

THE
RIGHTS OF
AMERICAN CITIZENS
IN TURKEY



BY
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J. M. Deane

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CITIZENS IN TURKEY

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BY
EVERETT P. WHEELER

“ Their duty to interfere becomes imperative in cases affecting
their own citizens.”—*Daniel Webster.*

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ADDRESS.

THE position of American citizens in Turkey differs widely from their position in the Christian countries of Europe. Ever since the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks it has been the policy of the Turkish Government to maintain as absolute a separation as possible between Mussulmans and Christians. Other Governments have sought to amalgamate the various elements of which their population was composed. The Turks, on the contrary, have treated the communities within their borders as possessing a certain measure of independence, and subject to a considerable degree to their own laws and customs. When the Turks conquered Constantinople, they found that the Genoese community in that city had obtained from the Christian Emperor

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concessions which recognized their right to be governed by Genoese law and to be judged by judges of their own selection. The conquering Sultan continued these rights to the Genoese. The French subsequently obtained similar concessions. Other nations in their turn asked and received similar rights, and the Treaty of 1830, which was the first negotiated between the United States and Turkey, extended to American citizens the same privileges. It was agreed that they should not be treated in any way contrary to established usage, and that they should be tried, in case of criminal charges, by their own Minister or Consul, "following in this respect the usage observed towards other Franks."

The Treaty of 1862 extended to American citizens the rights of citizens of the most favored nations.

The Protocol of 1874,¹ after referring to the law which had given to foreigners the right to hold real estate, provides as follows :

"The law granting foreigners the right

¹ *U. S. Treaties and Conventions*, pp. 824 to 826.

of holding real estate does not interfere with the immunities specified by the treaties, and which will continue to protect the persons and the property of foreigners who may become owners of real estate."

It then declares that the residence of American citizens residing in Turkey is inviolable, and not to be entered by the agents of the public force, without the assistance of an American Consul.

Judge Lawrence, in his edition of Wheaton's great work on *International Law* (2d edition, page 24, note 6), thus states the position of our citizens in Turkey :

"It is in the immunity from the legal jurisdiction of foreigners in Turkey and in the intervention on account of the Christian subjects of the Porte, that the administration of justice is distinguished from that of Christendom."

The Act of Congress of June 22, 1860,¹ confers upon our Ministers and Consuls in Turkey judicial authority "for the exercise of jurisdiction in civil cases where-

¹ 12 U. S. Statutes, 72; U. S. Rev. Stat., § 4125.

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in the same is permitted by the laws of Turkey or its usages in its intercourse with the Franks or other foreign Christian nations."¹

Three Secretaries of State of the United States, Bayard, Blaine, and Foster, have officially claimed for our citizens in Turkey the rights just stated, and have committed our Government to the position that the American colony in Turkey occupies an entirely different position from any other body of foreigners in the United States of America.² The analogies which have sometimes been drawn by the friends and supporters of the Turkish Government in this country are hence without foundation. It is true that the civilized Christian countries of Europe, as well as this country, have for many centuries claimed the

¹ In the case of *Ross vs. McIntyre* (140 U. S., 585), the Supreme Court of the United States states the position which our Consuls in Turkey occupy under these laws and treaties, and gives with great clearness the reason for the law upon that subject.

² Secretary Bayard to Mr. Straus; *Foreign Relations U. S.*, 1887, pp. 1094-1101.

Secretary Blaine to Mr. Hirsch, *ibid.*, 1892, pp. 527, 528.

Secretary Foster to Mr. Thompson, *ibid.*, 1892, pp. 609-613. Same to Mr. White, at London, *ibid.*, 1893, pp. 305, 306. See Appendix, p. 31.

absolute right to exclude foreigners who for any reason were obnoxious to them. The courts of the United States have recognized that the exercise of this authority is purely a matter for the executive or legislative power of the Government, and that it is a subject with which the courts have no right to interfere. But in these very decisions, the principle is also recognized that the American courts would protect and enforce rights which had been vested under a treaty, and they also concede that if the Government of the country of which the foreigners excluded are subjects is dissatisfied with this action, it can make complaint to the executive head of our Government, or resort to any other measure which in its judgment its interests or dignity may demand.¹

In this same case the rule stated by Mr. Justice Washington in *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel vs. New Haven* (8 Wheaton, 464, 493) is quoted with approval.

