than abjure their faith, they have allowed their nation to shed a very ocean of their blood.

I addressed several meetings on Armenia in America and when I described the incredible horror under which these wholesale massacres took place, I always did my best to bring this central fact home to the minds of my audience: the men who were murdered, the women who were dishonoured and then murdered, were just as refined men, as pure and beautiful women, as any of the men and women in any of the audiences I was addressing at that moment.

I am sometimes a little puzzled by what I read in the newspapers. Why is it that the terms of the Armistice in the demands on the Turks contrast so favourably with the terms we imposed on the Germans and the Austrians? I have nothing to say in defence of the Germans and the Austrians. I regard the Germans as largely responsible for the massacres of the Armenians. A word, a wire from Berlin, could have put an end to these massacres in twenty-four hours. But when people talk to me, or when I read in the newspapers, that the Turk is a gentleman in fighting and that he is a gallant foe and contrasts favourably with other soldiers, and then I think of that awful march, naked, under a burning sun, of the horrors of the day and the greater horror of the night, of women throwing their babies into the rivers as they pass, of women compelled by the stroke of the sabre or the stick to rise immediately after they have given birth to a child, when I recall these things and read in an English paper of the "gentlemanly Turk," well, ladies and gentlemen, I see red.

What is the meaning of it all? Is it money? Is it international finance? Whatever the secret is, from this platform we declare here to-night that we go back to the old policy of our Chairman's father, "Out with them, bag and baggage." (Applause).

I have met Armenians, plenty of them, in America. A great many of them left America when this War started. They joined the British army, they joined the French army, Nine hundred of them joined the Foreign Legion of France. Of the nine hundred, fifty survive to-day.

Another question I would like answered is this. Why is it that when we made the Armistice with the Turks we did not at once send troops in to defend the Armenians? We know it is never safe to leave a Christian population at the mercy of armed Turks. There ought to have been no further delay, for two reasons, first, we want to save these people from further massacres and second, we know what Armenia is: we know that she will rise at once from the most disastrous defeat and suffering. We know that after centuries of struggle and suffering, this tremendous power of rising again has increased in the Armenians, has impelled them to start work the very morning after disaster and massacre. We know that the very moment the Turks are pushed back, the refugee Armenian once more wants to take up the work of tilling his fields or attending to his business. We know there is a large body of enforced refugees from Armenia who at the present moment are longing for the time when they will get back to their beloved fields. They cannot get back until we have soldiers of the Entente to protect them and every hour we delay in sending these soldiers, we deepen the misery and the horror of starvation and disease.

We have here eighteen Americans to-night, who have taken part in the work of relieving Armenia. I know a good deal, ladies and gentlemen, about the American Mission and the American friends of Armenia. If you go to New York you will find there are many New Yorks, as there are many Londons. There is the New York, as there is the London, of the Jazz Band and the Tango dance, and the superficial visitor to New York, whose peregrinations, probably, would be confined to a visit to hotels, theatres and restaurants, might be inclined to think that that element really represents New York. But it does not. If you want to find the real New York you have to go to those places where the American Missionary and the friends of the American Mission meet and, with all due respect and regard to the many noble agencies of the same kind in our own country, I will say that a greater body of high-minded idealists and philanthropists in the truest and highest sense of the word, Christians, you will not find in the world.

I have described the scene so often, and some of my friends of the Armenian Committee may think I am falling into anec-

dotage if I speak of it again, but I was present at a lunch given to some American Missionaries in New York City. They were very plain and simple men and women. I should think, if I were to examine the accounts, that their salaries about gave them bread and cheese and a very few comforts added. One got up and described how he, or she, had fed the starving children in Jerusalem. Another told of his, or her, work in Aleppo and another of what he, or she, had done in Baghdad and Constantinople. One man said, as if he were describing a trip from London to Brighton, "I am very grateful to you for your recognition of my work in Persia, to which I am returning this afternoon." And that man had left his wife in a grave in the East, where she had died helping him to do this work of charity to the suffering Armenians. Therefore I would strongly say to my American friends here this evening that all the world will give, if they will accept it, with confidence and love to the American people the duty of tending the infant steps of the New Armenia through the crisis. We look on their President as the greatest Liberal in the world to-day, and I add that the soldiers and sailors and the statesmen of his land have given to the Stars and Stripes the new significance of being a part of the liberation of the World, as well as of America herself.

I think I have only just one more word to say. I agree with all that Lord Bryce, with far greater knowledge and authority than I can profess or claim, I agree with every word he said as to what the future Armenia should be. It ought to be a big Armenia, not a small one: it ought to be a united Armenia. There is no distinction of blood or purpose between the Armenian who has been under the Russian Government and the Armenian who has been under the Turkish Government and whatever the crimes are of the present Russian Government I cannot think that any real democratic Government can exist to-day which will not give to every nation the right of determination in its own destinies. I cannot think that any Russian Government of the future would ever dare to try and bring back under Russian rule the Russian Armenia.

