

Sassoun, or those of Zeitoun, three hundred miles west in the Taurus mountains. These two little communities were quite exceptional in their secure location and brave spirit. The other Armenians throughout Eastern Turkey, timid and crushed by more severe oppression, used to speak of the Sassounlis with an admiration almost akin to reverence. It was on this account that *they* were singled out by the Government for extermination, for it was feared that their brave and independent spirit might spread to the Armenians of the plains and cities, while their destruction, on the other hand, would strike terror everywhere, and prove a salutary object-lesson to those who might be disposed to express dissatisfaction with the Sultan's rule. In this calculation the Turks were mistaken. The blood of those noble mountaineers, instead of acting like a stupefying drug upon the Armenian race, proved to be a stimulant, and enlisted the sympathy of Europe. This so alarmed and irritated the Turks that, in order to prevent any progress of the Armenians either through their own efforts or those of Europe, they have committed further massacres in comparison with which Sassoun hardly deserves to be mentioned. There are no words to characterize the cowardly betrayal of the Armenians by England, and Europe which guaranteed their protection.

The "Powers" impotent for good, while masquerading in the livery of Christianity, have proved its worst enemies and shown themselves callous even to the principles of ordinary humanity.

APPENDIX A.

A BIT OF AMERICAN DIPLOMACY IN TURKEY.

THE CASE.

(Foreign Relations of the United States, 1884, pp. 538-539.¹)

(Inclosure in No. 317.)

Mr. Wallace to Aarifi Pasha.

Note Verbale.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Constantinople, January 24, 1884.

The legation of the United States of America has the honor to invite the attention of his highness, the minister of foreign affairs, to the matters following :

By note No. 167, June 13, 1883, the legation informed his highness that two American citizens, traveling in the vilayet of Bitlis, had been set upon by Kurds, robbed, and left to die, and that the governor-general of the vilayet had manifested the most singular indifference about the affair, and might be fairly charged with responsibility for the escape of the malefactors. The suggestion was then made that his highness would serve the cause of humanity and justice by ordering the most energetic measures to be taken for the apprehension of the robbers.

By a communication, No. 71235, June 13, 1883, his highness was good enough to answer the note of the legation, and give the pleas-

¹ This is an exact copy of the official documents as published by the State Department, capitalization included.

ing intelligence that the governor-general had succeeded in discovering the goods taken from the two gentlemen, and that the robbers had been arrested and delivered up to justice. This information his highness reported as derived from the governor-general.

This report the legation found it necessary to correct; and for that purpose it addressed a second note to his highness, the minister of foreign affairs, No. 179, dated September 10, 1883, declaring that the robbers had not been arrested, and that the goods and money taken from Messrs. Knapp and Reynolds had been returned to them, but in small parts. Under impression that it was yet possible to obtain the powerful assistance of the Sublime Porte in bringing the thieves and assassins to justice, the legation in the same note proceeded to give the full particulars of the affair, both those connected with the assault and those descriptive of the action of the governor-general. Of the assault, it remarked that Messrs. Knapp and Reynolds, accepting the assurance of the governor-general that the roads were perfectly safe, set out on their journey without a guard of *zaptiehs*. They put up for a night at a house where there was present Moussa Bey, son of Meza Bey, an influential Kurdish chief. When they took their coffee they failed to send a cup of it to the said Moussa, who feeling himself insulted by the inattention, took four assistants and next day waylaid the gentlemen, one of whom, Mr. Knapp, they beat with clubs until they supposed him dead. Moussa Bey, with his own hand, cut down Dr. Reynolds, giving him ten cuts with a sword. The two were then bound and dragged into the bushes and there left to die. That there might be no excuse, such as that the murderers were unknown, the legation gave his highness the names of the subordinate assassins and their places of abode, Sherif Oglon Osman and Iskan Oglon Hassan, both of the village of Movnok. A third one was pointed out as the servant of Moussa Bey, living in the village of Kabiaa. Of the action of the governor-general the legation said further that when the affair was reported to him he made a show of action by sending *zaptiehs* to arrest the robbers, but, singular to remark, he selected Meza Bey, the father of Moussa, to take charge of the party. Going to the village of Auzont, Meza Bey pointed out four Kurds of another tribe as the guilty men, took them into custody and carried them for identification to Messrs. Knapp and Reynolds, who said they were not the assailants.

