

THE AFTERMATH OF THE DEPORTATION:  
THE ARMENIAN POPULATION AFTER THE GREAT WAR  
AND THE JAMANAK DAILY

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THE AFTERMATH OF THE DEPORTATION:  
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AND THE JAMANAK DAILY

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The Aftermath of the Deportation:  
The Armenian Population After the Great War  
And the Jamanak Daily

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## Thesis Abstract

Ari Şekeryan, “The Aftermath of the Deportation: The Armenian Population After the Great War And the Jamanak Daily”

The aim of this thesis is to explore what the Ottoman Armenians had experienced after the forced deportation which was ordered by the Ottoman government. In recent historiography, the vast majority of the academic studies shed light mainly on the Armenian deportation, focusing on the facts that make the events whether a genocide or a simple relocation. This thesis is motivated by a curiosity to fulfill the absence in the recent historiography of what native Armenians had suffered just after the deportation and what they had witnessed in Anatolia. It is largely based on the articles published in the Jamanak daily which had an uninterrupted print run during and after the wartime. After examining the Armenian existence in Anatolia before the war and the wartime events that drastically reshaped the Armenian community in the first chapter, the thesis focuses on the effects of Armistice of Mudros in the Armenian and Ottoman communities in the second chapter and then analyzes the general mood of the Armenian community after the Great War in the third chapter by reflecting the articles and reports published in the Jamanak daily mainly in 1918-1919, thus just after the ceasefire agreement. The consequence of the research carried out within this thesis show that the Armenian community continued suffering pain after the deportation because of the lack of sufficient assistance and of the political chaos and uncertainty. With this aspect, this thesis has been a modest contribution to the already established historiography.

## Tez Özeti

Ari Şekeryan, “Tehcirin Sonuçları: Birinci Dünya Savaşı Sonrası Ermeni Nüfusu ve Jamanak Gazetesi”

Bu tezin temel amacı, Osmanlı Ermenilerinin Osmanlı Hükümeti tarafından zorunlu göçe tabi tutulduktan sonra neler yaşadıklarını incelemektir. Mevcut tarih yazımında görünen o ki, konu üzerine yapılan çalışmalar çoğunlukla tehcir üzerine yoğunlaşmıştır ve yaşananların bir soykırım yahut bir göç hadisesi olduğu kanıtlanmaya çalışılmıştır. Bu tez, Ermenilerin tehcirden sonra neler yaşadıklarına ve neler çektiklerine dair mevcut tarih yazımında var olan bu büyük boşluğu doldurma merakından doğmuştur. Tez çoğunlukla o dönemde yayın hayatına ara vermeden devam eden Jamanak gazetesindeki haber ve raporlardan yola çıkarak oluşturulmuştur. Savaştan önce Anadolu’daki Ermeni varlığı ve savaşta yaşanan ve Ermeni halkının durumunu sarsıcı bir şekilde etkileyen olaylar birinci bölümde incelendikten sonra, Mondros Ateşkes Anlaşması’nın Osmanlı ve Ermeni toplumundaki etkileri ikinci bölümde incelenmiştir. Üçüncü bölüm ise, Jamanak gazetesinden yola çıkarak savaş sonrası Osmanlı Ermenilerinin genel durumunu 1918-1919 yıllarını dikkate alarak analiz etmeyi amaçlar. Bu tez çalışmasında yürütülen incelemeler göstermiştir ki yetersiz yardım ve politik kaos ortamıyla birlikte hüküm süren belirsizlik, Osmanlı Ermenilerinin savaş sonrası dönemde de acılar yaşamasına neden olmuştur. Bu tez, bu yönüyle, mevcut tarih yazımına sade bir katkı niteliğindedir.

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The spirit of searching for the truth in life and also in history will always remain deep in my heart and mind, because, “you will know the truth, and the truth will make you free.”

*To the memory of my mother*



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## A NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

Throughout this thesis, to simplify the process, I have not transliterated words in Armenian according to the Library of Congress and American Library Association Romanization tables. Instead, I chose to transliterate the words in accordance with the Western Armenian dialect. For example, instead of writing “Zhamanag”, I used “Jamanak”, and “Tashnaksutyun” instead of “Tashnagts‘ut‘iwn” and “Hnchak” instead of “Hnch‘ag”. I have not refrained from using this method because I believe it is more understandable and common among the Western Armenians. Transliterations of names and translations from Western Armenian to English and from Ottoman Turkish to English are mine unless stated otherwise.

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

The Revolution of 1908 represents a crucial turning point in the Late Ottoman history. Following the dissolution of the ancient regime, like other ethnic groups, Armenians also enjoyed a period of prosperity. Yet, Armenian politicians and prominent figures always had a suspicion toward the Committee of Union Progress and its deeds regarding the Armenian issue. For instance, Mihrdat Noradounghian, an Armenian intellectual from Istanbul, wrote an article in the Armenian daily newspaper, *Puzantion*, on 29 August 1908, one month after the Revolution. He concluded his piece as following: “Whatever the revolution did not do, the counterrevolution will be able to do. There is only one way in order to prevent the occurrence of this contingency (bloodshed) and that is discretion, modesty, wisdom and patience. New freedom is always fragile. Let us be careful.”<sup>1</sup>

Furthermore, Commander Antranik, wrote in his dairy the following sentences:

In 1908, the Young Turks proclaimed a weak constitution and managed to convince the European powers as well as the Armenian revolutionaries. Hundreds of ‘idealist revolutionaries’ who were living in exile started to return Constantinople. In almost every demonstration, they cried that they were equal ‘Ottomans’. At the very first day of the Revolution, I met with Malumyan (Agnuni), Rupen Zartaryan and Vahakn. I begged for them not to go to Constantinople. Nevertheless, they paid no attention and went to Constantinople immediately. Afterwards, a race was started among the Armenian intellectuals to become a deputy in the new parliament. Those who had two liras monthly salary started to earn fifty liras per month. ‘Comrade Talat’ and ‘comrade Enver’ became their best friends.

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<sup>1</sup> Mihrdat Noradounghian, “*Azadudian Kine*”, *Puzantion*, 1 September 1908. Quoted from Bedros Der Matossian, “From Bloodless Revolution to Bloody Counterrevolution: The Adana Massacres of 1909”, *Genocide Studies and Prevention* 6:2 (Summer 2011), pp. 152-173.