The present position of your Cause has many perils, many difficulties that have still to be surmounted, that we, who occupy seats in the two Houses of Legislature of this country, ought to bring before the attention of our Government. In spite of all these things, this is a great hour in the history of Armenia. The dead hand of Turkey, the bloody hand of Turkey, is off the throat of Armenia, and its indestructible soul is soaring to peace and to liberty for ever. (Applause.)

The following Resolution was then read to the Meeting:—

“ That this Meeting expresses its satisfaction at the prospect that Turkish rule, which has desolated Armenia during centuries, will be now for ever extinguished there and trusts that the New Armenian State, which is to be set up with the friendly aid of the League of Nations, will embrace all the Armenians who dwell within the limits of the ancient Armenian Kingdom, including those who inhabit Cilicia on the South and Transcaucasia on the North (where an Armenian independent Republic already exists).* ”

* THE FUTURE GOVERNMENT OF ARMENIA AND THE
BOUNDARIES OF THE NEW STATE.

The regions which would form the proposed Armenian State are the following:—

(1) The seven Vilayets of Van, Bitlis, Diarbekir, Kharpout, Sivas, Erzeroum and Trebizond (in conformity with the Reform Act of February, 1914), excluding the regions situated beyond the south of the Tigris and to the west of the line between Ordou-Sivas.

(2) The four Cilician Sandjaks, *i.e.*, Marash, Khozan (Sis), Djebel-Bereket and Adana with Alexandretta.

(3) All the territory of the Armenian Republic of the Caucasus, including the whole province of Erivan, the southerly portion of the former Government of Tiflis, the south-westerly part of the Government of Elizabethpol; the provinces of Kars, with the exception of the region to the north of Ardahan.

THE CONFINES OF ARMENIA.



The heavy black dotted lines represent the boundaries of Armenia. The very fine dots within this boundary represent the extent of the various provinces.

Dr. RONALD BURROWS:—

LORD Bryce has so brilliantly put the case against the Turk that it is hardly necessary to labour a point, which has been much in our minds these last few months, the creation in Great Britain of a Turkophile sentiment, not on the old grounds of hostility to Russia, but on a new and totally fallacious principle of sympathy with the Moslems of India. This is the most insidious method of pro-Turkish propaganda that the British public has ever had before it. For we are all in sympathy with the Moslems of India. They have a fine record. We are proud of them as loyal and honest fellow-subjects. But we think far too highly of them to associate them with the Turk, and we deny that they have a right to ask us to refrain from turning Turkey out of its ill-gotten position. We find it pleaded in many of our newspapers to-day that Turkey should be given one more chance. But we generally find this plea is most effective in the case of young offenders. My Lord, Turkey is not a young offender. Turkey is an old,—I was going to say civilisation, but I will not say it. It is an old Government; it has for generation after generation developed all the characteristics of bad government. It had its last chance when the Committee of Union and Progress attempted to make Europe believe that a Liberal Régime was being introduced into Turkey. That was the last chance, and the old Turkey was replaced by a worse Turkey.

Our Moslem fellow-subjects tell us that it would offend their religious spirit if there was not one Moslem state that had full sovereign power on a great scale. Ladies and gentlemen, if there had been no Christian state with sovereignty on a large scale except the state of Germany in 1914, we would gladly have sacrificed even that last Christian state.

But, my Lord, I do not wish to labour that point, which has already been so ably dealt with. May I make one other point which has not been touched on, and that is the need for unity between the Christian races of the Middle East. We know, my Lord, the old method of the Turk in the Balkans, that the seeds of misery and the seeds of disunion that were sown there were carefully fostered by the Turk. You have not yet had that experience in the Middle East, but you will have it, mark my word, for Turkish propaganda will try and incite Armenian against Greek and Greek against Armenian. Though always a most convinced friend of Armenia I am, first and foremost, a friend of Greece, and I would implore you to

put from your minds, now and for ever, any single thought of the possibility of disunion between you and that other great race, kindred to you in religion and in many points of national characteristics, which will be your neighbour and share with you the management of that vast territory. The marks of friendship and sympathy which have already been shown in London between Armenia and Greece are a good augury, and I am convinced that your great statesman, Nubar Pasha, and the great Greek statesman, Monsieur Venezelos, have already talked the matter over very fully in Paris.