During the night, in Aozou, a bundle was thrown through a window into a room occupied by the police, which on examination proved to

contain a portion of the stolen goods. With this the governor-general rested from his efforts and dispatched to his highness the minister of foreign affairs, that the stolen goods were recovered and returned, and the felons captured and punished. This report, the legation took the liberty of informing his highness, was not true, also that the chief of the assassins, Moussa Bey, was still at large; and to emphasize its statement, the legation further said to his highness, that the details it communicated were current through all the region of Bitlis, having been first given out by Moussa himself. The legation then, in the same note, exposed the maladministration of the governor-general in language plain as respect for his highness, the minister, and for the Sublime Porte would permit, and suggested as the only means of accomplishing anything like redress that a brave impartial officer be sent to Bitlis to investigate the conduct of the governor and take the affair in his own hands. "Such a step," it was added, "might serve to save the lives of many Christians," and it was further represented that "could the assassins be brought to just sentence it would unquestionably lessen the demand for indemnity which otherwise it would be the duty of the legation to present against the Imperial Government in this connection."

On November 7, 1883, the legation of the United States, by a third note, No. 184, communicated to his highness, the minister of foreign affairs, that the governor-general of Bitlis had confronted four persons with Mr. Knapp for identification, and that that gentleman had recognized Moussa Bey as one of those who had robbed and wounded him. The legation of the United States then expressed a hope that the minister of foreign affairs would give proper orders for bringing Moussa Bey and his companions in crime before the tribunals for trial.

Still later, on November 12, 1883, the legation of the United States addressed a fourth note, No. 185, to his highness, the minister of foreign affairs, detailing again the circumstances of the attempted murder of Messrs. Knapp and Reynolds, and representing the untrustworthiness of the governor-general by charging that Moussa Bey had already obtained from him assurances of immunity in the event of a trial and conviction.

His highness, the minister, was then requested that, if it was decided to maintain the governor-general at his post, orders be given for the transfer of the criminals to Constantinople for trial.

The three notes last named of the legation of the United States

have not been answered by his highness, the minister of foreign affairs, except in a note, dated December 8, 1883, in which he is pleased to renew assurances based upon telegrams from the governor-general, which are utterly unreliable.

Wherefore, abandoning hope of justice through the governor-general of Bitlis, and the judicial tribunals of the empire, the legation of the United States finds itself compelled to change its form of application for redress, and demand of the Sublime Porte indemnity in behalf of Messrs. Knapp and Reynolds, for the former £1,500, and for the latter, because of the more serious nature of his injuries, £2,000.

THE POSITION TAKEN IN WASHINGTON.

(Foreign Relations of the United States, 1884, p. 544.)

No. 419.

Mr. Frelinghuysen to Mr. Wallace.

(No. 153.)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, February 13, 1884.

SIR: I have to acknowledge the receipt of your No. 317, of the 25th ultimo, relative to the case of the Rev. Mr. Knapp and Dr. Reynolds, murderously attacked by Kurds near Bitlis, and to say that, after a careful consideration of all the facts before the Department, the inaction of the governor of Bitlis and the failure of the supreme Government to force him to undertake such measures as the case evidently demanded, must be regarded as a denial of justice. While this Government is always averse to making money demands for indemnity in countries whose administration of justice may differ from our own, the Department feels compelled to resort to this remedy under circumstances which manifestly make the local officers and the Government of the Porte responsible for the failure to do justice in this case.