“If real estate be purchased or secured under a treaty, it would be most mis-

¹ *Chae Chang Ping vs. U. S.*, 130 U. S., 581.

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chievous to admit that the extinguishment of the treaty extinguished the right to such estate. In truth, it no more affects such rights than the repeal of a municipal law affects rights acquired under it."

The necessary conclusion from what has been stated is that by capitulations, treaties, and usages extending back to the very beginning of the present Turkish Empire, the rights of foreigners in Turkey have been, with the full consent of the Turkish Government, placed on an entirely different footing from that upon which they rest in civilized countries.

The Turks would have no more right to expel the professors and students from the American College near Constantinople than the city of New York would have to expel the clerks from the Post-Office building. The ground on which it was built originally belonged to the city, and was subject to its control. It sold this ground to the United States, just as the ground on which Robert College stands was sold to that institution. The treaties and usages referred to rest on the agreement of nations. They make this college,

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and the Americans who live in it, subject to American law and to be judged by American judges. It is just as much the duty of the American Government to protect them as it is to protect the clerks in the New York Post-Office or the trader in the Territory of Alaska, parts of which are as far from New York as Constantinople. Russia has no more right to interfere in one case than the other. This is, I know, an anomaly, but as Edwin Pears, a distinguished English barrister and the President of the foreign Bar at Constantinople, says :

“Such a judicial anomaly is now only possible or tolerable in a country where foreigners have, and are entitled to have, no confidence in the administration of the Government as the protector of life and property.”

American citizens in Turkey to-day, exclusive of those employed in gainful trade, live upon and use property which is valued, at a low estimate, at nine million dollars. Lord Chatham said that Hanover should be as dear to England

as Middlesex. I say that the homes of American citizens in Turkey ought to be as sacred as their homes in New York. These citizens have gone there with the full consent of the Turkish Government, have engaged in enterprises most beneficial to large numbers of Turkish subjects.¹ The question now distinctly presented to the American Government and the American people is whether the rights which have been thus acquired shall be maintained and vindicated by our Government. These rights have been most seriously infringed during the last few years ; our heroes there are in hourly peril ; and everything points to further outrages unless our Government shall take the most prompt and decided action.

We must stand by the brave words of Bayard in 1887. American citizens " must be protected in their persons and property

¹ The increase in prosperity and comfort that has been produced by the presence and instruction of our citizens in the Turkish provinces are fully stated in Mr. Bayard's instructions to Mr. Straus. *Foreign Relations U. S.*, 1887, p. 1100. At a moderate estimate the seven million dollars that American citizens have invested in philanthropic enterprises in Turkey have benefited that country to the extent of a hundred millions.

by the representatives of their country's law and power ; and no internal discord must be suffered to impair them." ¹

It is not, however, to the treaties and the rights secured by them alone that we can appeal in this connection. It is true that in the absence of such treaties we could not ask anything more for our citizens than that they should be treated according to Turkish law. This is the least we can ask. I will show you that the wrongs which have been committed upon our citizens in Turkey are a distinct and absolute violation of Turkish law.

In the celebrated Hatti Scherif, a decree made by the Sultan, November 3, 1839, absolute security to life and honor, and equal and just taxation, are guaranteed to every person. "Absolute protection is granted by us to all the inhabitants of our Empire, in life, honor, and property."

The Sultan swears most solemnly to observe this guarantee. He proceeds further to decree that all persons accused of crime shall have a fair trial. "No

¹ Secretary Bayard to Mr. Merrill, July 12, 1887. *Foreign Relations U. S.*, 1894, p. 1167.

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sentence of death shall be pronounced except after such a trial, and with the approval of the Sultan. Every person is forbidden under any pretext to put to death, either publicly or secretly, any individual whatever, except in pursuance of such a judicial procedure.

“Every public officer who shall be convicted of having violated this law shall be himself punished by death, without any regard to his rank, his character, or his reputation, all, without any exception, being considered equal before the law.”¹

This decree was confirmed by another, called the Hatti Humayoun, issued by the Sultan, February 18, 1856, and formally communicated by him to the great Powers of Europe at the Treaty of Paris, in March of the same year.”²

The latter decree confirms the immunities and spiritual privileges which have been granted to Christian and other non-Mussulman communities, and absolutely guarantees religious freedom to all persons residing in the Ottoman Empire. Article

¹ Holland, *European Concert in Eastern Question*, pp. 323-329.

² *Ibid.*, p. 246.