I am not so sure that I am as sanguine as Lord Bryce about local troubles. It will depend upon the unity of the Christian races whether those troubles will be overcome. You can make them fellow-workers with you in your state. It will be for you two nations, with many other minor Christian peoples in the Middle East, to work out your salvation.

Lord Bryce has allowed that there will be troubles with the Kurds. I understand from those who have been most recently in the East that there will be trouble from the Moslems at Baku. Though I agree that we should say nothing which would make the United States feel that it would be difficult for them to undertake that glorious burden which we all of us long for them to undertake, yet none the less it will be important that that force of Gendarmerie, to which Lord Bryce alluded, should be very soon created. It is important that the United States should take part in the formation of that Gendarmerie. Therefore, while impressing on our friends in the States that the district will finally be easily governed and will not mean any great permanent expenditure in military force, we should also say to them that any help they can now give us in the way of Gendarmerie will be of immense value.

I can only pray that the good auguries which have been already begun for the creation of a new and splendid Asia Minor will never be dimmed, but that the Christian races will unite for ever, and that Asia Minor will become again that centre of great and populous cities, that land teeming with milk and honey that we knew not a thousand years ago. (Applause).

DR. JOHN CLIFFORD:—

I AM very glad of the opportunity of taking part in this meeting. It is a meeting of congratulation. I have attended a great many gatherings on behalf of Armenia in years past, and as I think of them and then think of this gathering, my heart overflows with thankfulness. Changed conditions are such as to inspire us with the brightest hopes concerning the immediate and the distant future. We may certainly declare that this is a golden hour, an hour in which the continuous progress and self-determination of Armenia are promised. The grounds of hope for such a future as this have been expressed already by those who have preceded me, and it is not necessary at this late hour that I should linger over them. But I look back to the times when we gathered in St. James's Hall and Exeter Hall and spoke with regard to the atrocities which had been taking place in 1876, and again in 1895, and I cannot help feeling that this is an occasion of thanksgiving to God. He has done wonders on behalf of these tortured and suffering people. This is the day of their deliverance. We certainly may look upon the situation as filled with everything to encourage us.

We have at this juncture France entirely with us: the utterances of Clemenceau have recognised that France is and must be the protectress of distressed peoples; and, therefore, she may be expected to lend her help at this juncture. We have the United States with us. President Wilson has undertaken this cause, and we have the Treaty, and, so far as we know it, it contains elements which are full of encouragement. Liberty of conscience is to be one of the fundamental laws of the countries which are to have liberty and self-determination, and we may anticipate that it may be possible for Moslem and Christian to dwell together in unity. When this liberty of conscience becomes part of the law of the country, then, indeed, our brethren, Moslem and Christian, will be able to work together for the establishment of a new and better order, an order of righteousness and an order of abiding peace.

Lord Gladstone, I do not think it is necessary for me to do more than to assert that this is the hour of promise for the people of Armenia, and the claims of Armenia are familiar to us. Moral claims, claims of heroism and devotion to the interest of the Allies on whose behalf they have made great sacrifices, claims in the name of humanity. Those claims are presented to us, and it is for us to take care that those claims

are met by the arrangements which will ultimately be made in connection with the Treaty.

It is another source of congratulation that the Mandatory is already prepared. The experience that the United States have had fits them for taking this position, and we can commit it to their hands with the confidence that it will be carried out with conspicuous success.

We must never forget what has been said a thousand times, that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. It will be necessary for us to keep up our watchfulness and to try and extend the area over which the liberties of mankind shall be spread.

I am glad of the occasion which brings us together, and rejoice with you in the bright prospects for Armenia in the days to come. (Applause).

ANEURIN WILLIAMS, M.P.:—

I DID not know until this very minute that I was to speak, but I esteem it a great privilege to say a few words in this cause, and if you will allow me I will say it in the name of some of us who have been doing spade work, Committee work, quiet work for a long time for the political rights, freedom and relief of the Armenian people.

We have on the platform here to-day Miss Emily Robinson, who has worked so nobly; we have others who have spoken to you, and others for whom there will not be time. We have all striven to do our duty to your people, recognising that the British nation owed a debt to Armenia—owed a debt because unfortunately it has stood in the way, more than once, of her liberation; once pre-eminently when the Russian people would have freed Armenia from the yoke of the Turk. But the time has come when we believe that liberation has come, and we believe that it will be a blessing, not only to the Armenian people but to the Turks who were their oppressors.