The action reported in your dispatch is, consequently, approved.

I am, &c.,

FRED'K T. FRELINGHUYSEN.

THE POSITION TAKEN IN CONSTANTINOPLE.

General Lew Wallace is understood to have been emphatically a *persona grata* as U. S. Minister to Turkey, in fact to have enjoyed, to a very exceptional degree, the personal confidence and friendship of His Majesty the present Sultan. The following quotation will show what treatment even he received in the discharge of his official duties in the case under consideration :

From the Regular Correspondent of the Tribune.

CONSTANTINOPLE, March 1, 1884.

The Porte, in deciding how far it is safe to affront foreign Governments, has even ranked the United States below some of the European States. The Porte during the past year has treated General Wallace as if he were the representative of a Danubian Principality. Remonstrance after remonstrance against fresh violations of the treaties it has left unanswered, and it has repeatedly omitted the courtesy of a bare acknowledgment of their receipt. In fact, Turkey has been relying upon the distance of the United States. Perhaps its officials even suppose that the American navy is afraid to risk adventures so far from home as the coasts of the Levant.

General Wallace found it necessary, for the sake of the safety of American citizens in Turkey, to press for some definition of the situation. During nearly five weeks he had been refused a personal interview with the Minister of Foreign Affairs on the ground of "indisposition." During all that time the representative of that Minister declined to enter upon any discussion of the important questions at issue. Four times the Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States had been turned away from the door of the Sublime Porte by the refusal of the Grand Vizier to see him. Each time plausible reasons were assigned which seemed to render any insistence on the part of the General uncourteous. Yet it became daily more evident that all these plausible excuses for declining negotiation on the injuries done by Turkey to American commerce and to American citizens were part of a settled purpose not to redress the wrongs.—*New York Semi-Weekly Tribune*, March 28, 1884.

THE RESULT.

The ten years that have elapsed since the above was written clearly show that what seemed then to be a "settled purpose" has become the settled policy of the Ottoman Government in regard to Americans and their rights in Turkey.

In regard to the outcome of the case of Messrs. Knapp and Raynolds, the humiliating fact must be recorded that not one cent of the indemnity demanded by the United States of America has to this day been obtained. The monster, Moussa Bey, was allowed by the Turkish Government to continue his outrages on the Armenian villages of the great Moosh plain, until his record became so appalling, that under European pressure the Porte summoned him to Constantinople, where he was entertained as the Sultan's guest. He was whitewashed by the courts, but the Sultan was prevailed upon to invite him to make a pilgrimage to Medina at his expense, and there spend the remainder of his days in religious exercises.

APPENDIX B.

U. S. CONSULATES IN EASTERN TURKEY.

The following petition was recently presented to the Hon. Walter Q. Gresham, Secretary of State, and to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, for the establishment of U. S. Consulates at Erzerum and Harpoot. The necessary legislation has been promptly enacted, for which the thanks of all Americans in Turkey is due to His Excellency the President, to the Secretary of State and to members of both Houses of Congress.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 3, 1895.

Apropos to the recent massacre of five thousand Armenians in Turkey, it is clearly inexpedient for the United States to mix up in the Eastern Question. But it is equally clear that *the duty of protecting a large body of native born American citizens constantly subjected to danger, injury and insult in that land is not complicated by any Monroe Doctrine.* In their interests, attention is called to this brief statement of facts, and to a practical request for consular protection.

1. NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS AND INTERESTS INVOLVED.

Distributed in thirty of the principal cities of Asiatic Turkey alone, there is a permanent body of *two hundred and fifty Americans*, not including their children, who hold *over two million dollars* of American property for residence and the use of their educational, medical, publishing and religious enterprises.

These figures do not cover the large commercial interests of Americans in Turkey, for which statistics are not at hand.