28 provides that foreigners may acquire real estate.¹

The Treaty of Berlin, made in 1878, embodied in brief form the privileges guaranteed by these two decrees of the Sultan.²

The Ottoman Constitution, promulgated by the present Sultan in December, 1876, repeats these guaranties. Article 11 of that instrument is as follows:

“Islamism is the state religion. While guarding this principle the state will protect the free exercise of the other faiths professed in the Empire, and maintain the religious privileges granted to the different communities, on condition that public order and morality should not be disturbed.”³

The fact that these promises have not been kept by the Turkish Government has been recognized in repeated documents of the most solemn character. In the protocol of March 2, 1877, signed at London by the six great Powers of Europe, the following language is used:

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 330-333.

² *Ibid.*, p. 306, Articles 61, 62.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 335.

“If the condition of the Christian subjects of the Sultan should not be improved in such a manner as to prevent a recurrence of the complications which had hitherto periodically disturbed the peace of the East, the Powers thought it right to declare that such a state of affairs would be incompatible with their interests and those of Europe in general.”¹

The Sultan himself recognized this fact by agreeing to Article 61 of the Treaty of Berlin :

“The Sublime Porte engages to carry out, without further delay, the ameliorations and reforms which are called for by local needs in the provinces inhabited by Armenians, and to guarantee their security against the Circassians and the Kurds.”²

In the Anglo-Turkish convention of the same year, the following clause is to be found :

“The Sultan promises to England to introduce necessary reforms, to be agreed upon later between the two Powers, into

¹ Spry, *Life on the Bosphorus*, Part 2, p. 251 (pub. 1896).

² *Ibid.*, p. 311.

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the government of the Christian and other subjects of the Porte in these territories" (Turkey in Asia).

The actual conduct of the Turkish Government is very well described by Sir George Campbell in his book on *The Eastern Question* (pp. 99-103) :

"The Sultan, released from the control of the laws of his own faith, and encouraged to borrow large sums of money which he has spent recklessly, has become more and more a despot of the very worst type, combining all the vices of Asia and Europe. The bureaucracy, which has succeeded to the *régime* of the old Turks, has become more and more corrupt, unstable, and intolerable."

McCoan says that the palace itself is "the source and the type of all that is most ignorant, corrupt, and capriciously despotic, in such a form of government."¹ These very decrees which have been referred to, assume on their face the evils of unjust taxation and the corrupt administration of justice which the Turkish Government has repeatedly promised to

¹ *Our New Protectorate*, vol. ii., p. 202.

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reform, and which promises, with equal regularity, have been violated.

The wrongs to our own citizens in Turkey, for which no reparation has yet been made, are both to person and to property. They have been arrested and deprived of their liberty, and driven from their homes without a trial, and in absolute violation of the provisions of the treaty which have been before referred to. They have been attacked by mobs, their houses and property have been destroyed, and their lives put in most imminent peril. Our flag has been torn down and trampled under foot. All this we know from eye-witnesses. Not only have these actual crimes been committed, but the Turkish Government has refused to grant the usual exequatur to Consuls who have been duly accredited by the American Government. In this way we have not only been deprived of the administration of justice which the treaty promises, but the Porte has also evaded the observation, and consequent exposure, which would have followed from the presence of officials of the United States Gov-

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ernment on the occasion of the outrages complained of.

The wrongs which have thus been perpetrated upon our own citizens are greatly aggravated, and the insult to the honor of our Government has been greatly intensified, by the insolent indifference of the Turkish Government. No apology has been made for the wrongs which our citizens have suffered; the very existence of these wrongs has been denied. No punishment has been inflicted upon those who committed them, and in many cases these persons have been promoted, and thus publicly rewarded and encouraged to commit other and worse offences in the future.

Under these circumstances, and in view of the absolute disregard of the courteous remonstrances of our Government, what now becomes our duty? Before we answer this question, let us consider for a moment the condition and character of the Turkish Government, as described by impartial observers.