It has been said "the quality of mercy is twice blessed; it blesseth him who gives and him who takes." You may say the same of liberation and of the putting an end to despotism. The Turkish people will, I believe, benefit as much by putting an end to the Turkish despotism, as those nations who have been subject to Turkey. For if you Armenians and Greeks and Bulgarians and Serbs have suffered under the heels of the Turkish Pashas, have not the Turkish peasants also suffered? If you put down that blood-stained tyranny, you will be grant-

ing a blessing to the mass of the Moslem people, and preparing a time when they, too, will enjoy the blessings of freedom and self-government, and when, as Dr. Clifford has said, Moslem and Christian will be able to live together, respecting one another, each holding to his own principles, each living in peace and amity one with the other.

It gives me great pleasure indeed to support the Resolution which has been read to you. (Applause).

NOEL BUXTON:—

MY Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen, we look to many fruits of liberty to grow out of the great War. But, undoubtedly, to my mind, there is no fruit of liberty among them all which ought to give us such pride and glory as the liberation of Armenia.

Few would have said, I believe, before the War began that there were crying grievances for which it would be worth while to make a War. But there was one exception to this. There were people—and the Duke of Argyll, the great Conservative statesman, was one of them—who said deliberately that for such a cause as the liberation of Armenia we must not shrink from the great arbiter of War.

The outstanding scandals which characterise this great question of the liberation of the subject races of Turkey have been nobly dealt with to-night. I would say one word as a man who has seen the common life of the Armenian in the ordinary times of peace. We naturally think of the necessity of liberation because of these ghastly tragedies which have fallen upon the Armenian race above all other races. But let us assume that those are right who say that these tragedies are things of the past, who say if we gave the Turkish Empire another chance there would be no more massacres. Let us take the life of the subject races in its normal form, as it existed before the great War began, and when massacre was far from anyone's thoughts. I have travelled in Armenia with the organiser of this meeting to-night, our friend Mr. Raffi. Let me just recall to your minds a side of Armenian life which has not been brought before us to-night—the ordinary life of one of those villages, where the struggle with Nature alone is sufficiently arduous to daunt most men, and where only the Armenian has been able, with incredible persistence, to eke out a living, to till the fields, to keep his flocks and make a dwell-

ling for himself, largely by excavating the hard ground and keeping himself and his beasts through the winter in semi-subterranean rooms. I remember seeing in the little centre of one of these villages, the population of the village collected—a fine race of peasants—standing there before us in a row, perhaps a hundred of them, and among them, to our surprise, certain men with revolvers. We had alighted upon a village where, as it happened—our journey being quite unexpected by the Turks—the process of planting alien immigrants was actually going on; only the day before a large party of Kurdish families had been brought and imposed on that village, and every Armenian family had had either to take them in and feed them or clear out and let them take possession of the house.

That was a normal feature of Turkish rule in peace time.

They say that the Armenians are not sufficiently a militarist people, and there are those who say that their long experience of subjection has taken away some qualities of pluck. I would like to say that I have seen sufficient evidence that the boot is on the other foot. I think it is a fault of the Armenians that they are too rashly plucky on occasion. I remember that an hour or two after the incident I have just mentioned, our friend Mr. Raffi found himself surrounded by Kurdish brigands, and I saw Mr. Raffi, whose pockets were being rifled by the biggest brigand, fly like a wild cat at the brigand's throat. It was nothing but a miracle that saved Mr. Raffi's life, and I felt compelled to urge him to be a little less plucky in the future.

Those are true and useful illustrations of the two points which are brought forward. We are not out of the wood yet, and we must fight against this insidious propaganda which is putting up the cry that, after all, Armenia had a good enough time normally, and that it would have a good time if the Turkish Empire was reformed.

This is a moment when the citizens of the world might reflect that a ghastly horror has for long ages resulted from the want of charity and sympathy of the world, and partly from its want of energy in organising the suppression of evil. But for us Britons there is something more than that to reflect upon. It is for us a moment when we may reflect upon the tragic part we have played, the enormous debt we owe to the Armenian race, we who are told even by a Conservative statesman like the Duke of Argyll that "we have kept these people under a barbaric despotism."

It is very fitting that so many men of eminence should be here speaking in this cause to-night; it is surely a moment when we may reflect with thankfulness that the British public has seen the error of its way, that it has come to agree with Lord Salisbury about putting its money on the wrong horse, that its views have become orientated in the right direction, and that we are now pledged, by every outspoken word of our statesmen, to the absolute liberation of Armenia.

The shame which has lain upon the conscience of the world, and the conscience particularly of Britain, is now, if we are persistent enough to see that these promises are carried out, for ever to be removed. (Applause).

The Chairman then put the Resolution to the Meeting, and it was carried unanimously.

He then called upon Mr. Gooch to move the second Resolution, which ran:—

“That this Meeting earnestly appeals to the generous British people to continue its support to the Funds that are being raised for the relief of the terrible distress and suffering of the Armenian refugees.”