2. NATURE AND EXTENT OF THE DANGER TO WHICH THEY ARE EXPOSED.

There are two sources of danger: first, the *lawlessness* of numerous highwaymen who infest the country, and of the fanatical Moslem

population of the cities; and second, the *hostility* of Turkish officials, who have repeatedly failed to restrain, and in some cases have even encouraged attacks upon the lives and property of American citizens.

3. EVIDENCE OF THIS DANGEROUS CONDITION.

So far back as June 29th, 1881, Secretary Blaine, in official instructions to Minister Wallace at Constantinople, wrote:

"Your attention will doubtless be prominently and painfully drawn to the insecurity of the lives and property of foreign travelers in Turkey, and the failures of the authorities to prevent or repress outrages upon American citizens by wayside robbers and murderers, or even to execute its own laws in the rare instances of the perpetrators of such outrages being brought to justice. I cannot take a better text on which to base this instruction, than the accompanying copy of a letter addressed to the President by a number of American residents in Turkey. Its statements are known to be entirely within the truth, and can be verified abundantly from the files of your legation. They show in simple yet forcible language, the insecurity of traveling in that country, and the instances to the number of eight, within the past two years, when American citizens have been robbed and beaten by lawless marauders. On these occasions the lives of the assailed have been at the mercy of the robbers and, in one instance at least, the taking of life preceded the robbery."—*Foreign Relations of the United States 1881.*

The above extract refers to outrages in Western Asia Minor and the vicinity of Constantinople, but it is well known that in the Eastern and interior part of Turkey, where many of us live, the insecurity is greater and has steadily increased, during the thirteen years that have elapsed since the above facts were admitted by the State Department.

The murderous attack by a Kurdish chief in person, which nearly cost Dr. G. C. Reynolds, of Van his life, and for which *no indemnity was ever obtained*, though the assailant was positively identified in court, is reported in full in *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1883, 1884, and 1890.

The arrest and indignities inflicted upon Mr. Richardson of Erzrum, by the Governor-General, for which *no apology even was ever secured*, are related in *Foreign Relations of the United States 1891.*

The burning of Marsovan College by an unrestrained Turkish mob

and the *danger to the lives of many American residents* is found in *Foreign Relations of the United States 1893.*

More cases of injury and insult, may be found in the same official records. But in many other instances it has been felt to be useless and inexpedient to even report them. *The absence of any American representative to substantiate and vindicate our rights on the ground, and the hopelessness of securing anything but further injury by trying to press our claims, often drives us to the humiliating necessity of suffering injustice with scarcely a protest.*

THE REQUEST.

We feel that the condition shown by the above evidence, not to add more, abundantly justifies a renewed request for *some Consular protection in the Eastern part of Turkey, for the American citizens permanently residing there in the prosecution of lawful pursuits.* Our present exposed and helpless condition is clearly set forth in a communication from the United States Legation at Constantinople, to the State Department: "It may not be doubted that the absence of an American Consul at Erzroom leaves our citizens there singularly destitute of means to vindicate their rights and protect their interests; this is the more regrettable as Erzroom is a missionary station of considerable importance, and situated in a province where official protection is most frequently and urgently needed. *The British Consul there is instructed to act 'unofficially' for our citizens, but his right to represent them is not recognized by the Ottoman authorities; the obvious consequence is, that when his good offices are most needed, they are of least avail.*" *Foreign Relations of United States 1891.*

We are thus seen to be cut off from Consular protection of any kind. The nearest U. S. Consul, Mr. Jewett of Sivas, an excellent man, is unavailable for us for three reasons: first, the delay and difficulty in communicating with him on account of our isolation, and the very circuitous post-routes, in case the local authorities were kind enough not to intercept our letters, as they have repeatedly, even the official correspondence of the United States Minister (*Foreign Relations of the U. S. 1893*); second, the distance and methods of travel are such that probably from one to two months would elapse after any outrage, before the Sivas Consul could be notified and arrive; third, the Consul at Sivas could not leave his post without neglecting the large American interests in Asia Minor.