Fifty days before the Adana massacres I met with Agnuni, Vartkes, Zartaryan and many others who were the prominent members of Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Tashnaksutyun). They again tried to shape my opinion defending that the Young Turks do not allow a massacre against Armenians. I said:  
– I do not believe that the Young Turks do not plan a massacre against Armenians since there are still one hundred sixty thousand armed Kurdish forces that are located from Diyarbakır to the Persian border.  
Agnuni turned to me and said:  
– You are so pessimistic; I have never seen you optimistic for a while.  
After this conversation I said goodbye and left to Egypt. After forty five days I heard that a massacre occurred in Adana region. Immediately I wrote a letter to Agnuni:  
– Now, who is right my friend? The pessimist or the optimist? Know that ‘comrade Talat’ will annihilate all of you at his first opportunity.<sup>2</sup>

Interestingly, Commander Antranik wrote above-mentioned sentences in 1909 after the Adana massacres and counter-revolution events.<sup>3</sup> As he wrote in his memoir, he foresaw the Adana massacres and he urged his friends before the massacres not to go to Istanbul. Although the majority of the Armenians welcomed the Revolution with great enthusiasm, it is noteworthy that some Armenian intellectuals and leaders did not believe in the sincerity of the CUP. It is possible to say that Antranik’s pessimist view about the Young Turk revolution was right. Following the 1909 Adana massacres, in 1915, by the order of Talat Pasha, Agnuni, Vartkes, Zartaryan and the other prominent

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<sup>2</sup> C.S. Giragosian, *Arachin Hamasharbayin Baderazme Yev Arevmdahayutyune*, (Yerevan: Hayasdan Publishing, 1965), p. 45-46.

<sup>3</sup> The counterrevolution of 31 March 1909 was an enormous opposition movement organized by conservative religious circles of the Ottoman Empire in order to reestablish the ancient regime and overthrow the Ottoman Constitution and the ruling party, the CUP which came to power following the 1908 Revolution. At the same time with the counterrevolution movements in Istanbul, mass Armenian massacres occurred in Adana region with an organized scheme. Although the CUP government opened an investigation to find out the perpetrators, it failed to shed light on the reality. It was reported that approximately 30,000 local Armenians of Adana region massacred during the incidents.

members of Tashnaksutyun were exiled to interior parts of Anatolia and never managed to return to Istanbul.

Despite Commander Antranik's thoughts, two prominent political organizations of the Armenian community, the Tashnaks and the Hnchaks were optimistic about the Young Turk Revolution. After the revolution, Tashnaksutyun signed a treaty of friendship with the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP). On the other hand, the Hnchaks were the opponents of the CUP, however, after the announcement of the constitution they pronounced that they accepted the unity of the Ottoman Empire and they did not have any separatist ambitions.<sup>4</sup> Even during the Adana massacres, Tashnak deputies were very careful not to make their allies angry. Therefore, Tashnak deputies did not mention the seriousness of the events in the parliament.<sup>5</sup> For instance, Harutyun Sahrigyan, who was a prominent member of the Tashnaksutyun wrote the following sentences about the *Tarih-i Tedenniyat-i Osmaniye* book which was written by a Pan-Turkism ideologist, Celal Nuri: "Your only natural ally and brother is the Armenian community. Give us your hands in the name of the unity of the Ottoman Empire!"<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, other leading members of the CUP such as Agnuni, Karekin Cakalyan, Karekin Pastermadjian and Vartkes Serengulyan stated that they were all "Ottomans" therefore they "should struggle for the unity of the Ottoman Empire."<sup>7</sup> In September

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<sup>4</sup> *Badmutyun Hncakyan Gusagtsutyun 1887-1962: A. Hador*, (Beirut: n.p., 1962), p. 247.

<sup>5</sup> *Baikar*, 6.7.1917, No: 65.

<sup>6</sup> Adom Sahrigyan, *Osmanyan Gaysrutyan Angman Badmutyune*, (Istanbul: n.p., 1913), p. 96.

<sup>7</sup> R. Simonyan, *Turk Azkayin Burjuaziyi Kabaparanutyune Yev Kabakaganutyune*, (Yerevan: n.p., 1986), p. 200.



1909, after the Adana massacres, Tashnaksutyun and the CUP signed an agreement, which was published in *Troshak* daily newspaper. According to this agreement, Tashnaksutyun accepted the unity of the Ottoman Empire and rejected the presence of any separatist movements.<sup>8</sup>

Besides the hopeful attitude of the Armenian politicians and intellectuals regarding the newly established Young Turk administration, the idea of the CUP government was far from the Ottomanism and the brotherhood of the nations. According to R. Simonyan, the primary goal of the CUP government was to create a pure Turkish nation state primarily in Anatolia and perhaps to unify this Turkish state with the Turkic population of Asia, which was an idea of creating Turan state.<sup>9</sup> As Arshag Zurabian pointed out, the Young Turk government was too weak to solve the social problems among the nations, the only aim that they had was to create a nation state with a national bourgeoisie.<sup>10</sup> According to G. Z. Daroyan, Krikor Zohrab was totally wrong when he wrote in his book, in 1910, that “after the Young Turk revolution in 1908, the welfare in Van, Erzurum, Muş and Harput has been increasing considerably and the annihilation policy of Abdulhamid II has totally disappeared under the rule of the CUP.”<sup>11</sup> Indeed, Krikor Zohrab was reflecting the political atmosphere of that period. Similarly, an Armenian individual who was attending the CUP demonstrations after the Young Turk

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<sup>8</sup> *Troshak*, 10-11 October, 1909. As cited in R. Simonyan, *ibid*, p. 214.

<sup>9</sup> R. Simonyan, *ibid*, p. 222; p. 246.

<sup>10</sup> *Baikar*, 12 February 1917, No: 6. For a comprehensive historiography of the making of Turkish national bourgeoisie see Zafer Toprak, *Türkiye’de Milli İktisat 1908-1918*, (Ankara: Yurt Yayınları, 1982).

<sup>11</sup> G. Z. Daroyan, *Arenmdahayeri Azadakeragan Baykare XIX Tari Vercherin Yev XX Tari Isgspnerin*, (Yerevan: Hayasdan Publishing, 1980), p. 168.

revolution stated: “At the beginning of the revolution we, Armenians, believed that the massacres and violence against us were finished and the ordeal that we suffered for centuries passed. Thus, neither the Turks nor the Kurds were going to massacre us.”<sup>12</sup>

On the other side of the medallion, even before 1908, the CUP administrative body had a different view about the Armenians. For instance, on 23 November 1906, Bahaddin Şakir, who was a founding member of the CUP sent a letter to the Panislamist movement of Caucasus and after stating some issues about the situation of the Muslims in the Russian Empire, in the seventh article he wrote: “The biggest obstacle to reach our goals is the Armenians who are helping our enemies, particularly the Russians. Create a comprehensive program to pacify these Armenians.”<sup>13</sup> Similarly, at a CUP congress in October 1911, the following resolution was passed:

The character of the Empire must be Mohammedan, and respect must be secured for Mohammedan institutions and traditions. Other nationalities must be denied the right of organization, for decentralization and autonomy are treason to the Turkish Empire. The nationalities are a negligible quantity. They can keep their religion but not their language. The propagation of Turkish language is a sovereign means of confirming the other elements.”<sup>14</sup>

In order to create a nation state and a national bourgeoisie, the Armenian community in Ottoman Empire was a complicated question for the CUP government. Firstly, the Armenian merchants were holding the control of a huge part of the Ottoman economy. At the beginning of the Great War, of the 264 Ottoman Industrial establishments, only 42 belonged to Muslims and 172 to non-Muslims and the commerce in the interior was

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<sup>12</sup> R. Simonyan, p. 197.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid, p. 190.

