

TDV İSAM
Kütüphanesi Arşivi
No

Gazete kütüphanesi
(ingilizce)

TDV İSAM
Kütüphanesi Arşivi
No

150-466-1 THE YOUNG TURKS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE IRISH TIMES.

SIR,—In view of the general disapproval of the present policy of Turkey in Albania, the following memorandum, addressed to the Balkan Committee by Dr. Riza Tewfik Bey, is of great interest. Everyone is asking whether the Young Turks are “a fraud.” The answer is given here from a point of view not often represented—viz., that of the Turkish reformer.

Dr. Riza Tewfik speaks with authority. He left the “Committee Party” in the Turkish Parliament, and at the risk of his life severely criticised his former colleagues. But recent changes in the Cabinet have restored his confidence. He is one of the few Turks who speak English, and is well known in London.—
Yours, etc.,

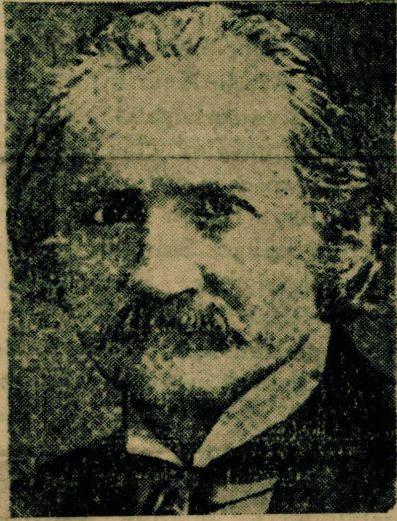
N. BUXTON, Chairman.

ARTHUR G. SYMONDS, Secretary.

The Balkan Committee, 10 Adelphi terrace,
London, W.C., July 24th 1911.

Vatanda ölmek isteyenler...

Refik Halit, Rıza Tevfik, Adnan, Rauf, Sadık B. ler afedilecekler mi?



Rıza Tevfik Bey

Ankara, 1 (Hususî) — Cümhuriyetin onuncu yıl dönümü dolayısıyla umumî af ilânı için Dahiliye



Adnan Bey

Vekâletince bir kanun kaleme alındığı ve bu kanunun meclisin küşadında teklif olunacağını mukadema bildirmiştim.

Son aldığım malûmata göre bu kanun projesi affa mazhar olacakların sınıflarını tasrih etmektedir.

Kanun projesinin metni henüz gizli tutulmakla beraber tahmin edildiğine göre affedilmesi teklif olunacaklar arasında artık siyasetle alâkasını kesmiş ve Türk elinde son zamanını geçirebilmek için



Rauf Bey

Cümhuriyetin yüksek ricaline müteaddit müracaatlarda bulunmuş olan yüz elliliklerden bazıları da dahildir. Bunlar meyanında Refik Halit, Rıza Tevfik, nıralay Sadık, Rauf ve Adnan Beylerin isimleri söyleniyor.

Af herhalde 1933 Kânunusani - sinin birinden sonra yapılmış olan cürümler ashabına şamil olmıyacaktır.

1932 senesi 31 Kânunuevveline (Lütfen sayfayı çeviriniz),

1 Ağustos 1933
(Haber Gazetesi)

TDV İSAM
Kütüphanesi Arşivi
No 574-460-2

to understand that it needs, above all, peace
to enable it to become organised, and to es-
tablish that justice which is the foundation
of all constitutional governments.”



TDV ISAM

Kütüphanesi Arşivi

No 0704534
A POLITICIAN IN DURANCE PLEASANT.

Dr. Riza Tewfik Bey, a prominent Turkish politician, has been serving a sentence of twenty-five days in Constantinople for addressing a club on a political subject without giving forty-eight hours' notice to the police. Inasmuch as the meeting was private the prisoner regards himself as a martyr, but as he is well treated and allowed to receive his friends, he is perfectly happy. Our picture shows the doctor (on the left) bidding "good-bye" to a friend in the prison garden.

Dec. 16.

Dr. Riza Tewfik, Turkish Philosopher, Denies Treachery to Angora but Fears Kemal Moves Too Swiftly in Reforms

Points Out His Agreement in Principle With Most of Changes—Advocated Separation of Sultanate and Caliphate Years Ago but Says Premature Action Lost Friendship of Arabs—Also Favored Republic but Re- grets Adoption of Latin Alphabet.

By H. I. KATIBAH.

In the swift, swirling current of Turkish metamorphosis which has left the world agape with wonder, a lonely Turkish savant, robust and alert despite his 60-odd years, stands unperturbed, like Rodin's statue of "The Thinker," reflecting on the significance of it all and reminiscent of the days when he himself was the fiery spirit of a Turkish revolution which paved the way for the Kemalists' startling reforms.

Dr. Riza Tewfik, the foremost living Turkish philosopher and thinker, rejected and forgotten for the present by a generation which counts hundreds among his pupils who were inspired by his written and spoken words, seeks at last a haven of quiet and rest in this country as did before him his late friend and companion Suleiman al-Bustany, the brilliant Syrian scholar and diplomat.

A wizened little man with the mellow, calm features peculiar to lovers of wisdom and penetrating, distant-gazing eyes that still sparkle with the energy of eternal youth, Dr. Riza Tewfik, with his gray locks and neatly trimmed beard, his slightly corrugated forehead and aquiline nose, gives striking resemblance to Tennyson. His is the type of the introverted extrovert who has taken his full share of responsibility in society, who has accompanied the stream of life but has refused to be carried away with the swift-moving stream of popular opinion.

Naturalized Arab.

Dr. Riza Tewfik calls himself a naturalized Arab, having come to this country from Transjordan, where he had been a self-exiled man and son of King Hussein and ruler of the little principality of the eastern bank of the Jordan River under British mandate. A keen, enthusiastic student of Arabic philosophy and literature, an authority on Omar Khayyam, a pioneer of Western thought in the East, he persists in calling himself a Turkish patriot and vehemently denies charges of treachery or betrayal of his native country hurled against him by latter-day patriots and acute nationalists of the Kemalist school. Yet he holds no malice or rancor against his detractors.

His criticism of the Kemalist regime is one of kindly counsel and caution. At heart he wishes the Kemalist experiment success, but as a student of history and of human behavior he cannot hide his anxiety of what the future holds for his beloved land, for which he had spent his all, the flower of his youth and intellectual energy. He came out of his country penniless, but such is the irony of fate, the ingratitude of republics, that he has been calumniated as a man who sold his country.

In a quiet corner of the foyer of International House, the home and meeting place of foreign students in New York City on Riverside Drive, interrupted occasionally by admiring Turkish, Arab and Persian youth who came to pay their respects to him, and with his charming brunette wife, 20 years his junior, her beaming face turned up to him, and participating now and then in the discussion, Dr. Riza Tewfik unburdened his soul to the writer.

Disgusted by Despotism.

"I am disgusted of all kinds of despotism, above all military despotism," he warned up as our conversation gradually shifted

King Hussein, and it was the first opportunity of the Turkish sage and scholar to be initiated into the desert life about which he had read so much in the ballads of the pre-Islamic Arab poets.

He traveled on the back of stately camels and slept in tents under the star-studded azure canopy of heaven. In Jedda he was received royally along with other Turkish refugees by delegates of the Arab king, and in Mecca he was given the signal honor of entering the Kaaba and washing it with the sacred water from the well of Zamzam. He boasts of being the only philosopher, living or dead, who was ever accorded this rare privilege. After a short stay in Hijaz, Dr. Tewfik proceeded with Emir Abdullah to Transjordan, where ultimately he became a member of the Emir's cabinet, which position he still retains. The head of that cabinet was another Turkish subject, the son of a former Shaikh of Islam.

Dr. Riza Tewfik retains a lively interest in Turkish affairs.

Admires Kemal.

"Mustapha Kemal certainly had the greatest chance," reflected Dr. Tewfik on the meteoric developments in Turkey in the brief period of time he had been away from it, "and he is one of the happiest men in the world since he has been able to realize his aims in his own lifetime. He was quick to grasp the opportunities which came to him. England was paralyzed by the Irish situation and the Greeks were divided into two camps of Venizelists and Constantists, while Italians and French openly helped the Turkish revolutionists.

"Mustapha Kemal ought to be praised for his military acumen and his dashing alacrity in profiting by the circumstances that presented themselves to him. But credit must also be given to the Turkish people for their splendid response, coming as they did from under the crushing blows of a series of wars which had left them white-bled. Their sacrifice is perhaps one of the most sublime 'gestes' in the history of nations."

Analyzing the political and social imports of the Kemalist reforms, Dr.

Tewfik recognized in them three distinct aims. He said:

Favored Separation.

"Mustapha Kemal wanted to separate the sultanate from the caliphate, of which I was also in favor. Even in the first year of the constitutional regime, 1909, I gave what was considered a scandalous speech in which I pointed to the anachronism of the caliphate, a theocracy in principle, under a modern constitutional regime, and received scathing letters from every section of the Moslem world. But this separation of the sultanate from the caliphate means also the separation and estrangement of the Arabs from the Turks, and the idea, most likely was suggested at second hand by foreign diplomacy. It was done a little prematurely, for the Turks were in need of the good will and help of the Arabs."

In the second aim of the Kemalist revolution, the institution of the republican form of government, Dr. Tewfik also finds himself agreeing in principle with Mustapha Kemal, but differing in method and procedure. The Turkish philosopher recalled the dictum of Spencer that while democracy is the best form of government it requires the highest type of the educated man. "Change of form is not sufficient. Nature hates voids and there is no way of jumping the evolutionary steps."

Studied Western Philosophy.