Aside from being needed when special difficulties do occur, it is obvious that the mere presence of a United States Consul on the ground would have a marked effect in *detering* both the lawless and fanatical elements, and the officials, who have never seen the stars and stripes, from repeating acts which have caused much injury to the interests of American citizens, and have been *the occasion of tedious and unpleasant diplomatic correspondence between the two countries.* The expense of living in Turkey is unusually low.

In view of all the foregoing facts, it is urgently requested that American Consuls be located at Erzerum and Harpoot. These cities are large centres of population and of American interests, and the seat of Provincial Governors. They have large commercial and strategic importance, and as good facilities for communication by post, telegraph, or private messenger as the country affords. From Erzerum, Bitlis and Van could also be cared for, while Mardin and Mosul would naturally be under Harpoot, and thus the Americans of that whole territory would be brought within two or three week's journey of Consular protection.

We are from seven hundred to one thousand miles from Constantinople, which means a journey of three to six weeks. The fact that at least *5,000 men, women and children in our midst have been massacred, and this fact kept nearly three months from the civilized world, is a significant hint as to our isolation and danger.* The articles in the last *Harper's Weekly*, Dec. 29, and in the *Review of Reviews*, Jan. 1895, give much light on the situation.

With shame it must be recorded that, although Congress, in January, 1895, authorized United States consulates at Erzerum and Harpoot, the Executive branch of the Government has failed to secure their establishment. Messrs. Chilton and Hunter, both excellent men, were sent to Turkey as properly accredited consuls. But the Porte refused to recognize them, and the United States, as usual, swallowed the insult.

This course so emboldened the Turkish Government, that it proceeded in November, 1895, to burn and bombard the important American settlement at Harpoot.

These soon followed the burning of an American building in Marash.

The timid and tardy manner in which indemnity is now being sought, is likely to lead to greater insolence by Turkey, and the ultimate ruin of American interests throughout the Empire.

APPENDIX C.

DR. HAMLIN'S EXPLANATION.

*(New York Herald, December 20, 1894.)**To the Editor of the Herald:*

A cutting from the *Herald* has been sent to me to-day containing a letter of His Excellency, Mavroyeni, on the Armenian atrocities. I must strongly object to the use he makes of a letter of mine in the Boston *Congregationalist* of last year (December 23, 1893).

The object of that letter was to show the absurdity of the revolutionary plotters. The Armenians are a noble race, but few in number, scattered and unarmed. The Turkish Government has never had the least fear of any such movement. It knows well that there is no place in the Empire where one thousand or even one hundred Armenians could assemble with hostile intent. And besides they have no arms, and they are not accustomed to their use. They would be lambs in the midst of wolves. Every one knows this who knows anything of Turkey outside of Constantinople.

It is to be greatly regretted that the Ottoman Ambassador should attempt to cover up the path of these horrid atrocities which have agitated the whole Christian world and for which Turkey must give account. It were far better to deplore the fact and work for justice and judgment. It may be the time has passed when such deeds of blood and torture, committed upon unarmed men, women and children, can be condoned by the civilized world.

The plots of the revolutionists were harmless as to any effective force, but were very pernicious in arousing fanaticism. The fact that a few hair-brained young men in foreign lands had plotted a revolution was a sufficient reason in the view of Moslem fanaticism for devoting the whole race to destruction. It was this which I feared and it is this which has happened.

Another object of the letter, from which His Excellency has quoted, was to draw attention to the fact that this revolutionary movement is a game which Russia is playing in her own interests. And she has played it well. She has again caught Turkey in her trap. The whole civilized world will now approve of her marching in with force to stop the slaughter of an industrious, peaceful, unarmed peasantry. If Russia enters, it will be with professions of great kindness toward the Sultan. It will be to aid him in his well known benevolent intentions in the government of his Christian subjects! But she will call the Armenians to her standard and will arm and train them and they will prove a brave and valiant soldiery. Some of the ablest generals of the Russian army have been Armenians. Thus armed and trained, with the aid of their Russian allies, they will defend their own homes in the Sassoun or any other district.