<sup>14</sup> Razmik Panossian, *The Armenians: From Kings and Priests to Merchants and Commissars*, (London: C.Hurst & Co., 2006), p. 234.

heavily Armenian, particularly in the six provinces.<sup>15</sup> The CUP authorities emphasized the necessity of creating a Turkish middle class and a national economy.<sup>16</sup> Secondly, there were two million Armenians living in the Ottoman Empire, especially in the Eastern parts of Anatolia. These two facts were the biggest hindrances for the Young Turks reaching their goals. The Great War was a good opportunity for them to get rid of these problems. That is why, in the midst of 1915, the CUP government ordered the deportation<sup>17</sup> of the whole Armenian population living in the Anatolia to the deserts of Syria in order to depopulate the Armenian presence in Anatolia and destruct the Armenian bourgeoisie. Christopher Walker describes the situation succinctly: “The war provided a thick black velvet arras, behind which the Young Turks could act with impunity.”<sup>18</sup> Indeed, the idea of deportation first appeared in December 1914 in a secret order which was sent by Talat Pasha to the Eastern provinces stating that “during

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<sup>15</sup> Uğur Ümit Güngör and Mehmet Polatel, *Confiscation and Destruction: The Young Turk Seizure of Armenian Property*, (Continuum International Publishing: 2011), p. 18.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid, p. 34.

<sup>17</sup> Throughout this thesis, I mostly used the word “deportation” in lieu of *tehcir*. Deportation is the expulsion of an undesired alien or other person from a state and similarly “expulsion” and “exile” also have the same meaning. In the recent historiography, generally the word "deportation" is being used. But some historians are using “relocation” and “resettlement” expressing that according to the order of the Ottoman government, it was a “relocation” and “resettlement” process, because the final destination was not a location outside of the state. Nonetheless, *tehcir* was a deterritorialization process, Armenians left their native lands and never returned. Therefore, I have not refrained from using this word.

<sup>18</sup> Christopher Walker, *Armenia: The Survival of a Nation*, (Routledge, 1991), p. 200.

wartime there could be a possibility to deport the Armenian authorities and also the officers of missionary institutions.”<sup>19</sup>

The events which happened in 1915 have a significant place in the Armenian history. The Armenians who had lived for more than two thousand years in the Asia Minor were supposed to leave their ancient lands and move to the Syrian deserts by the deportation order of the CUP government. According to the Ottoman authorities this was a relocation plan of the CUP in order to eliminate the risk of any Armenian-Russian alliance. The idea of deportation of an ethnic group was not an unfamiliar method in that era and it was perhaps acceptable in terms of the necessities of that time. However, after the deportation started, the relocation of the Armenians became an annihilation process. The Ottoman authorities could not take measures to save the Armenian population. Some of them were killed by the armed gangs and some of them died in the camps because of diseases and starvation. Professor Norman M. Naimark points out when the forced deportation becomes an ethnic cleansing as following:

People do not leave their homes on their own. They hold on to their land and their culture, which are interconnected. They resist deportation orders; they cling to their domiciles and their possessions; they find every possible way to avoid abandoning the place where their families have roots and their ancestors are buried. The result is that forced deportation often becomes genocidal, as people are violently ripped from their native towns and villages and killed when they try to stay.”<sup>20</sup>

Today, this tragic event is still being argued among the historians who are studying in this field. The debate is mostly going on the issue that whether this event is a genocide

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<sup>19</sup> Kemal Çiçek, *Ermenilerin Zorunlu Göçü 1915-1917*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2012), p. 27.

<sup>20</sup> Norman M. Naimark, *Fires of Hatred: Ethnic Cleansing in Twentieth Century Europe*, (Harvard University Press, 2002), p. 4.

or not. Historians generally overlook the other details and focus just only on the word “genocide”. Some Turkish historians defend that the deportation of the Armenians was a military necessity and it is impossible to call it genocide. Historical Society of Turkey generally contend that although the Armenian deportation was a tragic event and four hundred thousand Armenians died on the road, there is no historical document to recognize it as a genocide. They prefer to use “so-called genocide” term in their literature. On the other hand, some historians defend that the deportations of 1915 was a clear genocide and more than one million five hundred thousand Armenians died.<sup>21</sup>

Although there is an unending debate among the scholars on the catastrophic events that happened during the Armenian deportation, there are only a few studies regarding the sociological and psychological dimensions of the issue. The fact that historians studying this field have been focusing only on the “genocide” issue, I believe that the humanitarian dimension of this “accursed years” have been overlooked by the historians from both sides. Pain, sufferings and the struggles of the Armenian community in order to survive from the deportation still escape scholars’ notice. Similarly, academic research about the post-war Armenian mood is insufficient.

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<sup>21</sup> For a concise outlook on the issue of genocide see Vahakn Dadrian, *History of the Armenian Genocide*, Richard Hovanissian’s three volumes, *The Armenian Genocide in Perspective*, *The Armenian Genocide and Remembrance and Denial*, Taner Akçam, *The Young Turks’ Crime Against Humanity* and *A Shameful Act: The Armenian Genocide and the Question of Turkish Responsibility*, Raymond Kevorkian, *The Armenian Genocide: A Complete History*, Donald Bloxham, *The Great Game of Genocide: Imperialism, Nationalism, and the Destruction of the Ottoman Armenians*, Ronald Suny, *Looking Toward Ararat*. Of course, there are many works with regard to the Armenian deportation and genocide but I have listed only some of the more comprehensive ones. On the other hand, there are historians who defend that the Armenian deportation was a military necessity and not the Armenians but the Muslims were killed during the events. See Justin McCarthy, *Death and Exile*, H. Kemal Türköz, *Armenian Atrocity According to Ottoman and Russian Documents*, Yusuf Halaçoğlu, *Ermeni Tehciri ve Gerçekler*, Kemal Çiçek, *Ermenilerin Zorunlu Göçü*.

The deportation process gave birth to various sociological cases such as the treatment of the orphans, widows and homeless people, the issue of Islamized Armenians, of abducted Armenian women who were serving sometimes as a second wife to a Muslim man or a slave of him and the issue of post-war Armenian politics, the formation of the Armenian Republic in Caucasus and the last struggle of the Western Armenians to create an independent Armenian state in the six provinces of the Eastern Anatolia. The departure point of this study is to analyze these post-war issues of the Armenian community and to situate the post-war period in the general historiography.