G. P. GOOCH:—

THE hour is so late that you will, I am sure, congratulate me on the brevity of my speech when I have concluded it.

We ask support for this Resolution in the name of the greatest sufferings of modern, or perhaps of any, period of history. It is not only the massacres of the Great War; it has been a series of massacres beginning in 1894 and only ending a few months ago and it has often seemed to me in thinking of the Armenians that their sufferings have been increased by the fact that in the intervals of their sufferings, they have had moments of hope. Oscillations of hope and despair make the sufferings worse.

Those of you who have read part, or perhaps all, of that most terrible volume of documentary materials presented to Sir Edward Grey and issued under the auspices of Lord Bryce, will see set forth a story far more tragic and far more unpardonable than the persecutions of Nero and Diocletian, far more terrible than the slaughters of Tamerlane, far worse in bulk, if

not in quality, than the massacres of Alva in the Netherlands. For every Armenian who has perished the greater becomes the claim upon all of us, in all parts of the world, to rescue those who have survived. They are the most gifted race of the Middle East.

We have heard a good deal to-night of the American Mission. I remember that great and good man, one of the best friends Armenia ever had, Dr. Washburn, saying to me that, looking back upon Robert College over a long period of years and finding promise in every race who came within his doors, the Armenians surpassed all competitors by their brilliance and capacity for work.

We have heard mentioned the name of Mr. Raffi, who is on our platform. The name he bears is above all honoured by the fact that he is the son of his great and distinguished father, the Voice of Armenia, a man who is far too little known outside his own country, a novelist, a dramatist, a poet and above all, a man who helped to keep alive the soul of his people.

The Armenians are a clever, virile, refined race. There are not many of them left, but they are quite enough to repair the disasters of the past. They are the trustees of unborn generations and I ask you to support this Resolution in memory of those who are dead and in the interests of the generations to come. (Applause).

ATHELSTAN RILEY:—

DR. Clifford has told us that this is an auspicious occasion which has brought us together. I think this is the first time that Dr. Clifford and I have been on the same platform and spoken for the same cause. But, ladies and gentlemen, whatever their political sympathies in this country, those who know the East and know the conditions of the Armenians, are at one in a matter of this kind,

As one who has travelled in Turkey and knows the Armenians, I want to second what Mr. Noel Buxton has said that, in the ordinary times of peace the Armenians live in a condition where it may be said that no man's life and no woman's honour is safe.

We have been referred to-night to that sort of superstition which exists amongst English people with regard to the Turk, and we must not hide from ourselves the fact that the Turk is,

on the whole, a popular person with the average Englishman. Why is it? I think I can tell you. My experience of the Turk is that he makes an admirable under-dog. He makes an admirable servant, but he is an absolutely impossible master. What we have got to see is that the Turkish government over Christian races goes and goes for ever. It doesn't matter what temporary phase that Government takes, whether it professes to be autocratic or democratic its characteristics remain.

I remember how enthusiastic this country was about the Turkish Revolution and the Committee of Union and Progress. I suspect that even some of my friends on this platform believed in that Committee. I was a disbeliever from the beginning. The Turk as a Governor is impossible. The Turkish government over Christian races must go.

There is another thing, and that is the intrigues of the Turkish government by which one race is set against another. That is how the Turk has governed and the very centre of that government and that intrigue is the city of Constantinople. I hope that we shall all insist and all use what influence we have to see that the Turkish government is turned out of Constantinople.

I have listened, with the greatest interest, to the speech of Lord Bryce. I only differ from him in one respect and that is with regard to the Kurds. I know the Kurds very well. I have been all over their country. I am afraid I cannot view the Kurd as Lord Bryce does, as a possible peaceful trader. In the first place he has got nothing to sell, never has had, secondly he is a professional thief and has been so in all the centuries we have known him, and we have known him ever since the famous retreat of the Ten Thousand Greeks; he will be a robber and a brigand to the end.

I notice that a very large tract of country of ancient Turkey and a part of Russia has been partitioned off to form a new Armenian State. I am all for making big demands, because the bigger your demands are the more likely you are to get what you want. But there is one little corner you haven't marked off. It is not for me to say whether Armenia would like to take it over. But somebody has got to take it over. It is the little bit of land where the Kurds specially live, which is their mountain fortress and from which they descend on the peaceful inhabitants of the plains. There will be no peace for Armenia and the surrounding countries till that bit of land is brought under some government which is able to keep the Kurds in order.

I would say, in conclusion, that the Peace Conference will launch Armenia as a self-governing Nation. From what I know of Armenia I am perfectly certain she is capable of becoming a self-governing Nation and from my heart I say God speed her and God protect her. (Applause).