Turkey has brought this upon herself. His Excellency is a Greek gentleman, and has a natural sympathy with Russia. His influence has been to magnify the revolutionary plots instead of showing, as my letter did, their insignificance and their Russian character, and has led his government to give to them an importance which seems absurd. The Turkish Government has had sufficient opportunity to study and understand Russia since the Treaty of 1829, and again of 1833. Have her trusted advisers been true to her, or have they betrayed her interests?

The civilized and Christian world awaits with profound and fixed attention the solution of the question whether bloody, fanatical violence or law shall reign over the Eastern regions of the Turkish Empire.

CYRUS HAMLIN.

Lexington, Mass., December 18, 1894.

APPENDIX D.

THE CENSORSHIP OF THE PRESS.

With what intelligence and religious toleration the censorship of the press is conducted may be judged from examples found in an official document:

"The quotation, in religious books, of the words of Scripture for proof or illustration, has been subjected to the will of the censor; and even the printing of religious books has been objected to on the ground that since Christians are graciously allowed to use the Holy Bible, they need no other books of religion. Appeal from the decisions of the censors is practically unavailing. This censor insists that the Scriptural phrase 'Kingdom of Christ' may not be used by Christians. . . .

"The index list of the Bible lessons for 1893 is simply a table of contents prepared by the British Sunday School Union. The censors have refused to permit the publication of this index list, unless some fifty titles are erased, or modified into a form at variance with the matter of the lessons, or expanded to a degree impossible in a brief table of contents, for example: St. Luke iv., 14-21, 'Gospel liberty.' The word 'liberty' must be erased. Jeremiah xxxiii., 7-16, 'Sorrow turned to joy.' This title must be suppressed. Haggai ii., 1-9, 'Encouraging the people.' This title, which refers to the Divine encouragement given to the people in the work of rebuilding the temple in the days of Zerubbabel, must be erased.

"Psalm xxxiii., 10-22, 'Wicked devices frustrated.' This title must be stricken out.

"Esther iv., 1-9, 'Sorrow in the palace.' This title must be suppressed.

"Romans iv., 1-8, 'Saved by grace.' This title must be modified to read 'Saved from sin by grace.'

"Psalm xxxviii., 8-15, 'Hope in distress.' This title must be suppressed.

"Joshua i., 1-9, 'Fear not.' This title can not be allowed.

"Romans viii., 31-39, 'Rejoicing in persecution.' This title must be erased.

"Romans xv., 25-33, 'A benevolent object.' This title cannot be allowed to stand unless the object is stated."—*Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1893.

We learn that four months after the complaint was made the particular points specified above were arranged. But as soon as foreign pressure was relaxed the activity of the Censor revived, and is now more intolerable than ever. A gentleman of long experience and intimate knowledge writing from behind the scenes within a month, states: "The Censorship of the Press is so severe as to amount almost to a prohibition. At Constantinople a most reckless and destructive mutilation of books goes on; and, contrary to the expressed utterances of the Porte guaranteeing religious liberty, Christian doctrines are expunged or changed, so as, at times, to become ridiculous and false. The men appointed as Censors of the Press seem to be utterly ignorant of all Christian literature and history and their object is to make all books conform to the doctrines of Islam.

"The religious weekly of the American Mission in Syria, which had been published for thirty years, was suppressed for a whole year, no reason being given; and when the permit was finally secured, it was accompanied by puerile and humiliating conditions."

Some special departments of literature, such as history and poetry, are forbidden, wholesale, by the Censor. Many of the Censor's decisions and the grounds on which they are based would be most laughable, but for the fact that they are part of an attempt to throttle and starve the hungry and growing minds of millions.

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