It perhaps is unnecessary to go back as far as the year 1876 in support of this

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proposition, but yet the report of the American Secretary of Legation, Eugene Schuyler, made to our Government in that year, is so clear that it is worth while to notice that he then made an investigation into the massacres in Bulgaria, and that he found that the outrages committed by the Turkish officers and troops, as well as by the Turkish mob, upon the Christians in Bulgaria, were fully established. These resemble in all particulars those which have been committed in Armenia during the last two years. The promise of the Sultan's decree, that every individual should be protected in person, in honor, and in property, was violated in every particular. No respect was paid either to age or sex. The life of man, the honor of woman, were alike a prey. Whole congregations were burned alive in their churches. Then as now, men like Hopkinson Smith found the hospitality of Turkish officials so attractive that they shut their eyes to the facts. The same denials, followed by the same excuses, were made then that are made now. The result was the war with Russia, which

ended in the independence of Bulgaria. These excesses naturally result from the condition and character of the Turkish Government. This is thus described by Baker, in his book on *Turkey*, page 172, referring to the year 1877 :

“The most wanton and unbridled extravagance reigned at the Palace . . . the corruption produced by the foreign loans found its way into every artery of the state and poisoned the very existence of the country.”

What more could be expected of a Government which still sells the collection of taxes to the highest bidder, and in which the proverb is current, that “the public treasury is a sea, and he who does not drink of it is a pig.” The courts are absolutely corrupt. The office of a judge is the subject of purchase. “From the highest to the lowest court of every province, corruption is the rule, hardly veiled by even a pretence of purity.”¹

Palgrave thus describes² the position of a Turkish judge :

¹ McCoan, *Our New Protectorate*, vol. ii., p. 205.

² Palgrave, *Eastern Questions*, page 85. See Appendix.

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“ But if the circumstances of his position tend of necessity to make him servilely pliant with the great and powerful, they are not less calculated to make him venal and unjust towards other classes. The absence of all effective control in a country where not only orderly and official superintendence, but even the restraint of public opinion, so powerful in Europe by the means of newspapers and intercommunication, is wanting, facilitates any amount of corruption ; and if opportunity makes thieves, few Mahometan Kadees are likely long to remain honest men.”

It must be obvious to any one who reflects upon the condition and character of such a Government as that which is thus described by friends, and not by foes, that no redress can be expected from merely diplomatic representations. When these have been made, and either refused or neglected, the remedy for a self-respecting Government is to resort to reprisals, and to send to the offending country an armed force sufficient to compel not only redress for the past but security for the future. This is what President Grant

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did in 1876, when our citizens in Salonica were threatened by a mob.¹ This is not war. No attempt would be made to bombard Turkish towns or destroy Turkish property. On the contrary, any force that might be sent by the United States Government to Turkey would go to protect the rights of our own citizens. Such protection would undoubtedly benefit all their neighbors. When order is restored in any place, all who live in that place are benefited by it. But our primary object necessarily must be to protect the rights of our own citizens.

We do not claim, as the Governments of Europe justly may under their treaties with Turkey, the right to protect the native subjects of the Ottoman Empire. We may perhaps be justly surprised that crimes which have been committed in violation of the Treaty of Berlin have not yet led any of the parties to that treaty to enforce the rights guaranteed by it. But

¹ *House Exec. Doc.*, 170, 44th Cong., 1st Sess., vol. xiv.

Such intervention by the United States has not been infrequent. As recent as 1894, marines from the *Marblehead* were sent ashore at Bluefields to protect our citizens there.—*Foreign Relations*, 1894, Appendix I., pp. 303, 304.

the neglect of other Powers cannot justify our own. We have kept aloof from foreign entanglements, and are not bound by consideration for the balance of power in Europe, which has been the subject of so much solicitude for centuries, and of which the Treaty of Berlin was the natural outcome. All these are matters foreign to our consideration. All the more are we free to protect the rights of our own people. Mr. Webster expressed this in his terse way, when he said of the United States :

“ Their duty to interfere becomes imperative in cases affecting their citizens.”¹

One argument that is used against the course proposed is, that if we should interfere to protect our citizens, the Turks would arise and massacre them all. This is precisely the argument that the apologists for the unspeakable Turk used in 1876, when the Bulgarian massacres were fresh in men's minds. Russia interfered, no massacres followed, and there have been none in Bulgaria ever since. The average Turk may be a fanatic, but he is

¹ Webster's *Works*, vol. vi., page 437.

not a fool. He knows that protection to Americans is no menace to his religion. Our troops would not plunder mosques, nor kill Mollahs, but would respect the Mohammedan religion, as we ask them to respect ours.

But again, this argument is contradicted by all experience. A few resolute and well disciplined men will quell the maddest mob. It is a mob, encouraged, it is true, by Turkish officials, but still a mob, that we would suppress. A thousand rioters would disperse before one company of American marines. One weak American woman, Corinna Shattuck, held a thousand of them at bay, at Oorfa, and her steadfast courage finally prevailed over their madness. If one woman could do that, what might not a thousand Americans accomplish.