Curiously enough, shortly after the Great War, following the Allied occupation of the Ottoman Empire, courts martial were organized by the new government in order to judge impartially the guilty officers for misconduct during the Armenian deportation. Mostly they used the “Ermenilerin sevk ve imhası” (the deportation and destruction of Armenians) concept in the accusation.<sup>22</sup> Furthermore, the newly appointed Minister of Interior, Cemal Bey, stated that “the CUP government killed more than eight hundred thousand Armenians and deported four hundred thousand Greeks. Additionally, they killed four million Turks.”<sup>23</sup> Likewise, Cenab Şahabettin who was a prominent author and teacher of Turkish literature stated that “Both the crime and the guilty are obvious. It is now the end of horrible massacres and the beginning of justice!”<sup>24</sup> It was certain that

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<sup>22</sup> See Taner Akçam, “Osmanlı-Türk Belgelerine Göre İttihad ve Terakki’nin 1915’te Ermenilere Yönelik Politikaları”, *İmparatorluğun Çöküş Döneminde Osmanlı Ermenileri*, (Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları), p. 215-250.

<sup>23</sup> *İkdam*, 15 March 1919, No: 7936.

<sup>24</sup> Cenab Şahabettin, “Devr-i Cinayet ve Devr-i Adalet”, *Hadisat*, 28 November 1918, No: 40.

there was a strong opposition against the CUP among the Turkish society even during the Great War. Some intellectuals who kept their silence because of fear during the wartime started to express their opinions.

The present thesis analyzes the general atmosphere of the Armenian community of the Ottoman Empire after the Great War, particularly the months between 1918-1919. In order to reflect the whole bodies of the community, the *Jamanak* daily newspaper, which was published continuously during that period is used as a primary source. Certainly, to understand the general mood of the Armenian community during the postwar period, the events which happened during the wartime must be emphasized with all aspects.

In 1863, the first daily named “Jamanak” was published by Sdepan Berch Papazian who was also the editor and the director of the daily.<sup>25</sup> Before 1908 which was the year that *Jamanak* daily published, twenty six Armenian dailies were published in the Ottoman Empire. The *Jamanak* daily, which continues its publication even today in Istanbul, was first published in 1908 by Misak Kochunian.

*Jamanak* gained a huge popularity among the members of the Armenian community. The most important thing that made *Jamanak* popular was the prominent authors who wrote for the daily. Most of its authors were the famous faces of the

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<sup>25</sup> It is noteworthy to mention the dailies that have the name “Jamanak” in the history of Armenian press.

1. *Jamanak Hayrenanuer*, Istanbul, 1863-1868, 8 pages.
2. *Jamanak Vetsamsia Hantes Kragan, Kidagan, Kebaruesdagan Yew Kabakagan*, Paris, 1901-1902, 64 pages.
3. *Jamanak Oratert*, Tiflis, 1906-1907, 4 pages.
4. *Jamanak*, Istanbul, 1908- , 4 pages.
5. *Jamanak*, 1927, Detroit, 2 pages.

community at that time. Many Armenian authors serialized their novels in the columns of the *Jamanak* daily.<sup>26</sup> The fact that famous authors were publishing their newest novels in the *Jamanak*, the daily became popular in nation-wide. For instance, Hrant Samvel who worked for *Jamanak* many years describes the popularity of the daily as following:

These novels were received so well that when, once every week, a huge advertisement occupied the fourth page of *Jamanak* forcing us to skip the series of that day, readers, especially women, would telephone us to protest and threaten boycott. As a result, we agreed to move the series to the third page whenever the advertisement occupied the full fourth page.<sup>27</sup>

The circulation of the daily was the best among all the Armenian newspapers and the daily did not have any relations with the Armenian political parties and thus tried to maintain a liberal position. *Jamanak* has been a great primary source for this thesis because it had an uninterrupted print run during the Armistice period and it was a mirror of the Armenian community during that time.

The first chapter will address the Armenian presence in the Ottoman Empire before 1915. Population statistics, which have been a highly controversial topic, will be analyzed in detail by using Ottoman and Armenian sources in order to shed light on the presence of the Armenian community in the Ottoman Empire. Furthermore, the “Armenian eliticide of 1915” will be a particular section in this chapter because the

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<sup>26</sup> For instance, some of the novels that were published in the *Jamanak* daily between 1908-1913:

1. “*Gragin Mechen*”, Kasim, 1908-1909, No: 1-129.
2. “*Inches Tsakum Arav Azadutinne*”, 1908-1909, No: 1-115.
3. “*Yenicherinere*”, March 1909-September 1909, No: 129-266.
4. “*Yildizi Kahdnikneré*”, Paul De Regla, May 1909- July 1909, No:154-229.
5. “*Temk Chunetsogh Marté*”, 1909-1910, No:272-381.
6. “*Rus yew Turk Baderazmin Badmutinne 1875-76*”, 1910, No: 411-906.
7. “*Dasnergu Dari Bolsen Tur*”, Yervant Odian, 1912-1913, No: 1198-1404.

<sup>27</sup> Lerna Ekmekcioglu, *Improvising Turkishness: Being Armenian in Post-Ottoman Istanbul (1918-1933)*, (PhD diss., New York University, 2010), p. 19.



events happened during the Armenian deportation have a great impact on the general mood of the Armenians during the postwar period and *fons et origo* of that events is the Armenian eliticide. The three sections included in the first chapter will portray the pre-war period.

In the second chapter, I aim to render the meaning of the Great War both for the Ottoman Empire and for the Armenians. The Great War was a game of “to be or not be” for the Ottoman Empire. After the heavy defeat at the Balkan Wars, the CUP government did her best for the victory of the German Empire during the Great War in order to recapture the lands that the Ottoman Empire had lost during the Balkan Wars. Nevertheless, the result of the Great War was a total defeat for the Ottoman Empire. The aggravated circumstances of the Treaty of Sevres caused a trauma especially for the Muslims. On the other hand, for the non-Muslims, the Ottoman defeat was a kind of salvation. Especially the Greeks welcomed the Allied Powers and started to play crucial roles in their occupation plans. For the Armenians, the post-war period was a recovery period. During wartime, besides the Armenians of Istanbul, almost all of the Armenian population of Anatolia lost their homes and properties. Many of them were homeless and miserable. Thousands of Armenian orphans and widows were waiting a helping hand from the Armenian Patriarchate and the authorities. Besides the situation of the Anatolian Armenians, the Caucasian Armenians were struggling against the Turkish forces to defend the last stronghold of the Armenian nation. In this chapter, the population statistics of the Ottoman Armenians after the Great War will also be analyzed in detail to compare the statistics with the pre-war data.