It is in the third of these aims that Dr. Riza Tewfik finds himself in serious conflict with the Kemalists, the implanting of European civilization in Turkey. Here, too, Dr. Tewfik reminded us that he was a pioneer in this field. He was the first one to write text books introducing Western philosophy to Turkish readers. He even showed us a philosophical dictionary in which hundreds of modern philosophic terms were adapted to Turkish with the help of old Arabic philosophic terminology. Dr. Tewfik believes that there is no language, with the possible exception of Sanskrit, which is so rich in philosophical and psychological ideology as Arabic. Not only through books but through extensive travels in England and Europe, representing his government in international congresses and learned societies, Dr. Riza Tewfik came first hand in touch with Western culture and civilization.

He mastered five languages and has corresponded with some of the outstanding scholars and thinkers of England and Europe, and has several academic friends in the United States. He is as thoroughly acquainted with Western culture as anybody in Turkey, if not more. Furthermore, he had always advocated the modernization

of the Turkish language and the introduction of Western methods of culture and study, for which he had been vilified and attacked by some of the very same zealots who enthusiastically support Mustapha Kemal in his present wholesale sweeping reforms. What Dr. Tewfik regrets in the most recent Kemalist reforms, the change of the Arabic to Latin alphabet, is that it sweeps with one gesture all the beautiful heritage of the past and above all the heritage of Arabic culture.

Opposes Language Change.

"Language," he said, "is a symbol of culture. They wish to get rid of the last vestige of the influence of Arabic culture and spirit. It is not possible to do so by a fiat of the will. There is still the language itself, which cannot be eradicated by mere change of the alphabet. At least one-half of the words in the Turkish language are Arabic. To eliminate them all is impossible; it takes a long time. And that is the essential difference between Mustapha Kemal and myself. He is a revolutionist; I am an evolutionist."

Dr. Riza Tewfik is a thorough believer in equality of opportunity for men and women and he was the first Turkish professor to admit women to his classes. One illustrious Turkish woman, Mme. Halide Edib, now lecturing in the United States, was once his private pupil.

The plans of Dr. Riza Tewfik are still vague, but he is keenly anxious to put down in final shape copious notes which he had taken over a number of years and covering various subjects which had occupied his interest.

Besides being an authority on Turkish history and politics, Dr. Tewfik made a special study of desert life in Arabia and Transjordan. He is also an authority on Mohammedan mysticism, on ancient Arabic poetry and other subjects. He is still hale and strong, living a simple life and considered quite an athlete for his age.

President Gerardo Machado y Morales has received the Spanish Order of Military Merit for devoting himself to the intensification of commerce between the two countries.

CHRISTMAS MEANS PRESENTS TO YOU.

But to the 40 most distressed families of Brooklyn it means added misery. No toys for children, no new clothes for Christmas dinner even. Make some wretched presents by sending a check to the Forty Neediest Club.

15-8-11.
Turkish Political Differences.

It is no longer doubted in Constantinople that the MINISTER OF FINANCE and his colleague of the Education Department have left the Cabinet. The retirement of DJAVID BEY will be very widely regretted, for in the opinion of competent judges he has given proofs of rare qualities as a statesman in the arduous work of reorganizing Turkish finance. The two Ministers have found their position undermined by a curious and complicated development within the ranks of the Young Turkish Party and of the Committee of Union and Progress itself. The first signs of the coming changes are said to have been discerned by acute observers so long ago as last autumn, when DJAVID visited Adrianople and Salonika in the company of TALAAT BEY, at that time Minister of the Interior. Certain important groups of officers, it is stated, received these civilian members of the Committee with a cordiality which was significant. Their position, however, and that of their civilian associates did not appear to be shaken in the Committee at the beginning of this year. But by the middle of February students of Turkish internal affairs who were in the capital began to feel that the relations between that all-powerful body and the Government were undergoing a change. When and how exactly that change was brought about, is still a mystery, but the agents who accomplished it appear to have been partly ex-officers and partly some civilians who had lately become powerful within the organization. The ex-officers seem to have been trusted by their comrades on the active list to look after the course of politics, with which the Army had wisely ceased to concern itself directly for a long time back. The combination was formidable, and it was presently rumoured that an active correspondence was going on between the Central Committee and the leaders of the Parliamentary Committee Party. The Committee, it was said, demanded the resignation of the Government at the end of the Session; and soon it began to be suspected that some score of members of the party in Parliament were acting with them.

The movement developed slowly. The sudden arrival of ENVER BEY from Berlin in the second half of March, his interview with MAHMUD SHEVKET, the unexpected announcement of his coming marriage with a niece of the SULTAN, and his abrupt departure for Salonika were diagnosed as symptoms of the progress of the malady of the body politic. It was not, however, until the appearance of the new programme, its provisional adoption by the Central Committee of Union and Progress, and its signature by the whole of the *Bloc* towards the end of last month that the fate of DJAVID and ISMAIL HAKKI, and perhaps of other members of the Cabinet, was sealed. With most of the specific complaints made against the MINISTER OF FINANCE we need not concern ourselves. The failure of the loan negotiations with France was prominent amongst them, but it was not the real cause of his fall. Neither were the more general charges against the Government. The conduct of foreign affairs and the treatment of the Albanians served as grounds for attacking them, but perhaps their chief offence was in the distribution of their patronage. The appointments given to the editors of the *Tanin*, DJAVID's own organ in the Press, were undoubtedly injudicious, and helped to "fill up" the cup. But there were other and better motives at work amongst the new party, though personal jealousies and the disappointment of office-seekers played their part. The more conservative of the Hodjas appear to have felt genuine alarm at the very "modern" views attributed to some members of the Cabinet and to many of their supporters in regard to semi-religious subjects. They look with strong suspicion on "political freemasonry," which has been active and conspicuous in Constantinople since the Revolution; and a large number of Conservatives, both in and out of the Army, are alleged to share their fear of its influence upon other grounds. Of late a good many of the less advanced members of the Lodges are said to have drifted away from them, and the anti-Monarchical tendencies which the Freemasons of Italy and of Portugal have shown do not commend themselves to the loyal subjects of the SULTAN.

Rightly or wrongly, it is believed that MAHMUD SHEVKET himself was not unfavourable to a "Conservative concentration," and when COLONEL MAHMUD SADIK BEY, who belongs to the less progressive group of the Committee, became President of the Constantinople Court-martial, all the elements in opposition took heart. The knowledge that the majority of the Central Committee had been won over, speedily determined the attitude of the time-servers. The *Bloc* wheeled about with promptitude, and the success of the movement was assured. For the present it is decisive. The Radicals and the Freemasons have been routed, by the Moderates and the opponents of Masonry, and the Albanian element in the Committee has won a victory over the Salonika element. It remains to be seen whether they will make a wise use of their success. Upon that its duration may largely depend. It is, we need hardly say, a victory of Conservative Young Turks over Radical Young Turks. It cannot with any truth be described as a victory of reaction. The Committee of Union and Progress remains supreme, but the power has passed from the Left to the Right or to the Centre of that body. Certain Austrian Roman Catholic organs have been exulting very loudly over the crisis as a defeat of the Young Turks and as the end of the Young Turkish movement itself. Their vision has

been perturbed by their natural sympathy with their co-religionists in Albania. We see nothing in the actual situation to suggest that it is likely to have serious ill-effects upon the stability of Turkish institutions, though the changes in the persons at the head of affairs have been frequent enough at Constantinople to make us regret that one more has been added to them.

MEMORANDUM OF RIZA TEWFIK BEY.

"To the Members of the Balkan Committee.

"Unfailing energy has animated Young Turkey during the critical period of political and social changes through which she has passed. Her lack of experience in political and social affairs has been, perhaps, the most serious stumbling-block that a young nation, entering upon a constitutional life, can encounter. This is why we would plead our inexperience as an excuse for a nation which is still struggling for its enfranchisement.

"Although Young Turkey could not foresee all the consequences which might follow the sudden and unexpected granting of a Constitution, yet she is certainly responsible for the misdeeds, and for the illegal and despotic attitude of certain of her most eminent members. On the eve of obtaining a Constitution, when the Committee were desirous of avoiding a state of anarchy, we were forced to turn to the old Pachas who had served more or less honourably under the old régime, and to place in their hands certain duties. These men had undoubtedly the advantage of experience, and had also a certain prestige as administrators. Unfortunately they were doubtful of our success, having already seen the failure of the first Constitution. This scepticism killed all energy in the old Viziers, who were called upon to govern under the most difficult circumstances, and according to principles entirely unfamiliar to them. The Committee, which watched over the fate of the Constitution, was, therefore, forced to adopt a new method. The Cabinet, it was decided, should be formed by the choice of the most capable members of the Parliamentary majority. This system was good, since it seemed the only way of assuring and legalising the responsibility of the Cabinet towards Parliament. But it was impossible to foresee then that the highest form of a Constitution could not be reached under the absolute authority of a Committee. It was also impossible to foresee that this Committee would generate, take advantage of its power, irritate by its jingoistic tendencies and sectarian exclusiveness a greater part of the nation, and finally become rather an obstacle than a help in the advance of constitutional government. Yet this is precisely what occurred.

"From the intrigues of certain ignorant politicians arose the sectarianism which tries to pass for true patriotism. The endless questions of language and instruction, and the crimes committed in the registration of arms, can also be attributed to the same source. And those who protested against these misdeeds and the utterances of such politicians have been banished. The arrogant and despotic attitude of certain members of the Salonica Committee, who, without any nationally recognised or sanctified authority, wish to impose their will on the Government, has succeeded in angering the entire country, without distinction of race or religion. And the great majority of the people have made it clear that since they did not wish to bow to the despotism of Abdul Hamid, they will find no difficulty in getting rid of the despotism of a few so-called politicians, who are using the good faith of the Army to crush liberty and democracy. The members of the Monastir, with Colonel Sadik Bey at their head, have protested actively against the interference of the Committee in political and administrative affairs.