The main argument that has been used in opposition to the course suggested, has been its difficulty. To this I answer: This Government is strong enough to do anything that it ought to do. The only way in which a Government can ever secure the respect of other nations is by

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a moderate and dignified, but firm, vindication of its rights and those of its citizens. We ask nothing but what is right. We will submit to nothing that is wrong.

It is all the more extraordinary that this argument should be used when the absolute weakness of the Turkish Government is considered. As McCoan justly says :¹

“The bonds of mere dynastic loyalty are everywhere loosened, and the prestige even of the Caliph is fast becoming powerless to induce patience under the leaden misrule that comes home to every peasant from the Bosphorus to the Persian border.”

When the French, in 1860, landed six thousand troops at Beyrout, the Turkish Government offered not the least resistance. On the contrary, the landing of those troops produced the immediate punishment of the ringleaders in the crimes which brought about that expedition, and has secured protection to the life and liberty of those in Syria, for whom the French Government interfered.

¹ *Our New Protectorate*, vol. ii., p. 219.

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When the Russians made war upon Turkey in 1877, the Turks made a gallant defence of Plevna, and offered some resistance to the march of the Russian armies, but this resistance was speedily quelled, and nothing prevented the Russians from taking possession of Constantinople but the interference of the European Powers. This interference Russia might naturally have expected, but certainly we have no reason to expect it.

The best answer, however, to this argument is to be found in a passage from the *Memoirs* of General Grant, describing his experience at the beginning of the war with the South:¹

“As we approached the brow of the hill from which it was expected we could see Harris’s camp, and possibly find his men ready formed to meet us, my heart kept getting higher and higher, until it felt to me as though it was in my throat. I would have given anything then to have been back in Illinois, but I had not the moral courage to halt and consider what

¹ *Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant*, vol. i., pp. 249, 250.

to do ; I kept right on. When we reached a point from which the valley below was in full view I halted. The place where Harris had been encamped a few days before was still there, and the marks of a recent encampment were plainly visible, but the troops were gone. My heart resumed its place. It occurred to me at once that Harris had been as much afraid of me as I had been of him. This was a view of the question I had never taken before ; but it was one I never forgot afterwards. From that event to the close of the war, I never experienced trepidation upon confronting an enemy, though I always felt more or less anxiety. I never forgot that he had as much reason to fear my forces as I had his. The lesson was valuable."

It must be obvious to every reflecting person that the Turkish Government could have nothing to gain, and everything to lose, by forcible resistance to reasonable demands of the United States Government. Its character and conduct for a century must convince every one that nothing but a prompt display of force will

protect or secure our rights. But the same experience ought to convince us that this display of force will secure them. The Turkish Government is almost bankrupt. The very excesses of misgovernment, the reckless system of plunder under the form of taxation, have impoverished its resources, and brought its troops to the verge of mutiny. Its generals are incompetent, its whole administration inefficient. It has all the Oriental skill in excuses, procrastination, and deception, but has shown itself for many years entirely inadequate to effective action. It will unquestionably yield to the reasonable demands of our Government the moment it knows that we shall, by all the power we possess, insist upon compliance. The question is not alone the payment of money. Our chief interest is that our citizens shall enjoy for the future the rights and property which are guaranteed to them by the most sacred treaties. The one thing that can secure such protection is the summary and condign punishment of the offenders. Nothing less than this can satisfy the claims

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of justice, or secure to our innocent and heroic citizens in Turkey that security by day, and that peaceful slumber by night, which a great Government like ours has obtained for them by agreement, and which it is strong enough to guarantee.

APPENDIX.

THE position taken by the Government of the United States in reference to the rights of our citizens in Turkey, which is referred to in the text, page 8 will appear more fully from the following extracts from official despatches :

Secretary Bayard to Mr. Straus, *Foreign Relations United States*, 1887, pp. 1094 to 1101.

After a very full historical account of the growth of the principle of extra territoriality of foreigners in Turkey, and showing that the policy of the Ottoman Government towards foreigners there has been similar in many respects to the policy of the United States towards the Indians, Mr. Bayard (page 1096) quotes with approval the opinion of Attorney-General Cushing that "commerce in the treaty with Turkey means any subject or object of residence or intercourse whatsoever."