The third chapter will examine the general climate of the Armenian community just after the Great War by reflecting the articles, reports and eye-witness accounts that were published in the *Jamanak* daily newspaper. In the first section, reports related with the parentless and homeless Armenian orphans who were being kept at the Muslim orphanages or wandering around the streets will be analyzed. In the second section, reports published during the post-war period regarding the Armenian population statistics in the provinces will be examined in detail. This section will reinforce the second chapter of the thesis, which also discusses the population statistics after the Great War. In the third section, articles and news about the CUP leaders, which were published within this time period will be examined bearing in mind that the Armenian intellectuals and public opinion accused the CUP leaders as the perpetrators of the Armenian massacres. Ultimately, the fourth section will provide the broad experience of Yervant Odyan who witnessed the Armenian deportation, survived by chance and reported everything he saw during those “accursed years” to the *Jamanak* daily.

## CHAPTER II

### THE OTTOMAN ARMENIANS BEFORE 1915

#### The Armenian Population in the Ottoman Empire Before the Great War

Before analyzing the population statistics of the Ottoman Armenians, it should be kept in mind that the issue of population statistics had been a problem perhaps until 2007 in the Republic of Turkey. Before 2007, all the citizens were confined to their homes on the census day. There was a strict curfew on the census days. Thanks to the newly established population database, which is called *Adrese Dayalı Nüfus Kayıt Sistemi*, today the citizens of the Republic of Turkey do not have to stay indoors and wait for the state employees for counting. Not only the citizens but also the public authorities were not satisfied with the population censuses before 2007. The public officials stated that there were several problems in counting the population in the provinces such as Eastern, Southeastern and Northeastern Anatolia because of the bad weather conditions and geography. Levon Marashlian stated the same issue for 1987 in his article.<sup>28</sup> If the conditions were as such in 1970s, 1980s and 1990s, it is not hard to estimate the conditions of counting the population before 1914. Therefore, it is essential to evaluate both the statistics of the Ottoman government and the Armenian Patriarchate from this point of view. There might have been villages and even towns that the Ottoman officials did not stop by to count the population. Similarly, there might have been villagers who were not baptized in the Armenian Church and thus not registered in the population data

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<sup>28</sup> Levon Marashlian, "Population Statistics on Ottoman Armenians in the Context of Turkish Historiography", *Armenian Review*, Volume 40 (Winter 1987), pp. 1-59.

list of the Armenian Patriarchate. Furthermore, there was always a probability of bribe, falsification and misreporting in these census methods.

In almost all population statistics, the Ottoman government grouped all Muslims together and separated Christians. In Anatolia, there were Kurd, Circassian, Laz, Pomak, Arab, Persian, Boshnak and Albanian communities who were Muslims. The problem is these population statistics were ethnic-based yet all the ethnic groups who were Muslims counted as one. In this situation, it was natural that the Armenian population was in minority in every Ottoman statistics. Justin McCarthy explains that it was “a result of the *millet* system and of the theological reluctance to accept differences among Muslims.”<sup>29</sup> Although it was true, this consideration did not make the population statistics of the Ottoman Empire totally reliable. This feature of the Ottoman statistics must be kept in mind while evaluating it.

Some historians contend that the Ottoman government kept population statistics without any falsification because the government wanted to know the exact population of the Muslims in order to organize the military and also wanted to know the exact population of the Christians in order to estimate the total amount of *cizye* tax. Therefore, showing the population of the Christians low was not a sensible method for the government.<sup>30</sup>

On the other hand, the population statistics of the Armenian Patriarchate were also not faultless. It was impossible for the Armenian Patriarchate to count the Muslim population in all provinces. The Armenian Patriarchate neither had the authority nor the

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<sup>29</sup> Justin McCarthy, *Muslims and Minorities* (New York University Press: 1983), p. 59.

<sup>30</sup> Ali Güler, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Azınlıklar* (Istanbul: 1997), p. 18.

means to count the Muslim population of Anatolia. Therefore, the numbers that were provided for the Muslim population in the population statistics of the Armenian Patriarchate were only estimates.

The first population census was done by the government in 1831 in order to specify the needs of the military. That is why the government officials counted only the male population. According to this census, there were only 18,742 Armenian males living in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>31</sup> The fact that they counted the Armenians in the *Reaya* (Christian) category, the number of the Armenians appeared low. There were 2,490,982 Muslim and 1,080,463 Christian males in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>32</sup> According to Cem Behar, the total amount was 2,467,128 Muslims and 1,147,470 non-Muslims.<sup>33</sup>

The second population census was done in 1844. According to this census, there were 2,400,000 Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, two million in Anatolia and four hundred thousand in Europe.<sup>34</sup> In 1867, the government published a booklet to present the Empire to the Western governments in the Paris World's Fair. In this booklet, it was stated that there were two million Armenians living in the Asia and four hundred thousand Armenians living in the European part of the Empire.<sup>35</sup> Surprisingly, the total

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<sup>31</sup> Kemal H. Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830-1914* (The University of Wisconsin Press: 1985), p. 114.

<sup>32</sup> Güler, p. 27.

<sup>33</sup> Cem Behar, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun ve Türkiye'nin Nüfusu 1500-1927*, (T.C Basbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, Tarihi İstatistikler Dizisi) Vol. 2, p. 24.

<sup>34</sup> Kemal H. Karpat, p. 116; Raymond H. Kevorkian-Paul B. Paboudjian, *1915 Öncesinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Ermeniler*, çev. Mayda Saris (Istanbul: Aras Yayıncılık, 2012), p. 57.

<sup>35</sup> H. Kevorkian-B. Paboudjian, p. 58.

population of the Armenians decreased to 1,031,824 in 1895.<sup>36</sup> Perhaps, the losses during the 1894-96 massacres and the intention of the Ottoman officials to undercount the Armenian population lower than real affected these results. The fact that Armenian question became popular at the end of the nineteenth century, the Ottoman officials politically started to undercount the population. In fifty one years, the total population of the Armenians decreased more than 1,300,000. Needless to say that there was a certain mistake for the Armenian population statistics in these population censuses.

Furthermore, in 1914, according to the census, which was organized by the government, the total Armenian population was 1,161,169, which was closer to the results of the census of 1895. Yet, the question of how the Armenian population decreased more than 1,300,000 in fifty one years remains as an open question.

The Armenian Patriarchate also organized population censuses. In 1882, for instance, the result of the census was 2,425,000.<sup>37</sup> It should be noted that in this census, there were great exaggerations while counting the Armenians. The Armenian Patriarchate claimed that there were four hundred thousand Armenians in Van and two hundred eighty thousand Armenians in Adana. Yet is it known that not only the Armenian population but all population in Van was not more than four hundred fifty thousand and also in Adana the total population was not more than two hundred fifty thousand. For instance, in 1896, according to the birth registration office of Van, there were 64,178 Armenians and 83,253 Muslims in Van, 148,578 inhabitants in total.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Güler, p. 36.