"The Committee, which should have remained simply a 'Committee of Public Welfare,' was forced in order to carry out its political programme, to have an assured majority in Parliament. From this has sprung the militarist organisation of the clubs—a system which has opened their doors to doubtful people who were as eager to serve the old régime as they now are to serve the new.

"All these events prove, to my mind at least, that the Ottoman nation as a whole does not lack energy to crush despotism, whencesoever it comes. The nation has a high sense of its duties, and the Army, in its protest against the interference of certain officers in politics, has proved the same. Turkey—every nationality and religion included—only asks for a little liberty and security, and a little education and justice. But she understands that so long as the magistrates and the police are chosen from the members of the Committee, she can never hope for these. We have decided, therefore, to fight energetically those politicians who are not members of the Government, and whose authority is not legal.

"In view of the facts which convince us of the civic virtues and political aptitude of the whole nation, we look forward with confidence.

"The Albanians themselves, notwithstanding the intrigues which have been carried on among them, desire nothing better than to see that constitutional régime in practice, which has already been given them in theory. They have expressed their loyalty and good faith to our august Sovereign, in whom are united all the elements of the Ottoman Empire.

"As to our external relations, our one desire is to maintain these in a dignified manner with all small countries, and with the great European Powers, and to assume and realise harmony and peace in the Balkans. This seems to us of the Union of Progress the only manner in which to realise the ideal of progress.

"I can assure the Balkan Committee that the Turkish nation has enough commonsense

TDVİSA

Kütüphanesi Arşivi

No 278-100-7

The Troubles in Albania.

Serious news from Albania was received in official quarters at Cettigne yesterday. The great Mirdite tribe, which is said to be able to place ten thousand fighting men in the field, has risen. It would be easy to attach exaggerated importance to the event, which is, however, of some gravity. The Mirdites are much the largest of the Albanian tribes and, unlike their neighbours, they are all of one religious faith, a circumstance which presumably adds to their internal cohesion. They are all Roman Catholics and, like the other Roman Catholics of Albania, they stand under the religious protectorate of Austria-Hungary. They have attacked the Turkish garrison at Alessio, on the south bank of the Drin, we do not yet know with what result, and they have proclaimed their autonomy and have established a provisional Government, with its seat at the old tribal capital of Oroshi, the residence of the princely DODA family. From a military point of view their revolt would have been better timed had it taken place before the large Turkish forces under TORGUT PASHA had been able to engage the tribes on the Montenegrin frontier for so long. Despite the desperate resistance which the latter have offered to the overwhelming numbers brought against them, our Correspondent informs us from Cettigne that they are now nearing the end of their resources. It is as yet impossible to predict what effect the rising of the Mirdites may have upon them. But, even if the delay of the Mirdites in taking up arms should enable the Turkish forces to crush the more northern tribes completely before turning their arms to the south of the Drin, this fresh revolt promises to mark the beginning of a formidable series of new operations for the soldiers of the SULTAN. The country of the Mirdites is reputed to be almost inaccessible, and its inhabitants, who are to the full as warlike as their Mahomedan neighbours, have hitherto formed a practically independent community. As it is the proper thing for a Mirdite who contemplates matrimony to carry off a Mahomedan lady, they have always had fighting enough to keep their hands well in. Why they have deferred their insurrection so long, and why they have decided to rise now is at present obscure. During the Albanian troubles of last year, they refrained from throwing in their lot with the rebels, greatly to the relief of the Turks. It has been known for several weeks past that their attitude was uncertain. PRENK BIB DODA, the titular head of the princely house, steadily urged them to make their submission to the Turkish authorities, and the ABBOT PRUNA DOCCHI exerted his spiritual influence to induce them to do so. But the Mirdites have never been very docile either to their chiefs or to their pastors, and PRENK BIB DODA has less power over them than his cousins CAPTAIN MARFO JOHN DODA and CAPTAIN NU DODA.

In the interests of Turks and Albanians alike it is very earnestly to be hoped that the development of this fresh rising may be arrested by the grant of some concessions to Albanian national sentiment. We have acknowledged all along, from the beginning of the Albanian troubles last year, that the Turks are abundantly justified in vindicating the authority of the Empire in Albania. At the same time, we have always urged upon them that it would be a great mistake to endeavour to hold down the Albanians by the mailed fist. There is no braver race in the Empire, and there are few more intelligent. Their capacity is proved by the long list of illustrious captains, and of yet more illustrious statesmen, they have given to it. There is no reason to disbelieve their persistent contention that they are in no sense disloyal to the SULTAN. They are ready to render to him all that their forefathers rendered to his predecessors, but they declare that they will not render more. It seems hardly wise to endeavour to impose upon them all at once a bureaucratic yoke which is to them incomprehensible and intolerable. If they are to be brought under the general system of administration which is supposed to be applicable to the whole Empire, the process should be very gradual and very gentle. This would be true at any time and in any circumstances. It is particularly true at present and in the actual state of Balkan politics. The Russian Note, which was less uncompromising than the earlier accounts led us to suppose, has had, no doubt, an excellent effect. But the position on the Montenegrin frontier remains delicate, as an incident reported to-day may sufficiently remind us, and the Mirdite rising will not tend to ease it. The borders of Montenegro and of Greece are not the only places where trouble might arise were the troops of the SULTAN, as in the past, locked up in the mountainous interior. These things are, of course, constantly before the eyes of the statesmen at Constantinople. They should lead those statesmen to appreciate very highly the value of concession to a race who have so often fought the foes of the SULTAN, and that at the earliest moment when concession is practicable.

TURKISH CRISIS.

ANOTHER MINISTER RESIGNS

(FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

CONSTANTINOPLE, June 30.

Another Ministerial crisis has occurred with the resignation of Ali Kemal, Minister of the Interior, and Chekret Torgoud Pasha, Minister of War. It appears that these two Ministers are entirely out of touch with the policy of the Cabinet and have been so for some time.

Only a few days ago Colonel Sadik Bey, President of the Entente Liberal Party, who had returned to Switzerland, accepted the position of Minister without portfolio. Three days afterwards he resigned his position. He has now issued a proclamation in the name of the Entente Liberal Party that he can in no manner support the Government policy. It seems probable that the whole Cabinet will resign, which might also mean the withdrawal of the Turkish delegates from Paris. The country is therefore once again in the turmoils of a political crisis. At a meeting of all the Turkish parties, except the Entente Liberal, it was decided to take the necessary steps to hold a General Election and afterwards to form a Coalition Government. It is probable, however, that other events will happen before any such election can be held.

TURKISH MENTALITY.

Considerable interest has been aroused by a telegram from Paris commenting on the demands of Damad Ferid Pasha that Turkey should be reconstructed as before the war. I have often had occasion to point out that the Turks do not recognise that they were defeated. A few may acknowledge it, but with mental reservations, and everybody hopes that something may crop up to prevent the Allies from carrying out the dismemberment of the country. When the announcement of the sinking of the German Fleet reached Constantinople, a flutter of excitement went through the Government bureaux. It was argued that if Germany dared to do that, then she would not sign the Treaty. Therefore, there would be no immediate action in Turkey.

THE SULTAN'S ATTITUDE.

International intrigues in the city have been on such a scale as to lead all parties concerned to believe that Turkey would remain *in statu quo ante*, with the exception of a stronger international control over various Government branches. What is certain is that if the Allies carry out a policy of Balkanising the unconquered portion of Turkey every Turk will take up arms, from the highest to the lowest, not excluding the Sultan, who, in a recent *Irâde*, stated that he placed himself at the entire disposal of the nation, implying that he also would gird on his sword.

It must not be supposed that the Sultan is against the Committee of Union and Progress merely on account of the mess into which the Committee has led the country. He is even more bitterly opposed to it because it has taken unto itself his prerogatives as leader of the nation. Signs are not wanting that even whilst a Delegation is negotiating in Paris, the National Party are preparing for action.

PEACE CELEBRATIONS.

News of the signing of the Peace Treaty was received here at 7.44 last evening, and was greeted by prolonged hootings from the sirens of numerous ships lying in the harbour. All the ships dressed and saluted to-day, and a hundred and one guns were fired from the Allied battleships at mid-day, and the main brace was spliced. Special services of thanksgiving were held in various Christian churches. 276466-3

NEW MINISTERS.

CONSTANTINOPLE, June 30.

The Ministerial crisis appears to have been solved for the present by the appointment of General Ferid Pasha, ex-Minister of War and President of a political group known as the "Party of Safety and Peace," which post, however, he resigns to go to the War Department, while Edhem Bey, Under-Secretary of State for Commerce and Agriculture, has been appointed Minister for the Interior *ad interim*.—Reuter.

THE TURKISH ELECTIONS.

SWEEPING VICTORY OF THE COMMITTEE.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

CONSTANTINOPLE, APRIL 3.

Although Parliament is unlikely to meet before the third week in April it is now possible to predict the complete victory of the Committee of Union and Progress. Not only is the Committee making the fullest use of the advantages given it by its control of the Central Government, the presence of some of its leaders in the Cabinet and the fact that many of the Provincial and District Governors are to all intents and purposes its nominees, but its success has been greatly enhanced by a series of events which neither its friends nor its enemies could have foreseen.