The Chairman put the second Resolution to the Meeting, and it was carried unanimously.

SIR ROBERT PERKS:—

I GREATLY regret that I had to leave your meeting before its close and was therefore unable to add to the words of the other speakers my message of admiration for the noble part played by the Armenian people in the great struggle for national rights and human liberty through which the world has, we trust, passed.

Speaking for the Methodist Church, and people, which in number ranks in this country next to the Established Church, I am able to say that among all the nationalities who have courageously faced death and terrible persecution no nation has commanded our reverence and admiration more than Armenia.

We shall as a community of fellow Christians support to the utmost of our power, every step which the British Government and our Allies in Europe and the United States, may take to secure for your country complete self-government; and to aid in the development of the industrial life and the natural resources of Armenia.

This result, so important to the Peace, and the progress of the Near East, will, I believe, be best attained by the acceptance of the temporary duties of a Mandatory Protectorate by the United States, acting in accord with the principles set forth in the Peace Treaty, and in harmony with Great Britain, France and Italy.

Your country will need, and I trust it will secure, an Armenian Port on the Mediterranean Seas. It is entitled once more after the lapse of many years, to regain Cilicia. You will need, for the proper development of your agricultural resources, and the vast mineral wealth of your northern states, an extensive littoral on the Black Sea, and unimpeded maritime rights to and from your Ports.

Let us hope that the triumphs of Peace won by your industrious and courageous people, will follow, as day follows night, the sufferings and the victories of War.

This is, I am sure, the fervent prayer and the assured hope of your Methodist fellow Christians here and throughout all lands.

**THE AMERICAN COMMISSIONERS (through the
Secretary, Dr. PAUL S. LEINBACH) FOR
ARMENIAN RELIEF:—**

WE count it a great privilege to say to-night that we feel perfectly at home in a British Meeting. May I not have the liberty also of saying that we feel especially at home in a Meeting in which Lord Bryce participates, than whom there is no Englishman more universally beloved in America.

We have been permitted as an American Commission, composed of editors and religious leaders, to visit Armenia, Mesopotamia and different parts of Turkey, and we are now on our way back to America, and I wish to take advantage of this opportunity to express my appreciation first of all of the great help that has come to us all through our journey from the British soldiers, from major-generals down to privates, everyone of them has been so courteous and wonderful that we cannot ever forget what they have done for us. We have said to ourselves many a time, "American soldiers might have been just as kind, but they certainly couldn't have been kinder," and the prayer in our hearts is, God bless the British Tommies everywhere in the world to-night!

We have been in a great many sections where the Armenians live but we have not been in any sections where the Armenians are safe, even now, except where the British soldiers have gone to protect all that is decent and sacred in human life.

We have established many Orphanages, and we know there will be need of more, and we are thinking to-night of the 250,000 orphans, many of them with the horrible tattoo marks on their faces. We are thinking to-night of what is conservatively estimated to be 50,000 Armenian children and women who are still captives in the Moslem houses. We have had an experience which has been almost heart-breaking. Even now, after four years, to go among those people and hear their stories is to have Lord Bryce's book authenticated to you at every point. I am thinking of the City of Urfa where of the 4,000 Armenian houses there are only about 20 or 30 undamaged. One walks through block after block of the finest residential section of that city,—just masses of broken stone. We passed hundreds of wagons, full of refugees returning from the South, many of them coming back to those cities, where their homes once stood, to find only a mass of broken stone. In the Square of Urfa stands a monument which the Turks erected in memory of the

poor martyrs who were slain by the "cruel Armenians," and that monument is constructed from loot from the Armenian houses, and it stands as a symbol of the horrible Turkish Government which, praise God, has come to an end, we hope and believe forever!

I thank you for this privilege. We are going back to America to try to raise more money. We have raised fifty millions of dollars already for Armenia. We want also to awaken the American people to an appreciation of the possibilities of the New Armenia. We want to make them see that there is great spiritual destitution in that land, and the Church of God must wake to a very real opportunity and a very real obligation in this day of days. I hope to say to the American people that if this Mandatory is put upon us we dare not shrink from it. The only reason that some of us feel like shrinking from it is because we think that with her greater experience England might be able to do it better. (Applause).

THE REV. DR. ABRAHAMIAN:—

IT is not my intention to give you a lecture on the cause, the defence of which has been so ably pleaded by the illustrious speakers whom you have just heard. But I should not like to let this occasion pass without expressing to you what every Armenian is feeling at this moment in the very depths of his heart.

As pastor of the Armenians in London, I express, first of all, in the name of my compatriots, my feelings of deep gratitude and profound admiration towards the esteemed speakers and organisers of this meeting, as well as towards the audience who have been so kind as to attend.