He then quotes with approval the position taken by Secretary Marcy, that servants and other inmates of Consular and other European establishments in Turkey are entitled to the same protection as our citizens there. At page 1100 he describes the work of our missionaries in Turkey :

"Their services have not been so much devoted

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to theological propagandism as to rendering services as physicians, teachers, and social reformers. . . . For more than half a century Turkey has seen these funds flow in, these schools built, these hospitals in beneficent operation, these children in process of instruction." Turkey "has not only not interfered with them or objected to them, but it has repeatedly protected them against unlawful aggression on the part of ill-disposed persons."

Page 1112 he quotes from Edwin Pears: "Such a judicial anomaly is now only possible or tolerable in a country where foreigners have, and are entitled to have, no confidence in the administration of the Government as the protector of life and property."

Foreign Relations U. S., 1892, pp. 527, 528, Secretary Blaine to Mr. Hirsch.

This despatch approves Secretary Bayard's instruction to Mr. Straus, quoted above, states the rights of American citizens in Turkey under treaty and usage substantially as stated in the text, and adds: "It will, now, as always, be your duty and your care to protect American citizens in the full and free enjoyment of their domiciliary rights, and to protect them therein from any illegal, arbitrary, unreasonable, and vexatious interference on the part of the Ottoman authorities."

Foreign Relations U. S., 1892, pp. 609-613, Secretary Foster to Mr. Thompson, Nov. 29, 1892, contains a full statement of rights of our citizens in Turkey. At p. 610 he says:

"It was inevitable that in the course of centuries the policy of autonomous extra territoriality should

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become expanded, and that rights and privileges, born of the inherent prerogatives of non-Mussulmans, and acquiesced in by long and continuous usage, should become vested rights, sanctioned by the Ottoman power and *indefeasible* by any act of the Turkish sovereign."

Page 611 :

"It appears to be a characteristic of Turkish policy to seek to limit foreign rights and privileges in detail, and to wear away by the slow process of erosion, what it may not overcome by power. The opposition to the domiciliary rights of aliens oftenest takes this course."

Page 613 :

"But on the other hand the obstructive opposition of some provincial *Vali* or municipal authority has only too often withstood the peremptory orders of the central power. Recognizing this, it is for the Ottoman Government to make its supreme will respected by its servants. Failure to assure promised redress through domestic channels can but cast disrepute upon the efficiency of His Majesty's power, and even in extreme cases might warrant impugment of the good faith of the Turkish Government, besides giving to an aggrieved state the right to enforce reparation by fitting means, as fully as though the refusal of justice were the act of the sovereign power."

Foreign Relations, U. S., 1893 (pp. 305, 306). Secretary Foster to Mr. White at London encloses copy of last despatch and instructs White "to convey to the Secretary of State for Foreign

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Affairs of Great Britain the cordial disposition of the Government of the United States to act concurrently and harmoniously with the Government of Great Britain in the protection and vindication of the rights of the citizens or subjects of either nation in Turkey."

CORRUPTION TURKISH ADMINISTRATION.

(See *ante*, page 21.)

Prof. A. H. Keane in *Encyclo. Brit.*, vol. xxiii., p. 654, Art. "Turkey." Part II., "Geography and Statistics," div. "The Empire."