First and most important of these has been the unexpectedly prolonged and stubborn resistance of the Turco-Arab forces in Tripoli and Cyrenaica. In mid-October, when the Italians had landed at Tripoli, Homs, Bengazi, Derna, and Tobruk without meeting with any really serious resistance, and when the Turkish people realized that the garrison of Turkish Africa had been allowed to fall to less than 9,000 effectives, popular indignation with the Committee and its late Grand Vizier, Hakki Pasha, reached its height, and there were grounds for supposing that some at least of the National Volunteers, whom the Committee of Union and Progress proposed to levy at the outset of the war, were meant to defend Committee clubs from the violence of the mob. But the check to the Italian advance caused by the rising of the Arabs of Tripoli on October 23, and by the rapid concentration in Cyrenaica of an Arab force capable of giving the garrisons of Derna, Bengazi, and Tobruk considerable trouble, gave the Unionists their respite. The Committee Press, and especially its Judaeo-Turkish organs, rose to the occasion in brilliant style; the failures of the Turco-Arabs to recapture any of the positions seized by the enemy were sedulously concealed, every outpost skirmish became a glorious victory, and the Turkish readers of the local Press must now be well satisfied to know that, according to the computations of their own Press and telegraphic agencies, over 40,000 Italian soldiers have already perished in Turkish Africa. By a strange irony of fate the Italian Government, which, in its penultimate Note to the Porte laid the responsibility for the Tripoli imbroglio upon the Committee of Union and Progress, has by its hesitant military policy rendered the *maximum* of service to the Unionists. The impeachment of Hakki Pasha and his Cabinet has ceased to be seriously discussed; the murder of Zeki Bey has been forgotten, and even critics of the Committee and all its works can quote the excellent Turkish proverb, "Call the bear 'uncle' till you are safe across the bridge," to justify their refusal to add to the Government's difficulties and their acquiescence in the results of a "khaki election."

THE TURKISH OPPOSITION.

Another unexpected factor in the success of the Committee has been the failure of the Turkish Opposition, composed of the members of the Union and Liberty Party, to create any efficient organization for the elections. Had the committee insurgents of the Hisb-i-Djedid (New Party) broken definitely away from the main body and joined hands with the Opposition to effect something; but, if they had tested Salonika, they mistrusted the non-Turks who formed the bulk of the Independents and Liberals, and were for the most part content to do nothing, till the Salonika Congress, ably managed by committee leaders such as Hadji Adil Bey, whom none could accuse of impiety or of Zicnist leanings, rallied the more moderate round the committee banner and quietly forced the rest to leave the organization. The latter opened negotiations with the Opposition groups, but some time elapsed before a new combination could be formed, owing to the difficulty of finding a programme which would unite genuine Liberals like Riza Tewfik Bey with Clericals, Turks with Greeks and Bulgars, and Socialists like Vlahoff Effendi with Conservatives. The party of "Union and Liberty" formed at last under the presidency of his Highness Damad Ferid Pasha had further difficulties to contend with. Funds were lacking for the purposes of propaganda, the ablest journalistic critics of the committee refused to identify themselves with the Liberty and Union Organization, Damad Ferid Pasha resigned the presidency, according to some accounts on grounds of ill-health, according to others in deference to the wishes of the Sultan, and his successor, Marshal "Deli" Fuad Pasha, lacked his eloquence and prestige. Dissensions and lack of organization did their work at least as thoroughly as the "Governmental interference" by which the Turks of the Opposition explain their defeats in Anatolia and elsewhere. There can be no doubt that the Committee Ministers have "worked" the elections to the best of their ability, and that the new laws further restricting the freedom of the Press and the right of public meeting have been promulgated with the object of bringing the *maximum* of pressure to bear on Opposition journalists and propagandists and hinting to the docile Anatolian voter that he will do well to support a strong-handed Government. But neither these measures nor the imprisonment of ex-Deputies of the Opposition and the suppression of hostile newspapers explain away the fact that, if the indications furnished by the primary and by many of the secondary elections are correct, there will be practically no Turkish Opposition in the next Chamber.

THE NON-TURKS.

The Opposition will be mainly composed of non-Turks, Greeks, and Macedonians.

Committee Party by a very large majority, amounting, according to some computations, to 75 per cent. of the new Chamber, the balance being composed of the representatives of the Christian "millets" with a few Albanians and Arabs, and Turkish observers are now discussing the question whether the Committee Moderates or the Extremists will be in the saddle during the coming Session with far more interest than they display with regard to the results of the general elections.

ber 23, and by the rapid concentration in Cyrenaica of an Arab force capable of giving the garrisons of Derna, Bengazi, and Tobruk considerable trouble, gave the Unionists their respite. The Committee Press, and especially its Judeo-Turkish organs, rose to the occasion in brilliant style; the failures of the Turco-Arabs to recapture any of the positions seized by the enemy were sedulously concealed, every outpost skirmish became a glorious victory, and the Turkish readers of the local Press must now be well satisfied to know that, according to the computations of their own Press and telegraphic agencies, over 40,000 Italian soldiers have already perished in Turkish Africa. By a strange irony of fate the Italian Government, which, in its penultimate Note to the Porte laid the responsibility for the Tripoli imbroglio upon the Committee of Union and Progress, has by its hesitant military policy rendered the *maximum* of service to the Unionists. The impeachment of Hakki Pasha and his Cabinet has ceased to be seriously discussed; the murder of Zeki Bey has been forgotten, and even critics of the Committee and all its works can quote the excellent Turkish proverb, "Call the bear 'uncle' till you are safe across the bridge," to justify their refusal to add to the Government's difficulties and their acquiescence in the results of a "khaki election."

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THE NON-TURKS. 273466-40

The Opposition will be mainly composed of non-Turks, Greeks, and Macedonian Bulgars, Albanians, Armenians, and Arabs. Both at the Ecumenical Patriarchate and at the Bulgar Exarchate, the possibility of an understanding between the Committee Party and the Greek and Bulgar Party organizations was discussed, but the opposition of the Greek Constitutional League and the unfortunate insistence of the Committee leaders that they should themselves name the Greek and Bulgar candidates for election, brought the negotiations to naught. The Young Turks do not appear to have understood that the time of the Christian "Eyvedji" (one who says "yes" to all the Turk tells him) passed with Abdul Hamid. Greeks and Bulgars therefore decided to co-operate with one another and with the Union and Liberty Party, but both Greek and Bulgar votes have been split. The Armenians are also divided; the powerful Dashnaktzutiun Society has announced its intention of supporting the Government, while the Hintchakists are in favour of the Opposition and the Armenians of the "Centre Party," who have lately made their influence felt in the Armenian National Assembly, have adopted an independent attitude. The Albanians of the Nationalist Party have announced their intention of preserving their political independence and seem likely to concentrate their efforts on defeating or on helping the Bulgars to defeat the Serbs in the Vilayet of Kossovo, who appear to have been won over by the Committee. The Arabs, from whom most was expected by the Opposition, have modified their attitude of late; Tripoli is an Arab land, and no race would feel its loss more keenly than the Arabs of the Ottoman Empire, while such events as the sinking of the Turkish coastguard vessels in Beirut Harbour have been worth hundreds of Syrian Moslem votes to the Government. All, therefore, points to the practical disappearance of the Turkish Opposition and to the return of the

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TDV ISAM

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making Turkey the target of their rancour.

The explanation of the errors of British and French diplomats is simple enough. They believe, and they have acted on the belief, that the revolution has altered nothing in the essentials of the Turkish State. Before the revolution each of the Powers strove to "run" the Turkish Government. Since the revolution the British and French Foreign Offices have been trying to "run" the Turkish Government, and have shown a perilous inclination to help into office such men as would be pliable instruments. They have been without faith in or respect for the new Turkey. A better proof of this fundamental scepticism and contempt could not be given than the terms of the projected loan which France is trying to force upon Turkey. Apart from amply profitable financial and industrial conditions, the French Government is demanding: "the definition of the status of the Algerian and Tunisian natives in the Ottoman Empire, and the settlement of the controversy with regard to the Tunisian hinterland." Put into plain language, these last two conditions mean that Turkey should consent to the people of States which have long owned Turkish suzerainty being withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the Turkish courts and placed under the régime of the Capitulations; and that Turkey should concede to France a huge tract of territory which she has always claimed to be Turkish. Even the most elementary acquaintance with the Young Turks teaches that these demands conflict with fundamental principles of the Young Turks' political faith. The professions of the Young Turks may be utterly insincere—we do not for a moment believe that they are—but if the French and the British Governments think fit to base their policy upon such a view the least that could be expected of them is that they should select good instruments to carry out their policy. They have not done that. While Germany has been represented at Constantinople by an Ambassador of extraordinary ability, we have been notoriously weak. If under the circumstances the Triple Alliance is likely to reap the fruits of a long series of our blunders we may feel regret, but we cannot feel surprise.

TDV ISAM
Kütüphanesi Arşivi
No: 17233-42



THE ESTRANGEMENT OF TURKEY.

A day or two ago the "Matin" announced that Turkey and Roumania had concluded a military convention directed against Bulgaria. The report is treated seriously in the French Press, and the "Temps," which is usually well informed, confirms it with modifications. The "Temps" adds with plausibility that the new Turkey-Roumanian accord is the advance guard of a wider convention linking Turkey with the Powers of the Triple Alliance. Without committing oneself to details, one may safely say that the relations of Turkey both to the other Balkan States and to the Great Powers have changed, or are changing, in a way that cannot be gratifying to the best friends of Turkey. After the settlement of the Balkan crisis, precipitated by Austria and Bulgaria two years ago, there was much talk and some hope of the new Turkey entering upon an intimacy with the other Balkan States that might ultimately develop into a formal or informal Federation. The hope may have been Utopian or not, but the end was worth working for: internal union in the Balkans would have saved that distracted region from continuing to be a pawn in the political game of the Great Powers. A military convention between two of the Balkan States, with its edge turned against a third, must mean that the pursuit of the ideal of association has been abandoned. That is a fact to be deplored by those who have the welfare of the Balkan States at heart, and who would wish for them some higher destiny than the perpetuation of barren strife, or of the degradation of dependence upon this or that group of Powers beyond the Balkans. So far as Turkey is concerned we were among those who believed that it would be good for Turkey and a bulwark to the Constitution if she maintained an attitude of equal and impartial cordiality towards all the Great Powers. We should have regretted it if Turkey had thrown in her lot with the group which has come to be known by the sinister name of the Triple Entente; we regret it now that she is gravitating towards the Triple Alliance. The regeneration of Turkey is a task big enough to demand freedom from the distraction of international rivalry and to require universal sympathy and assistance. The nearer Turkey is to one group the further she is from the other; an exclusive friendship with one means a corresponding coldness in the temper of the other.