<sup>37</sup> Güler, p. 69.

<sup>38</sup> Ali Karaca, *Anadolu Islahatı ve Ahmet Şakir Paşa (1838-1899)*, (Istanbul: Eren Yayıncılık,

Perhaps, these exaggerations that were done by the Patriarchate were consciously organized in order to gain a status in the politics. The Armenian Patriarchate claimed 2,425,000 Armenian population in the Ottoman Empire. On the other hand, the government claimed 1,161,169 Armenian population in 1895. Thus, these statistics were completely different to make a comparison. Similarly, in 1914, before the Great War, the government claimed that the Armenian population was 1,294,851, at the same time the Armenian Patriarchate provided 2,100,000 Armenian population for 1912.<sup>39</sup>

The Patriarchate statistics of 1912 was more sensible than the statistics of 1882. In 1882, the Patriarchate claimed that there were 400,000 Armenians in Van, but in 1912 this number decreased to 185,000, which is more rational. Similarly, in 1882, the Patriarchate claimed that there were 280,000 Armenians in Sivas and in 1912, this number decreased to 165,000. According to the statistics of 1912, there were 240,000 Turks, 75,000 Kurds, 30,000 Zaza's, 25,000 Kızılbaş and 215,000 Armenians in Erzurum. Thus, 370,000 Muslims and 215,000 Armenians in total.<sup>40</sup> According to the government's statistics, there were more than 646,000 Muslims in Erzurum *vilayet* and 124,000 Armenians.<sup>41</sup> In these two statistics, there are huge differences both for Muslim and Armenian populations. Justin McCarthy states, "it is impossible to know whether the Patriarchate figures on Muslim population were intentionally or unintentionally

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1993), p. 141.

<sup>39</sup> Fuat Dündar, *Kabir Ekseriyet: Ermeni Nüfus Meselesi (1878-1923)*, (Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları: 2012), p. 163-164.

<sup>40</sup> McCarthy, p. 48. Calculation of the Muslim population belongs to me.

<sup>41</sup> Orhan Sakin, *Osmanlı'da Etnik Yapı ve 1914 Nüfusu* (Istanbul: Ekim Yayıncılık, 2008), p. 235.

incorrect. The Armenian ecclesiastical authorities had no way themselves to count the Muslim population and they refused to accept Ottoman figures. Most likely, they simply guessed.”<sup>42</sup>

The population statistics of Adana *vilayet* were also the same. The Armenian Patriarchate claimed that there were 205,050 Armenians and 156,000 Muslims in Adana *vilayet* in 1914. On the other hand the government claimed that there were 91,855 Armenians and 405,757 Muslims in Adana.<sup>43</sup> Justin McCarthy advocates, “the Patriarchate statistics are in the form of an answer to the question ‘Approximately how many Armenians would you say were in the eastern *vilayets*?’” Thus, these statistics that were provided by the Patriarchate were not trustable.<sup>44</sup> Yet, it was certain fact that the Patriarchate published these statistics according to the baptismal records.

The population statistics of the government were not totally accurate. For instance, for the city of Antep an Ottoman *salname* cites 19,494 Armenians and the statistics of the government claims that there were 14,446 Armenians in 1914 in Antep. On the other hand, Turkish researcher Hulusi Yetkin states that there were 50,000 Turks and 30,000 Armenians in Antep. Also H. Ugurol Barlas states that there were 51,369 Turks and 30,076 Armenians in Antep. Furthermore Sarkis Karayan also remarks that there were 30,000 Armenians in Antep before 1914.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> McCarthy, p. 51.

<sup>43</sup> McCarthy, p. 52.

<sup>44</sup> McCarthy, p. 55.

<sup>45</sup> Marashlian, p. 27.



There is a consensus among the historians and experts who studied this issue that the governmental authorities were uninterested in demography and had very little knowledge about the methods. V. Cuinet, G. Rolin-Jaequemyns and A. Ubicini stated in their works that the Ottoman authorities were not acting neutrally while counting the population. According to them, for example, on the one hand the Ottoman authorities counted Muslims as a block, on the other hand they counted Christians ethnically.<sup>46</sup> Nevertheless, it is clear from the population statistics that the Ottoman authorities also counted the Christians as a block in some cases. For instance, in some population statistics regarding the Rumelia, Bulgarians, Serbians and Greeks counted as “Rum”.

Raymond H. Kevorkian states that according to the statistics of the Patriarchate, there were three million Armenians living in the Ottoman Empire before 1878. Also, major Ahmed Cevad who also served as a Grand Vizier stated in 1873 that there were three million Armenians in the Empire.<sup>47</sup>

According to Raymond H. Kevorkian, the statistics of the Patriarchate were generally accurate because the government’s *salnames* also provided parallel numbers. For instance, in 1882, the government published a *salname* and in this report they provided some tax statistics, which were collected from the non-Muslim men. According to these statistics, the total of military service tax which was paid by the non-Muslim men was 462,870 lira. Yet, they stated in the same report that this amount had to be more than eight hundred thousand. In this way, the government authorities

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<sup>46</sup> H. Kevorkian-B. Paboudjian, p. 57.

<sup>47</sup> H. Kevorkian-B. Paboudjian, p. 58.

acknowledged that they indeed did not count the non-Muslim population accurately.<sup>48</sup> Similarly, in 1915, when the Armenian deportation was started, the Armenians who were sent from Diyarbakir *vilayet* were more than 120,000 and the Ottoman authorities were shocked by this result.<sup>49</sup> Because, according to the official statistics there were only fifty six thousand Armenians in the entire Diyarbakir *vilayet*.<sup>50</sup>

### Tension Between Muslims and Armenians: Conflicting Statistics

Tension between Armenian and Muslims in the Ottoman Empire started from the beginning of the nineteenth century. The Armenians who were called as *millet-i sadıka* because of their loyalty to the Ottoman Empire became the new enemies of the Ottomans. On 19 July 1828, the Russian army attacked from the eastern border and approached the city of Kars. The Ottoman Empire blamed the Armenian population of Kars for helping the Russian army and named them “*hainler*” (traitors). This tension caused the Armenian community especially living close to the Russian border to migrate to the Russian side. The governor of Erzurum, Galib Paşa, remarked at the same time that the Armenians were the internal enemies of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>51</sup> Thousands of Armenians of Erzurum left the Ottoman Empire during this period. On the other hand, over two million Muslim population migrated to the Ottoman Empire from Russia.

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<sup>48</sup> H. Kevorkian-B. Paboudjian, p. 59.

<sup>49</sup> H. Kevorkian-B. Paboudjian, p. 60.

<sup>50</sup> Fuat Dünder, *Modern Türkiye'nin Şifresi: İttihat ve Terakki'nin Etnisite Mühendisliği 1913-1918* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2013), p. 342.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid, p. 44.