Next, I come to the cause itself, the essential points of which must not escape your attention. It is a question of Armenia. Never has European literature relating to that country been so abundant and valuable as during the period of the World War. Never has the world heard so often about the Armenians as during these last years of the War. Voluminous works, as well as the daily press and meetings like this, have furnished the civilised world with a considerable amount of information concerning Armenia.

But, alas! what is this Armenia which is the subject of these publications? It is not Armenia the first nation to adopt Christianity, nor is it the country with an ancient culture which became for centuries the vanguard of western civilisation in the

East. It is Armenia massacred, martyred, which has become the land of terror of which men speak to us to-day. And why? For what reason did the Germano-Turkish Alliance, at the very beginning of the war, decide on the extermination of the Armenian nation? (Happily, they did not succeed in carrying out their design.) Because the Armenians, while individually performing their duty as citizens towards Turkey, refused to march with her *as a nation*. And this is quite comprehensible. In the world-catastrophe Armenia could make no other decision, because she saw herself linked to the Allies by her civilisation and historic development. In spite of the Turkish danger, which threatened her very existence, she declared herself against the Germano-Turkish Alliance because she knew that right and justice were on the side of the Allies. In this conviction, Armenia, firmly attached to the Allies, struggled valiantly to the end against the common foe, both in Armenia itself and under the banners of the Allies.

And now? Now we have before us an Armenia emerging from the blood of her heroes, from the ashes of her martyrs, and the tears of their survivors, but also an Armenia, standing forth with lofty brow, and quiet conscience, for she has performed her duty towards humanity. To-day, my dear friends, it is for you to ensure yourself also a quiet conscience, to apply to Armenia the principles of justice by according to it its complete independence.

Here I must add that I do not doubt the justice of the great nations, any more than I doubt divine justice. In this certainty I address to you, in the name of my countrymen, our fraternal greeting, praying God to grant Hisalmighty protection to our great friend, England, and her Allies, as well as to our beloved country, Independent Armenia, in their pacific labours after the War.

Mr. E. Harrison Yelverton, the American Vice-Consul in London, moved a vote of thanks to the Chairman, which was seconded by the **Rev. Harold Buxton**, and carried unanimously.

LORD GLADSTONE:—

I NEED no vote of thanks. I remember the last public occasion on which my father made a speech was at Liverpool in 1896, and I felt it one of my first duties to come, when I was asked to take the Chair here to-night. I have been very glad to do so and have been honoured by the occasion. (Applause).

SIR ARTHUR CROSFIELD, being prevented from attending the Meeting, has sent the following message:—

FROM the earliest beginnings of tribal life, through untold ages which have seen the ultimate development of the modern state, individualism has reigned supreme, and force and cunning have been determining factors in the successful struggle for existence and—as the phrase has it—the survival of the fittest.

As through the ages the nervous system of the human race has become more and more highly developed, so human capacity for suffering has increased, and it is a terrible thought that with that increased capacity for suffering, developed intelligence and perverted ingenuity have given men the means of inflicting it by more and more devilish methods of cruelty. On the other hand, the instinct of mercy and compassion and the sense of moral obligation have side by side developed in the later stages of human history. More than this, in times which may be called modern when compared with the vast antiquity of the race, proposals have been made for averting the extreme horrors of warfare by international collaboration. Hitherto no permanent, effective and successful method has been devised, but the unparalleled horror and agony of the last few years—misery and disaster far beyond anything previously known in the annals of the race—have spurred men to make a new and more comprehensive, carefully worked-out and determined effort than has ever been made before to check such frightful evil.

Will it succeed? Upon the answer to that question depend far more than upon any other one question the future destiny of, and something like a tolerable existence for men, women and children throughout the world, and in a very special degree for the inhabitants of Europe and the Near East.

The instinct of self-preservation and the beneficent agency of well-applied education and science have taught us through the centuries many means of protection against such foes and dangerous elements, wild beast and reptile, storm and flood, microbe and pestilence. Have we yet come to realise that this same elementary instinct of self-preservation—to put the question on no higher grounds—demands of human intelligence means of protection against the most dangerous enemy and the most insidious evil of all—against a malignant enemy which is also the origin of evil in so many other forms? Are

men at length prepared to join issue in mortal combat (it is very literally that) with the deadliest of foes—the cruel tendency of natural law to perpetuate strife, and which, with fiendish ingenuity, would seem to baffle every effort in the direction of peaceful existence.

Are we prepared to make sacrifices in order that such efforts may achieve success? Do the more fortunate amongst mankind realise how fearfully in these tragic years so many millions of the more unfortunate have been tortured beyond the limits of human endurance and done to death only after protracted and calculated agony? Do the more fortunately situated feel sympathy for such suffering, and are we prepared in real earnest to make an honest endeavour to bring about a better condition of things in a regenerated world where the most sorely tried nations will at length be able to work out their own future salvation in peace and security?