There can be little doubt that the Young Turks themselves would have preferred the inclusive rather than the exclusive policy, and if things have turned out otherwise and they find themselves looking towards the Triple Alliance there must have been no lack of blundering somewhere. The Young Turks themselves are not free from blame. Their Imperialism has not made co-operation with the other Balkan States easier, and the military chiefs have had a natural inclination towards Germany, the country which educated them. Nevertheless, the larger share of responsibility rests with those who have conducted British and French diplomacy. The events of a year or two ago may be ancient history, but we cannot understand the present without bringing them into consideration. On two important occasions British policy went sadly astray—during the crisis caused by Austria and Bulgaria

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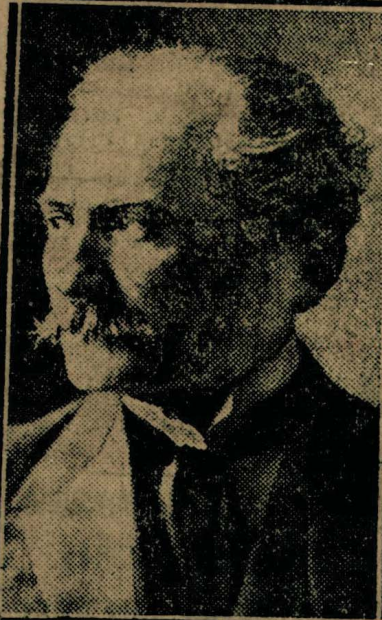
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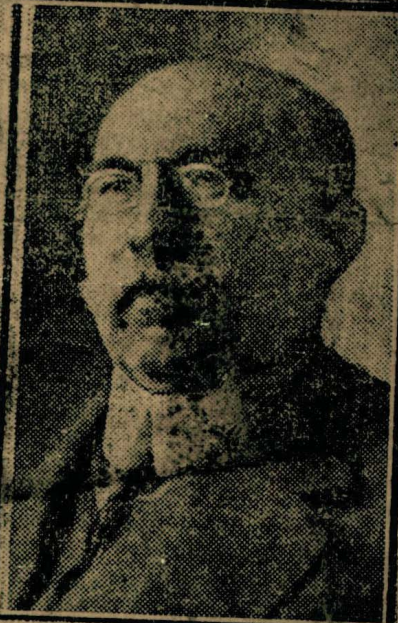
31 MARS 1920



Riza Tewfik bey



Mehmed Haliz bey



Hamdi pacha

LES DÉLÉGUÉS TURCS PHOTOGRAPHIÉS A VERSAILLES

The Turks in Albania.

"There is no Albanian question," the late Count LAMSDORFF is said to have declared to the Italian Ambassador at Vienna in 1903. There is an Albanian question to-day, which but too clearly is assuming very menacing proportions. When it arose last year we foresaw, as no competent observers could fail to foresee, the elements of danger it contained. We pointed some of them out as plainly as ordinary discretion would permit, and we exhorted our Turkish friends, with the earnestness which our friendship for them imposed upon us, to modify their policy in regard to this part of their Empire. It is as proved friends of all that the Turkish revolution was understood to mean that we reiterate those exhortations to-day. The first fruits of the conduct from which we dissuaded them have now ripened. The rest of the harvest will assuredly be of the same kind, if they refuse to change their attitude while there is yet time. The Turks can hardly suspect the disinterested character of our advice. No Great Power and no great nation welcomed with more sincere satisfaction the downfall of the old régime in Turkey and the advent of the new, than the Government and the people of Great Britain. We have no immediate political interest in the Albanian question to-day. Our one desire is to see a settlement of it which will strengthen instead of weakening the Ottoman Empire by reviving the loyalty of a brave and intelligent race who may render in the future, as their forefathers have rendered in the past, the most signal services to the common cause. Our interests are national and selfish interests in the question, and because we cannot with any reason be supposed to have such interests, we can afford to speak out upon it, without fear that reasonable men will misapprehend our motives. Our opinions may be unpalatable to the extreme Chauvinists of Constantinople and of Salonika, but we believe they must commend themselves to the sober judgment of Ottoman statesmen. 273-66-14

It is manifest in the first place that a continuation of the present struggle may at any moment involve Turkey in complications of a very serious kind. The statement from the Turkish Embassy which we publish this morning itself proves how strained are Turkish relations with Montenegro already, and we have had plenty of evidence from other sources to the same effect. A conflict with Montenegro would be no light matter for Turkey to undertake, even could such a conflict be confined to Montenegro alone. But that is utterly impossible, as the Turkish Government must be well aware. War with any Balkan State would almost certainly mean war with most other Balkan States, and almost as certainly would it mean the intervention of the "most interested Powers." Are those contingencies which the rulers of Turkey can contemplate with a light heart? The Turkish soldier will always and everywhere give a good account of himself, with reasonably good leading. But in a struggle of this kind, the forces opposed to him would be formidable and might be overwhelming. Defeat would mean disaster to the new régime, and the fruits of victory would be highly problematical. There is but one way of averting these possibilities, and that is to end the disturbances in Albania. They cannot be ended, it seems to us, by the methods of TOMBUR SHYKXER and his troops. Nothing short of extermination, as we pointed out a year ago, would induce the Albanian mountaineers to submit permanently to the kind of administration which it is sought to impose upon them. But even if we could suppose that the Government of regenerated Turkey could entertain the idea of breaking down Albanian resistance by brute force, it is abundantly clear that a policy of that kind is impracticable. Europe would not, and could not, tolerate it. The significance of the initiative lately taken by Russia, and still more that of the series of articles which have been appearing in the semi-official Press of Austria-Hungary, is unmistakable. The first of these articles, as we remarked at the time, made its appearance the day after KING FERDINAND of Bulgaria was received in audience by the EMPEROR. It was followed by the vigorous article in the *Freundenblatt*, which reminded Turkey, as we reminded her a year ago, that the Albanians must be conciliated and not crushed, and ended by affirming that the special sympathies of Austria-Hungary for the Albanian people entitle her diplomacy to express its views upon a policy that "has led to an untenable situation." Over anxiety to smooth ruffled susceptibilities at Constantinople, Salonika, and in other quarters subsequently inspired utterances which somewhat detracted from the permanent effect of this admonition, but the *Vaterland*, whose language before the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina will be remembered, has denounced the action of the Turks in Albania within the last few days with a violence rarely used by influential journals towards a friendly power.

As the extermination of the tribesman cannot be thought of, all that remains for Ottoman statesmanship is to seek an abiding reconciliation with them. To all appearance it would not be hard to attain. The Albanians have been excellent Ottoman subjects in the past, and they profess their readiness to do for the SULTAN all that their fathers ever did for his predecessors. But it is evident that they will not again take the bare word of the Ottoman authorities as adequate security for the promises tendered to them. They did so before, and, rightly or wrongly, they assert that those promises were not kept. In their present temper it is useless to tell them, as the Turkish Minister at Cattigne was instructed to tell them, that they "must rely on the friendly spirit of the Imperial Government" and that it is "useless for them to impose conditions which would impair the dignity of the Sovereign State." We do not underrate the difficulties of the Turks or place implicit credit in the charges brought against them by the Malissori. But we are sure that the Albanians have no wish to hurt the dignity of what is after all their own Government, as we are sure that ample concessions are dictated to that Government by considerations which cannot be disregarded without the very gravest risks. 273-66-14

13.6.11. Hopes of Peace in Albania.

An end to the long chapter of Albanian risings and Turkish repression would seem to be in sight. The Malissori, who are apparently at the end of their resources, are now, according to reports from both Cettigne and Constantinople, hemmed in between the Montenegrin frontier and TORGUT SHEVKET PASHA'S troops; and the Porte has wisely decided to use this success, not to crush the insurgents, but to initiate measures of conciliation. The Imperial forces will suspend operations for the present, and the Government is actually engaged in considering measures that will obviate any further recourse to violence. The advantages of this course are obvious. In their present position the insurgents could no doubt be destroyed or driven over the frontier; but no merely military success could prevent this rebellion from being succeeded by others, as it itself was the sequel to the revolt of last year and the measures taken to suppress it. A policy of conciliation is necessary if Albania is not to become a permanent source of internal trouble and external complications for Young Turkey. Only yesterday we expressed the hope that the SULTAN'S visit to the confines of Albania and the celebration, at which he will be present, of the victory of Kossovo Polye might be made the occasion for some announcement that would put an end to the present discontent in Albania. In spite of the movement in favour of conciliation reported by our Constantinople Correspondent, we were far from confident that our hope would not be in vain. To-day, however, our Vienna Correspondent reports that the great military review to commemorate the battle that made the Turks masters of the Balkan Peninsula is to be turned into a festival of peace and conciliation. According to the news received in Vienna, an amnesty will be issued, and will include, if possible, the leaders of the present insurrection. There is reason to hope that the amnesty will be followed by other measures calculated to satisfy the Albanians and render improbable any renewal of the insurrection. We shall have to wait a few days yet for the official announcement of the measures contemplated by the Turkish Government; but it is not too early to congratulate them on their decision not to turn a deaf ear to the advice of their friends.