Abdulhamid II organized a special organization to encourage the migration of Muslims.<sup>52</sup> These Muslim migrants were accommodated in the Armenian villages. The transformation of the population started with these steps. The CUP government also continued to implement these demographic engineering policies. According to Yusuf Akçura who was one of the masterminds of the CUP, it was possible to assimilate the Muslim population and to ‘Turkify’ them.<sup>53</sup> Thus, the major point of the demographic engineering policy was to Islamize the Anatolian population and then to Turkify the Muslim migrants.

Nubar Paşa presented population statistics of Anatolia at the Sevres Conference. According to his report, in 1912, there were 215,000 Armenians in Erzurum, 185,000 in Van, 180,000 in Bitlis, 168,000 in Harput, 105,000 in Diyarbakir, 165,000 in Sivas. On the other hand, there were 240,000 Turks and 75,000 Kurds in Erzurum, 47,000 Turks and 72,000 Kurds in Van, 40,000 Turks and 77,000 Kurds in Bitlis, 102,000 Turks and 95,000 Kurds in Harput, 45,000 Turks and 55,000 Kurds in Diyarbakir, 192,000 Turks and 50,000 Kurds in Sivas.<sup>54</sup>

As an evaluation, it is possible to say that the statistics provided by the Armenian authorities shows that 40-50% of the population in the Eastern Anatolia was Armenian. On the other hand, according to Ottoman statistics 20% of the population was Armenian in the Eastern provinces. It is known from the population policy of the CUP that the

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<sup>52</sup> Süleyman Erkan, “19. Yüzyıl Sonlarında Osmanlı Devleti’nin Göçmenleri İskan Politikasına Yabancı Ülkelerin Müdahaleleri”, *Osmanlı Ansiklopedisi*, vol 4, p. 620. Quoted from Dündar, p. 45.

<sup>53</sup> Yusuf Akçura, *Üç Tarzı Siyaset* (Ankara: TTK, 1976), p. 28. Quoted from Dündar, p. 74.

<sup>54</sup> Dündar, *Modern Türkiye’nin Şifresi*, p. 111.

CUP wanted to decrease the Armenian population to 10% or 5% in each province.<sup>55</sup>

Therefore, the CUP government tried to shape the population structure by a deportation process in these provinces.

Calculating the Kurdish population in Anatolia plays a crucial role in determining the Muslim population ethnically. According to the French vice-consular at Van, Zarzecki, the Kurdish population was about 1,750,000. Louis Heck who was an advisor to the British Empire stated in his report that the Kurdish population was 1,650,000.<sup>56</sup> In 1915, the CUP government organized a secret census and according to this census the Kurdish population was 2 million.<sup>57</sup>

### The Demographic Politics of the Republic

In 1927, after the establishment of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, the new government organized a population census. According to this census, the Kurdish population was 1,184,000.<sup>58</sup> Yet it is noteworthy to mention that this census was done to show the Turkish majority and the Turkishness of the Republic. For instance, Falih Rıfkı, who

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<sup>55</sup> Dündar, *Kahir Ekseriyet*, p. 122-127.

<sup>56</sup> Dündar, *Modern Türkiye'nin Şifresi*, p. 114.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid*, p. 115.

<sup>58</sup> Aytül Tamer-Alanur Çavlin Bozbeyoğlu, "1927 Nüfus Sayımının Türkiye'de Ulus Devlet İnşasındaki Yeri: Basında Yansımalar", *Turkish Journal of Population Studies*, 2004, No: 26, p. 83.

was a prominent author at that time wrote: “The total population is around fourteen million. But the most important point is that twelve million of the total population is *halis* Turk (pure Turkish). This is the most important point!”<sup>59</sup> Furthermore, in an announcement, which was published in the *Milliyet* daily, following sentences were written: “Citizens! Tomorrow is the census day... We should count all Turks living in the Republic because every Turk is invaluable at this time.”<sup>60</sup>

In 1927, 88.94% of Hakkari’s, 76.63% of Van’s, 74.67% of Bitlis’, 74.16% of Siirt’s, 68.78% of Diyarbakır’s, 60.86% of Mardin’s, 52.88% of Elazığ’s population stated that their mother tongue was Kurdish.<sup>61</sup> This shows us that whether 2 million or 1,750,000 or 1,650,000, a great majority of the Kurdish population was living in the Eastern Anatolia and it is certain that besides Erzurum and Sivas, they were in majority in the six *vilayets* in 1927. According to the census of 1927, there were 132,209 Kurds and 56,151 Turks in Diyarbakır, 231,018 Turks and 36,422 Kurds in Erzurum, 275,533 Turks and 42,751 Kurds in Sivas, 20,689 Turks and 67,678 Kurds in Bitlis, 17,399 Turks and 57,723 Kurds in Van, 11,864 Turks and 109,841 Kurds in Mardin and 97,657 Turks and 112,493 Kurds in Elazığ.<sup>62</sup> Therefore, it is possible to estimate that before 1915, the Armenians and Kurds were two major elements of Van, Bitlis, Diyarbakır and

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<sup>59</sup> Ibid, p. 82.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid, p. 81.

<sup>61</sup> Mustafa Köse, *1927 Nüfus Sayımı ve Sonuçlarının Değerlendirilmesi* (Master’s thesis, Afyon Kocatepe Üniversitesi, 2010), p. 163.

<sup>62</sup> *İstatistik Yıllığı*, Vol 6, 1932/1933 (Başvekalet İstatistik U. M. Neşriyatı: Sayı 34), İstanbul. Quoted from Ömer Lütü Kanburoğlu. Available [online] <http://www.kanburoglu.com/makale98.htm> [18 June 2013].

Mameratulaziz *vilayets*. Thus, the Turkish population in these provinces was in minority and even in the 3<sup>rd</sup> place. For Sivas and Erzurum, it is possible to estimate that Turks were in majority and the second ethnic community was the Armenian community.

Table 1: The Armenian population in the Ottoman Empire in 1914

Cities	Armenians 1914 (Hushamadian) <sup>63</sup>	Armenians 1914 (R. H. Kevorkian) <sup>64</sup>	Armenians 1914 (K. Karpat <sup>65</sup> )	Muslims 1914 (K. Karpat)
Sivas	55,000	31,185	23,812	54,819
Tokat	30,000	17,480	12,046	90,125
Amasya	30,000	13,788	9,598	53,123
Ş. Karahisar	40,000	9,104	8,477	26,329
Gürün	28,000	13,874	7,788	15,640
Divriği	24,000	10,605	8,354	30,630
Darende	18,000	3,983	2,798	26,518
Erzurum	78,000	37,480	32,751	83,000

<sup>63</sup> Zartonk Daily, *Hushamadian Medz Yegerne 1915-1965* (Beirut: Atlas Publishing: 1961), pp. 214-220.