If this is to be done, it means some sacrifice—sacrifice of the more extreme form of national individualism qualified, as that should be and must be if more tolerable conditions of existence are to be secured in the future for the generality of mankind—qualified by methods of sane international collaboration. Ideas of exclusive and isolated sovereignty have had their day: they have signally failed to stand the test of experience, and are as pernicious in their international consequence as the extreme selfishness of unadulterated individualism is injurious in its influence within the community of any modern state.

The good hopes which we may all cherish for the future success and potent influence of the League of Nations are based on no Utopian ideals of inaugurating an era of universal altruism. Clashing of interests between state and state will still have to be reckoned with, and the inevitable sources of friction that may arise: but those who have this great international development at heart must see to it that public opinion is instructed and developed up to that point when:

“The commonsense of man shall hold the fretful realm
in awe,
When mankind may dwell in surety guarded by the
might of law”—

if I may venture to modify slightly a famous and oft-quoted couplet.

That is a matter of vital necessity for nations both great and small throughout the world. It is still more and, in a

special degree, necessary for the nations of Europe if the inhabitants of this continent are to look forward to a reasonable measure of comfort, security and happiness in the future. But most of all are the power, sanctity and security of international law needed in the Near East, and there especially for the protection of a country like Armenia which, in its comparatively defenceless condition, has so long been open to attacks by savage neighbours and too often suffered in the most frightful manner imaginable from their pitiless ferocity.

America has nobly led the way in holding out a helping hand and bringing some measure of relief to the tear-wrung and tortured people of that country; and every friend of humanity may earnestly hope that she will prosecute the same high undertaking, using her mighty influence in the days to come, lending a guiding and helping hand to an unfortunate people struggling to their feet again in their effort to restore the fortunes of that unhappy land. Yes, it is earnestly to be hoped that America will accept the mandate of Armenia and such responsibilities as that carries with it.

As to our own responsibilities, proper emphasis is laid upon them in the speeches here published. True, the nation as a whole never did accept the policy adopted so many years ago when, to quote a famous and familiar expression, we "put our money on the wrong horse" with such disastrous consequences, but still, Britain *qua* Britain cannot in these circumstances evade her responsibilities and, within the measure of her opportunities and capacity, should play her part in seconding and supporting America's efforts for the benefit of Armenia.

Men's hope for the potent influence of a sane international spirit and policy upon human destiny in the future is in no way contingent upon a whittling down or undermining of national characteristics. Those characteristics and a proper pride of race may remain and always should remain with us. But what is needed is a better development of international opinion in face of which selfish meanness and every form of despicable conduct will receive the censure and scornful opprobrium of this international opinion; while, on the other hand, international co-operation by prosecuting a hundred and one necessary, useful and, sometimes, beneficent objects held in common, will bring nations into closer touch with each other than heretofore, and enable men the more readily to appreciate and respect the characteristics and capacity displayed by their neighbours in achieving those objects.

And if that be so, then in so far as it is practicable for the British Empire and America to work on parallel lines in helping to bring about the time when Armenia "redeemed, regenerated and disenthralled," may be able to work out her own proper salvation, it will indeed be a blessed consummation if such common effort for a good purpose strengthens the bonds that unite the two branches the Anglo-Saxon race, on whose permanent collaboration the future success of the League of Nations and the destiny of mankind must in the main depend.

GENERAL ANDRANIK, who, owing to the number of speakers and the lateness of the hour, was unable to express his views at the meeting, left the following message:—

IN the course of the War the Armenians have lost on the battlefield in proportion to their numbers more than any other of the Allies, and now hundreds of thousands of them are in terrible need of food and clothing. The only solution of this question is that the Allies should immediately occupy the Turkish-Armenian provinces, so as to enable the refugees to return to their homes and start life again, and should dispatch to them all necessary food, clothing and medicaments.

It must be remembered that over one million men, women and children of the Armenian nation have been killed by a ruthless enemy, and this enemy may well be termed the enemy of civilisation and Christianity.

It is a matter of regret to note that in Western Europe to-day there are people who still play into the hands of the Turk—mostly actuated by commercial and financial interests—and are still friends with him. I feel sure that this favouring of the Turk would be condemned by all right-thinking people, were the facts of the case properly understood.

I make this earnest appeal, knowing that if the Allied Governments, in fact, if all civilised Humanity, turn a deaf ear to the Armenians' cry of distress, they will condemn those who have escaped death by the sword to perish by starvation and disease.

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