RTG-466-15

PREMIER IN THE MIRROR.

REALITIES BEHIND THE SCENES.

RISE AND FALL.

FIRES WHICH BURNT THEMSELVES OUT.

We publish to-day the first of a series of brilliant character sketches of living public men by an anonymous author who writes under the name of "A Gentleman With a Duster."

This writer's incisive studies in the book entitled "The Mirrors of Downing Street," recently published by Messrs. Mills and Boon, have excited so much interest that it was felt a wider public would appreciate them, and the sketches are reproduced by arrangement with the publishers.

Mr. Lloyd George is the subject of to-day's sketch, obviously drawn by a man who is a master of his art.

Other studies from the same source will follow.

"SUPER-PROMINENCE."

Why Mr. Lloyd George Came Into Place and Power.

"And wars, like mists that rise against the sun, Made him but greater seem, not greater grow."
DARWIN.

If you think about it, no one since Napoleon has appeared on the earth who attracts so universal an interest as Mr. Lloyd George. This is a rather startling thought.

It is significant, I think, how completely a politician should overshadow all the great soldiers and sailors charged with their nation's very life in the severest and infinitely the most critical military struggle of man's history.

A democratic age, lacking in colour, and antipathetic to romance, somewhat obscures for us the pictorial achievement of this remarkable figure. He lacks only a crown, a robe, and a gilded chair, easily to outshine in visible picturesqueness the great Emperor. His achievement, when we consider what hung upon it, is greater

TDVLSAM
GUTHRIE'S ARTIST
Daily News

OCTOBER 27, 1920.

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX.)

THE PREMIER IN THE MIRROR.

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE.)

than Napoleon's, the narrative of his origin more romantic, his character more complex. And yet who does not feel the greatness of Napoleon?—and who does not suspect the shallowness of Mr. Lloyd George?

History, it is certain, will unmask his pretensions to grandeur with a roughness which he may have to regret. He will continue to crowd about the exposed, asking, and perhaps for centuries continuing to ask, questions concerning his place in the history of the world. "How came it, man of straw, that in Armageddon there was none greater than you?"

"SUPER-PROMINENCE."

The oldest-blooded amongst us, Mr. Massingham, of "The Nation," for example, must confess that it was a moment rich in the emotion which bestows immortality on incident when this son of a village schoolmaster, who grew up in a shoemaker's shop, and whose boyish hamlet remote from all the refinements of civilisation and all the clangours of industrialism, announced to a breathless Europe without any pomposity of phrase and with a brief and contemptuous gesture of dismissal the passing away from the zollerns—those ancient, long glorious, and most puissant houses whose history for ages was the history of Europe.

Such topsy-turvydom, such historical anarchy, lifts the figure of Mr. Lloyd George into a sphere so conspicuous that prominence with eminence, and to mistake the slouch of upheaval for the peaks of Olympus.

But how is it that this politician has attained even to such super-prominence? Another incident of which the public knows nothing, helps one, I think, to answer this question. Early in the

other replied, "Lord Morley, I would sooner have your criticism than the praise of any man living"—a perfectly sincere remark, sincere, I mean, with the emotionalism of the moment. His schemes were disordered and crude; nevertheless, the spirit that informed them was like a new birth in the politics of the whole world. A friend of mine told me that he had seen pictures of Mr. Lloyd George on the walls of peasants' houses in the remotest villages.

But those days have departed and taken with them the fire of Mr. Lloyd George's passion. The laboured peroration about the hills of his ancestors, repeated to the point of the ridiculous, is all now left of that fervid period. He has ceased to be a prophet. Surrounded for his intimate friends mainly the new rich, and now thoroughly liking the game of politics for its amusing adventure, he has retained little of his original genius except his quickness.

THE DOOM.

His intuitions are amazing. He astonished great soldiers in the war by his critic, would sit by the sofa of the dying Dr. Jameson, telling how Mr. Lloyd George was right again and again when all the soldiers were wrong. Lord Rhonda, who disliked him greatly, and Mr. Lloyd George put heart into a Cabinet that was really trembling on the edge of despair. It seems true that he never once doubted ultimate victory, and what he said to read the German mind was that the doom that has taken upon him coming in some measure from the amusement he takes in his mental times apt to place upon it. A quick mind may easily be a disorderly mind. Moreover, quickness is not one of the great qualities. It is indeed seldom a partner with virtue. Morality appears on the whole to get along better without it. According to Lander, it is the talent most open to suspicion.

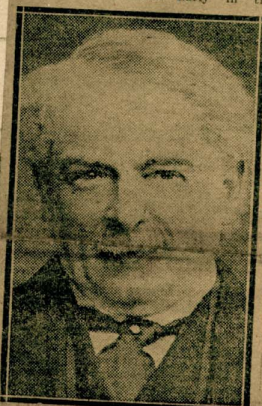
Quickness is among the least of the mind's properties, and belongs to her in almost her lowest state; nay, it doth not abandon her when she is driven from her home, when she is wandering and insecure. The mad often retain it; the liar has it; the cheat has it; we find it on the rascals; and at the earthenware, education does not give it, and reflection takes away from it.

When we consider what Mr. Lloyd George might have done with the fortunes of humanity we are able to see how great is his distance from the heights of moral grandeur.

THE CHANGED NOTE.

He entered the war with genuine passion. He swept thousands of heartening minds into these desperate ventures. There is no man in the world sounded so ringing a trumpet note of moral indignation and moral aspiration. Examine his early speeches and in all of them you will find that his passion to destroy Prussian militarism was his passion to regenerate civilisation on the foundations of morality and religion.

He was Peace with a sword. Germany had not so much attempted to regenerate through which mankind might march almost breaking his heart with despair, and to this day regards Great Britain's Edward Grey was agonising to avert war; but Mr. Lloyd George was among the first to see this war as the opportunity of a great nobler civilisation. Destroy Germany militarily, sweep away dynastic autocracies, and what would result for labouring humanity?



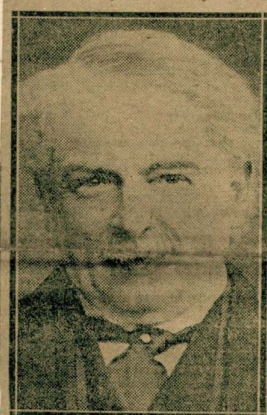
MR. LLOYD GEORGE.

struggle to get munitions for our soldiers a meeting of all the principal manufacturers of armaments was held in Whitehall with the object of persuading them to pool their trade secrets. For a long time this meeting was nothing more than a succession of blunt speeches, showing with an unanswerable eloquence

dismissal the passing away from the world's stage of the Hapsburgs and Hohenzollerns—those ancient, long glorious, and most puissant houses whose history for an aeon was the history of Europe.

Such topsy-turvydom, such historical anarchy, lifts the figure of Mr. Lloyd George into a salience so conspicuous that for a moment he is exempted from the prominence with eminence, and to mistake the slagheap of upheaval for the peaks of Olympus.

But how is it that this politician has attained even to such super-prominence? Another incident of which the public knows nothing, helps one, I think, to answer this question. Early in the



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For a long time this meeting was nothing more than a succession of blunt speeches on the part of provincial manufacturers, showing with an unmaneuverable commercial logic that the suggestion of revealing these secrets on which their fortunes depended was beyond the bounds of reason. All the interjected arguments of the military and official gentlemen representing the Government were easily proved by these hard-headed provincial manufacturers to be mere "pious" and unprofitable for the prosperity of their competing undertakings, to be impracticable if not preposterous.

A TENSE MOMENT.

At a moment when the proposal of the Government seemed lost, Mr. Lloyd George leant forward in his chair, very pale, very quiet, and very earnest.

"Gentlemen," he said in a voice which produced an extraordinary effect, "have you forgotten that your sons, at this very moment, are being killed—killed in hundreds of thousands? They are being killed by German guns for want of British guns. Your sons, your brothers—boys at the dawn of manhood, they are being wiped out of life in thousands! Gentlemen, give me guns. Don't think of your trade secrets. Think of your children. Help them! Give me those guns."

This was no stage acting. His voice broke, his eyes filled with tears, and his hand, holding a piece of newspaper before him, shook like a leaf. There was not a man who heard him whose heart was not touched, and whose humanity was not quickened. The trade secrets were pooled. The supply of munitions was hastened.

This is the secret of his power. No man of our period, when he is profoundly moved, and when he permits his genuine emotion to carry him away, can utter an appeal to conscience with anything like so compelling a simplicity. His failure lies in a growing tendency to discard an instinctive emotionalism for an calculated astuteness which too often attempts to hide its cunning under the garb of honest sentiment. His intuitions are unrivalled; his reasoning powers inconsiderable.

When Mr. Lloyd George first came to London he shared not only a room in Gray's Inn, but the one bed that fellow-countryman. They were both inconveniently poor, but Mr. Lloyd George the poorer in this, that as a member of Parliament his expenses were greater.

NOW ONLY AN ASIDE.

The fellow-lodger, who afterwards became private secretary to one Mr. Lloyd George's rivals, has told me that no public speech of Mr. Lloyd George ever equalled in pathos and power the speeches which the young member of Parliament would often make in those hungry days, seated on the edge of the bed, or pacing to and fro in the room, excited by one passion and directed to one great object, lit by the passion of justice, directed to the liberation of all peoples oppressed by every form of tyranny.

This spirit of the intuitional reformer, who feels cruelly and wrong like a pain in his own blood, is still present in Mr. Lloyd George, but it is no longer the central passion of his life. It is, rather, an aside, as it were a memory that revives only in leisure hours. On several occasions he has spoken to me of the sorrows and sufferings of humanity with an unmistakable sympathy.