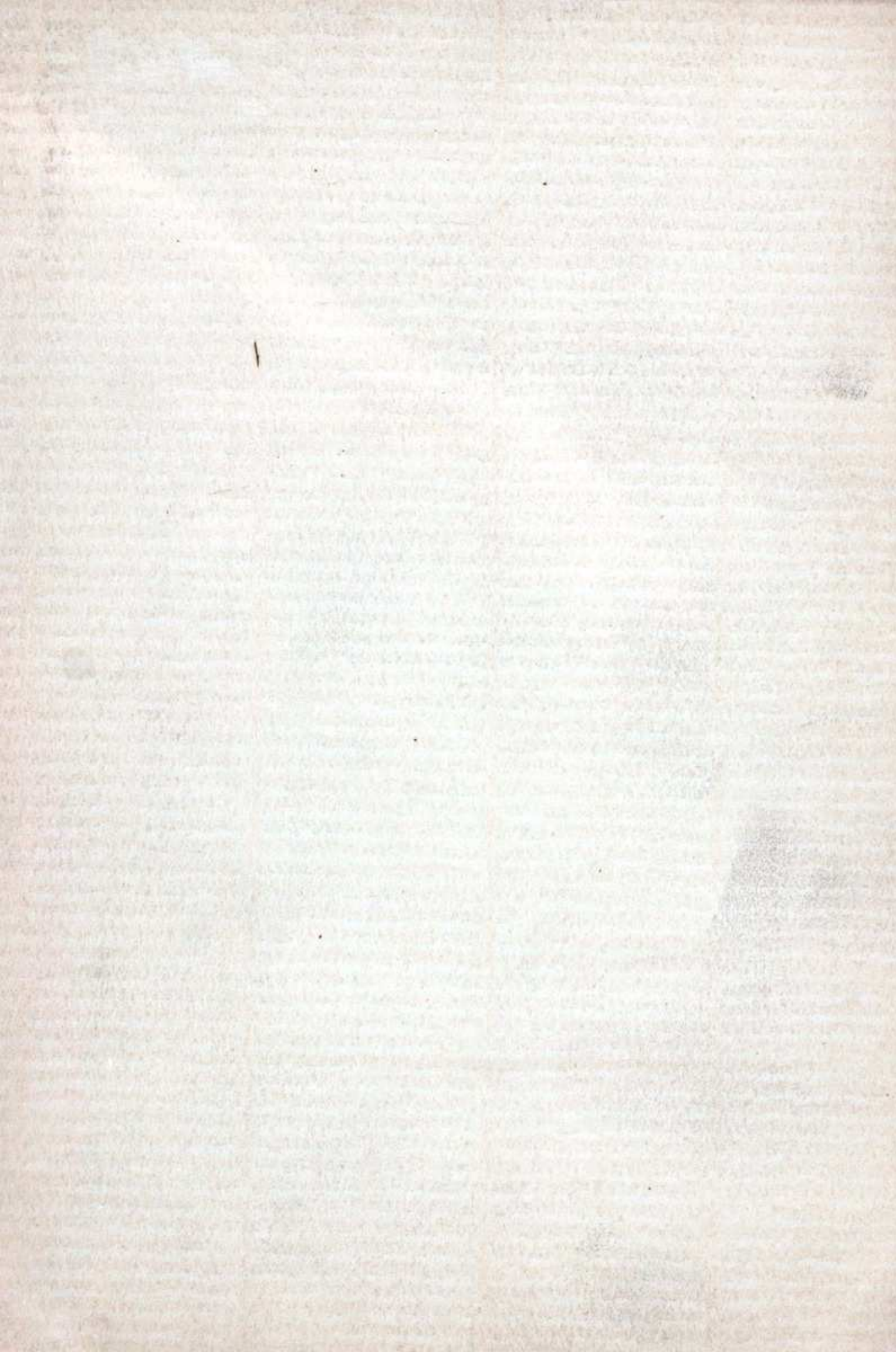
"All these officials unite in their own persons the judicial and executive functions, and all alike are as a rule thoroughly corrupt, venal in the dispensation of justice, oppressors of the subject, embezzlers of the public revenues, altogether absorbed in amassing wealth during their mostly brief and precarious tenure of office.

"Major-General F. T. Haig, who travelled through the heart of Yemen in the winter of 1886-87, thus speaks of the administration in that almost exclusively Moslem province: 'The fiscal system of the Turks, if it were really carried into effect, would be by no means bad; but like every other department it is ruined by the utter corruption that prevails in every branch of the administration from top to bottom. No more eloquent expounders of the evils and hopelessness of their whole system are to be found than the Turks themselves, as I found from conversation with two or three of their

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own officials.' (*Proc. R. Geog. Soc.* August, 1887, p. 487.) Mr. G. P. Hevey also, Consul at Erzeroum, reports that in a part of that province the sheep-tax for 1885 was collected three times over. 'On the first occasion the real number had been underestimated, and the collector came again, and finding that such was the case, made the villagers pay the whole sum of 14,000 piasters (9000 had been levied on the previous occasion), instead of the difference, on the ground that they had cheated the Government in not declaring their whole stock. A third time a collector visited the *caza*, and, when the villagers could produce no receipt that the tax had been paid (for none had been given) a third time the full sum was taken.' " (*Cons. Rep.*, July, 1887, p. 3.)

These citations are selected mainly from English authorities, because the English have, on the whole, been friendly to the Turkish Government, and have said all in its favor that could be said. The testimony of our own citizens, much of which has been given to me personally, is unanimous that the Turkish administration is now as bad as, if not worse than in 1887.



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