I remember in particular one occasion on which he told me the story of his boyhood, it was a moving narrative, for never once did he refer to his own personal deprivations, never once express regret for his own loss of powerful encouragements in the important years of boyhood. The story was the story of his widowed mother and of her heroic struggle, keeping house for her shoemaking brother-in-law on the little money earned by the old bachelor's village cobbling, to save sixpence a week—sixpence to be gratefully returned to him on Saturday night. "That is the life of the poor!" he exclaimed earnestly. Then he added with bitterness, "And when I try to give them five shillings a week in their old age I am called the 'Cad of the Cabinet!'"

THOSE WELSH HILLS.

Nothing in his life is finer than the struggle he waged with the Liberal Cabinet during his days as Chancellor of the Exchequer. The private opposition he encountered in Downing-street, the hatred and contempt of some of his Liberal colleagues, was exceeded on the other side of politics only in the violent mind of Sir Edward Carson. Even the gentle John Morley was troubled by his hot insinuations. "I had better go," he said to Mr. Lloyd George; "I am getting old; I have nothing now for you but criticism." To which the

Wings of his youth, and father despised him, told me how often Mr. Lloyd George put heart into a Cabinet that was really trembling on the edge of despair. It seems true that he never once doubted ultimate victory, and, what is much more remarkable, never once failed to read the German's mind.

I think that the doom that has fallen upon him comes in some measure from the amusement he takes in his mental quickness, and the reliance he is sometimes apt to place upon it. A quick mind may easily be a disorderly mind. Moreover, quickness is not one of the great qualities. It is indeed seldom a partner with virtue. Morality appears on the whole to get along better without it. According to Lauder, it is the talent most open to suspicion.

Quickness is among the least of the mind's properties, and belongs to her in almost her lowest state; nay, it doth not abandon her when she is driven from her home, when she is wandering and insane. The mad often retain it; the liar has it; the cheat has it; we find it on the race-course and at the card-table; education does not give it, and reflection takes away from it.

When we consider what Mr. Lloyd George might have done with the fortunes of humanity we are able to see how great is his distance from the heights of moral grandeur.

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He entered the war with genuine passion. He spent thousands of hectic hours in the study of the German mind, the force of that passion. From the first no man in the world sounded so ringing a trumpet note of moral indignation and moral aspiration. Examine his earlier speeches and in all of them you will find that his passion to destroy Prussian militarism was his passion to recreate civilization on the foundations of morality and religion.

He was Peace with a sword. Germany had not so much attempted to drag mankind back to barbarism as opened a gate through which mankind might march to the promised land. Lord Selkirk was almost breaking his heart with despair, and to this day regards Great Britain's entrance into the war as a mistake. Sir Edward Grey was agonising to avert war; but Mr. Lloyd George was among the first to see this war as the opportunity of a nobler civilisation. Destroy German militarism, shatter the Prussian tradition, sweep away dynastic autocracies, and what a world would result for labouring humanity!

This was in 1914. But soon after the great struggle had begun the note changed. Hatred of Germany and fear for our Allies' steadfastness occupied the foremost place in his mind. "Victory or the abyss," and the possibility of victory had become the sole aim. He became more and more reckless. There was a time when his indignation against Lord Kitchener was almost uncontrollable. For Mr. Asquith he never entertained the violent feeling, but gradually lost patience with him, and only decided that he must go when procrastination appeared to jeopardise "a knock-out blow."

And the end of it was the humiliation of the General Election in 1918. Where was the new worthy then? He was conscious only of Lord Northcliffe's menace. Germany must pay and the Kaiser must be tried! There was no trumpet note in those days, and there has been no trumpet note since. Imagine how Gladstone would have appalled to the conscience of his countrymen! Was there ever a greater opportunity in statesmanship? After a victory so tremendous was there any demand on the generosity of men's souls which would not gladly have been granted? The long struggle between capital and labour, which tears every state in two, might have been ended; the heroism and self-sacrifice of the war might have been carried forward to the labours of reconstruction; the wounds of Europe might have been healed by the charities of God almost to the transfiguration of humanity.

VAUNTED MILLENNIUM.

Germany must pay for the war!—and he knew that by no possible means could Germany be made to pay that vast amount without the gravest danger of unemployment here and Bolshevism in Central Europe. The Kaiser must be tried—and he knew that the Kaiser never would be tried.

Millennium dipped below the horizon, and the child's riding-whip which Lord Northcliffe cracks when he is overtaken by a fit of Napoleonic indignation assumed for the Prime Minister the proportions of the Damoclesian sword. He numbered himself among the Toucoupinambos, those people who have no name for God and believe that they will get into Paradise by practicing revenge and eating up their enemies.

I can see nothing sinister in what some people regard as his plots against those who disagree with him. He tries, first of all, to win to them to his way of thinking; if he fails, and if they still persist in attacking him, he proceeds to destroy them. It is all part of life's battle. But one would rather that the Prime Minister of Great Britain was less mixed up in journalism, less afraid of journalism, and less occupied, however indirectly, in effecting, or striving to effect, editorial changes. His conduct in the last months of the war and during the election of 1918 was not only unworthy of his position but marked him definitely as a small man. He won the election, but he lost the world.

It is a great thing to have won the war, but to have won it only at the cost of more wars to come, and with the domestic problems of statesmanship multiplied and intensified to a degree of the gravest danger, this is an achievement which cannot move the lasting admiration of the human race.

THE WINGS OF HIS YOUTH.

The truth is that Mr. Lloyd George has gradually lost in the world of political makeshift his original enthusiasm for righteousness. He is not a bad man to the exclusion of goodness; but he is not a good man to the exclusion of badness. A woman who knows him well once described him to me in these words: "He is clever, and he is stupid; truthful and untruthful; pure and impure; good and wicked; wonderful and commonplace; in a word, he is everything." I am quite sure that he is perfectly sincere when he speaks of high aims and pure ambition; but I am equally sure that it is a relief to him to speak with amusement of trickery, cleverness, and the tolerances or the cynicisms of worldliness.

I detect in him an increasing lethargy both of mind and body. His passion for the platform, which was once more to him than anything else, has almost gone. He enjoys well enough a fight when he is in it, but to get him into a fight is not now so easy as his hangers-on would wish. This great man is tired, and, after all, evolution is not to be hurried. He loves his arm-chair, and he loves talking. Nothing pleases him for a longer spell than desultory conversation with someone who is content to listen, or with someone who brings news of electoral chances. Of

CHRISTMAS NUMBERS.

The new annual of the Christmas numbers is the "PUNCH" ALMANACK, with Mr. E. T. Reed, Mr. George Morrow, Mr. Raven-Hill, Mr. Baumer, Mr. Partridge, and other clever caricaturists in their best form. Mr. Reed makes fun of the Conference. Mr. Partridge makes fun of some of our peers who look as if they had to earn their living and support some popular favourite for the reason of the House. Funniest of all are Mr. Partridge's "New Games for Christmas," such as "home Alpine sports."—The ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS again departs from its old tradition by giving numerous agreeable coloured pictures by M. Dulac and others, including two comic sketches by Mr. Lawson Wood, as well as many Christmassy drawings in black and white. The stories are pleasant and readable, especially Mr. Vernède's witty tale of an old butler and Mr. M. Lindsay's episode from the Franco-Prussian War. A large extra plate in photogravure from Mr. Elsley's painting of children and dogs is given with the number.—HOLLY LEAVES, the Christmas issue of the "Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News," has with it a large and good photogravure after Orchardson's well-known "Surrender of Napoleon," or "Napoleon on the Bellerophon." A story by Mr. Eden Phillpotts of American prisoners of war on Dartmoor and a satirical country-house sketch by Mr. Marriott Watson may be noted among the contents of this attractive and well-illustrated paper.—The SPHERE is very elaborately illustrated in colours. A two-page picture of medieval folk going to church shows Mr. George Morrow in a new light. Mr. E. H. Leigh has three clever illustrations of the Arabian Nights. A fantastic French story of the Pyramids has some ingenious illustrations by R. Lelong.—The SKETCH is avowedly frivolous, and contains a great many comical drawings. Mr. Heath Robinson's set of "New Christmas Customs" is whimsical, and there are some amusing designs for Christmas cards by Messrs. G. E. Studdy, H. M. Bateman, and F. Buchanan. Two pastels by Léandre are reproduced in colour. The best story in the number is "The Haunted Sixteenth Hole," with pictures by Mr. Frank Reynolds. A sentimental plate after Bisson is printed separately.—The QUEEN, as usual, publishes an enlarged ordinary number with some mild fiction and a set of studies of Christmas at various epochs by Father Benson, Mr. Calthrop, Mrs. Rawson, Mr. Frankfort Moore, and others, all suitably illustrated from old pictures and prints. There are one or two coloured pictures and an extra plate after a domestic scene by Mr. Elsley.—The LADY Christmas number is made up in a similar way, but gives more space to fashion plates.—T. P.'s CHRISTMAS WEEKLY opens with an amusing outburst by Mr. G. K. Chesterton on "What is Right with the World," and contains a number of clever short stories by Mr. C. K. Burrow, Mr. Jack London, and others. A good carbon print of Whistler's portrait of his mother, at the Luxembourg, forms an acceptable gift to the readers of this entertaining weekly.—"Truth's" Christmas number, entitled THE CRANKIAD, is once more an elaborate satire in verse which we found dull. The coloured cartoons poke fun at Tariff Reform and Women's Suffrage, and there are many witty line-drawings.

The PALL MALL MAGAZINE gives over 200 pages of stories, articles, and pictures, forming an attractive miscellany. The stories by Mr. Gibbon, Miss Pope, and Mr. Dorrington are noteworthy; so are the comic sketches by Mr. Hassall, Mr. Will Owen, and Mr. Brock, and the Alpine photographs.—CASSELL'S MAGAZINE, which is almost as bulky, has a frank and interesting article by Mr. W. H. Mills on "The People of Manchester," with pictures by Mr. Eutcliffe, who, like the author, gives prominence to the foreign element in our city and to the amusements which are so liberally provided. Short stories of unusual merit by Mr. Pett Ridge, Mr. J. J. Bell, and Mrs. G. de Horne Vaizey may be found in this number, with some spirited plates in colour by Mr. Aldin, Mr. Hassall, and others.—SCRIBNER'S maintains its high standard in fiction. Miss K. H. Brown's "The Bonnet with Lilies" and "The Consul," by Mr. Harding Davis, are very good examples of the typical American short story. A well-illustrated article on the portraits of J. E. Blanche is contributed by Mr. Christian Brinton. Some good coloured plates vary the black-and-white work.—The LONDON gives a long and interesting story of a boy's treasure-hunt on the Spanish Main by "Q," a short story by Sir Gilbert Parker, and a historical sketch of Roman Britain by Sir Conan Doyle.—The ROYAL and the ALL-STORY MAGAZINE abound in fiction, tempered in the "Royal" by some occasional articles.—The ART JOURNAL issues an extra number of permanent value, in which Mr. Rudolf Dircks reviews the later work of Alma-Tadema and gives a complete list of his 400 pictures and drawings. "The Golden Hour," "A Silent Greeting," "Hopeful," and "Melodie del Mare a dell' Amore," all late pictures, are very well reproduced in colours. There is a good etching by C. O. Murray of "A Silent Greeting," and there are many process reproductions. As a record of the later and better-known work of the popular artist this number is distinctly welcome.

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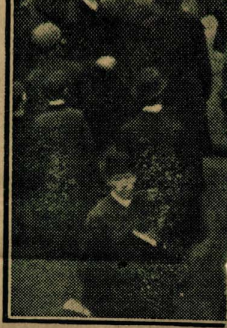
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MANIFESTATION FRANCO-TURQUE

Les députés ottomans, qui, depuis quatre jours, sont à Paris, assistaient, hier matin, dans les salons du restaurant Ledoyen, au banquet que donnaient, en leur honneur, les membres de la Ligue franco-turque.

M. Dubief, ancien ministre et député de Saône-et-Loire, qui présidait, avait, à sa droite Moum pacha, ambassadeur de Turquie, et, à sa gauche, Suleiman-Bostani efendi, député de Beyrouth. Il avait en face de lui MM. Pichon, ministre des Affaires étrangères; Talaat bey, député d'Andrinople, vice-président du Parlement turc; Beauquier, député, et Steeg, consul général de France.

A la table d'honneur, joliment décorée de roses et d'hortensias, avaient pris place : Jean Tueni bey et Mouhieddin bey, secrétaires de l'ambassade de Turquie à Paris; MM. Cochery, Albin Rozet, Félix Chautemps, François Arago, Buisson, Puech et

Lafferre, députés; Jules Nicolausse et Stamboulion, vice-présidents de la Ligue; Godard-Desmarest, secrétaire général; Séon, consul de France à Salonique; Mascraud et Emile Chautemps, sénateurs, etc.

Au dessert, M. Dubief a levé son verre en l'honneur de l'ambassadeur ottoman et de la Turquie régénérée et confiante dans l'avenir. M. Pichon a dit qu'il était heureux de saluer les représentants d'une grande nation amie et les a félicités d'avoir créé, à Constantinople, une ligue turco-française qui contribuera, puissamment, à développer les relations commerciales entre les deux pays.

Des allocutions très applaudies ont été ensuite prononcées par Riza-Tewfik bey, député d'Andrinople; Ismaïl Hakki bey, député de Bagdad; Albin Rozet, député de la Haute-Marne, et Stamboulion, avocat, l'un des vice-présidents de la Ligue franco-turque.



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THE TURKISH CHAMBER. COURTS-MARTIAL AND CIVILIANS.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

CONSTANTINOPLE, APRIL 11.

An interesting debate took place to-day in the Chamber of Deputies when the Grand Vizier answered the interpellation of Lutfi Fikri Bey, who demanded an explanation of two points—first, why an *employé* of the Ministry of Evkaf was brought before the Court-martial instead of the Civil Courts, on the charge of defaming the Minister; and secondly, by what authority the Court-martial suspended news papers. Hakki Pasha replied to the first point that the language of the *employé* in question was of a reactionary tendency. In regard to the second point, he declared that the Government considered that Courts-martial were necessary for public security.

The most notable incident in the debate which followed the Grand Vizier's explanations was the outspoken speech of Dr. Riza Tewfik, formerly one of the leading members of the Committee *Bloc*, in which he denounced the practice of the Committee, which had grown up since the events of last April, of dubbing any opposition or opponent as reaction and reactionary. Addressing Mahmud Shevket Pasha, the orator defiantly said:—"If you consider an opponent a reactionary, I am a first-class reactionary, and you can hang me." The sally was greeted with loud cheers by the House, which, however, was obviously unwilling to push matters to extremes, and voted confidence in the Government by 183 to four.

FONDÉ EN 1879

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OUR TURKISH VISITORS

RECEIVED BY THE KING AT
BUCKINGHAM PALACE.

LUNCH WITH THE SPEAKER.

TOV ISAM
Mehmetian Arslan
1910

The nineteen delegates from the Turkish Government who are now on a visit to this country have their headquarters at the Hôtel Métropole.

The Entertainment Committee has a special office, from which the hundred and one arrangements in connexion with the enjoyment of the visitors are being made. This committee comprises the Earl of Onslow, Lord Weardale, Lord Lamington, Lord Newton, Mr. St. J. Loc Strachey, Mr. George Lloyd, Mr. J. A. Spender, Sir Douglas Straight, Mr. G. P. Gooch, M.P., Colonel Percy Massy, Mr. Noel Buxton and Halil Halid Bey, hon. treasurers; and Mr. Watford Selby, hon. secretary.

Yesterday the delegates were the guests of Sir Edward and Lady Stern. First of all they took tea at 4, Carlton House-terrace, and subsequently drove in Sir Edward's coach and in motors to Ranelagh, where they dined with their host and hostess under the most charming conditions. They were greatly delighted with the surroundings, and Colonel Percy Massy told a representative of the "Westminster Gazette" that several of them declared that the enjoyment of their first English Sunday had exceeded their most sanguine anticipations. "One of their leaders," added Colonel Massy, "said to me: 'We were told that London was very dull and stupid on a Sunday, but we have not found it so.'" Other guests of Sir Edward and Lady Stern present with the delegates included Sir Cyprian and Lady Bridge, Lady Watts, Colonel Percy Massy, and Halil Halid Bey.

The delegates were early astir this morning, and, before breakfast, many of them took a stroll along the Embankment, to join the curious crowds that were even then assembling to watch the submarines and the torpedo-boats. At eleven o'clock, accompanied by Mr. Selby, they paid a visit to the Foreign Office, and at one o'clock lunched with the Speaker at the House of Commons. Amongst those present were the Turkish Ambassador, Sir Edward Grey, and Lord Percy. At three o'clock, accompanied by the Earl of Onslow and Colonel Percy Massy, they were received by the King at Buckingham Palace, and they received special invitations from the London County Council to attend the Fire Brigade inspection by his Majesty later in the day.

To-morrow the delegates will pay a visit to the Fleet. They will leave Fenchurch-street by special train at 10.45 a.m., arriving at Southend at 12.3. A special tram will be in waiting to convey them to the pier-head, where they will embark for the "Bellerophon," on board of which they will lunch with the captain and officers at 12.45. They will then be shown over the ship, and in the battleship's pinnaces will afterwards make a tour round the warships moored off Southend. They will return to London at 4.28 p.m.

The Banquet of Welcome.

Already the representative character of the public banquet of welcome, which will take place to-morrow evening at the Hotel Cecil, is assured, and it will certainly prove to be a truly remarkable manifestation of goodwill from all sections of the Empire. The Earl of Onslow, who will preside, is an ex-Minister and former Governor of New Zealand. Lord Curzon, who will deliver the speech of the evening, is an ex-Viceroy of India. Lord Strathcona will attend on behalf of the Dominion of Canada; Mr. Ameer Ali on behalf of India; Sir Somerset French and the Hon. A. Dobson will represent the Agents-General of Colonial dependencies.

Parliament itself sends the Duke of Hamilton and Brandon, the Earls of Denbigh, Bessborough, and Ronaldshay, Lords Lamington, Weardale, and Newton, Sir John Kennaway, Sir Christopher Furness, Sir John Bazzan, Major Meysey-Thompson, Mr. Burdett-Coutts, and Sir Edward Sassoon.

The Universities will be represented by the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, Professor Sir Frederick Pollock, Dr. A. J. Butler, Sir W. M. Ramsey, Professor E. G. Browne, Mr. D. G. Hogarth, Professor T. W. Arnold, and Halil Halid Bey; Literature and Art by Mr. St. Loc Strachey, Mr. E. F. Knight, Mr. Zangwill, Mr. George A. MacMillan, Sir Edwin Pears, Sir Percy Banting, Mr. Felix Moscheles, Sir Douglas Straight, Mr. H. W. Massingham, and Mr. A. G. Gardiner; the Civil Service by Sir H. Babington Smith, Mr. C. D. Cobham, and Mr. H. J. Maynard; the Army by Colonel Count Gleichen, Colonel Sir John Young, and Colonel E. I. Granet; and the Crimean war veterans by General Sir R. Biddulph, General Sir W. H. Seymour, General G. H. Moncrieff, and Sir Henry Green, Adjutant-General of Turkish Cavalry during the campaign.

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