<sup>64</sup> H. Kevorkian-B. Paboudjian, p. 61-64.

<sup>65</sup> Kemal H. Karpat, pp. 170-190.

Erzincan	25,000	25,795	16,144	53,000
Bayburt	19,000	17,060	12,025	64,289
Pasinler	10,000	16,174	10,046	56,403
Tercan	12,000	11,690	7,401	36,153
Kemah	7,000	6,396	4,597	20,742
Kığı	20,000	19,859	13,621	35,572
Hınıs	21,000	21,382	7,779	33,525
İspir	3,000	2,602	2,920	40,015
Bayazıd	20,000	4,884	2,619	20,952
Harput	65,000	39,788	7,519	22,541
Eğın	34,000	16,741	9,373	32,610
Arapkir	29,000	10,880	9,204	24,194
Çemişgezek	17,000	4,494	3,772	16,181
Çarsancak	23,000	7,940	6,862	12,157
Malatya	36,000	17,017	7,060	57,726
Diyarbakır	85,000	53,590	34,661	134,414
Palu	20,000	15,753	8,224	37,541
Mardin	19,000	14,457	334	5,116
Bitlis	40,000	23,889	18,650	38,701

Garzan	28,000	8,343	4,225	14,541
Muş	80,000	75,623	33,087	30,254
Bulanık	19,000	25,053	14,662	16,372
Siirt	18,000	13,221	2,218	27,649
Malazgirt	10,000	11,931	4,438	30,929
Genc	2,500	4,344	1,603	24,467
Van	165,000	93,051	53,450	109,517
Erciş	10,000	10,381	8,083	27,323
Hakkari	12,000	7,465	3,461	21,848
Adana Vilayeti	205,000	119,414	50,139	341,903

Table 2: The population statistics of Kurds, Turks and Arabs in 1927

Cities	Turks (1927 Official Census)	Kurds (1927 Official Census)	Arabs (1927 Official Census)
Sivas	275,533	42,271	4
Tokat	246,610	6,080	65
Amasya	107,546	3,256	4
Şebın Karahisar	108,003	686	5
Erzurum	231,018	36,422	4
Erzincan	77,149	54,877	7



Bayazıd	43,570	60,926	0
Harput	97,657	112,493	19
Malatya	175,815	128,323	6
Diyarbakır	56,151	132,209	2,206
Mardin	11,864	109,841	51,734
Bitilis	20,689	67,678	378
Siirt	5,479	75,962	20,178
Van	17,399	57,723	72
Hakkari	1,044	17,005	4
Adana	206,386	5,744	11,956

Figure 1: The Population of Sivas province in 1914

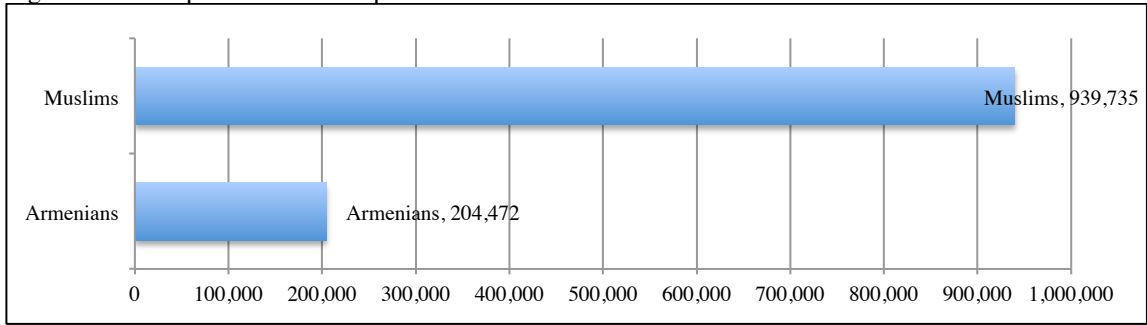


Figure 2: The Population of Sivas province in 1927

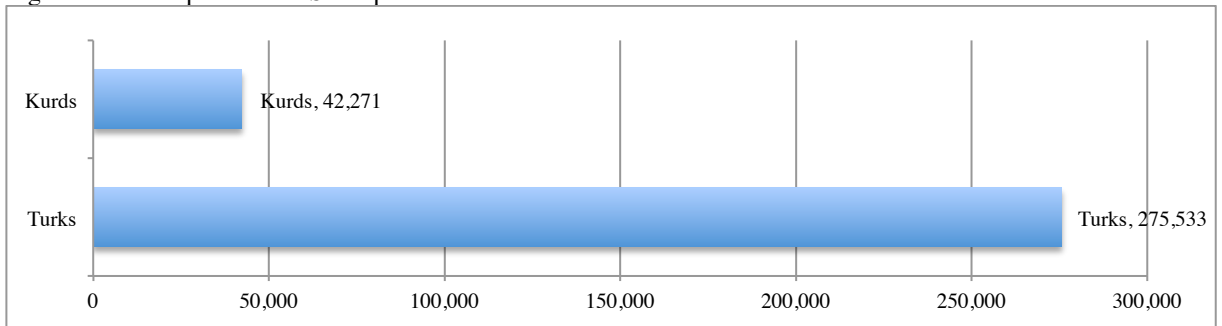


Figure 3: The population of Van province in 1914

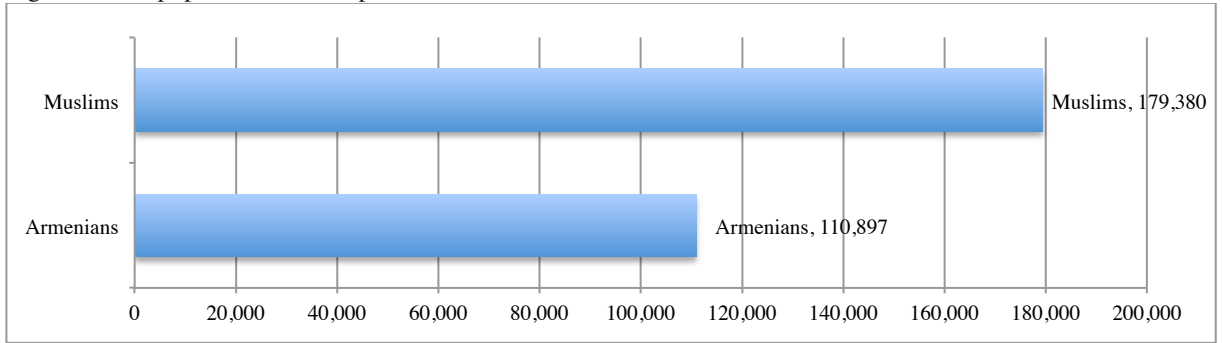


Figure 4: The population of Van province in 1927

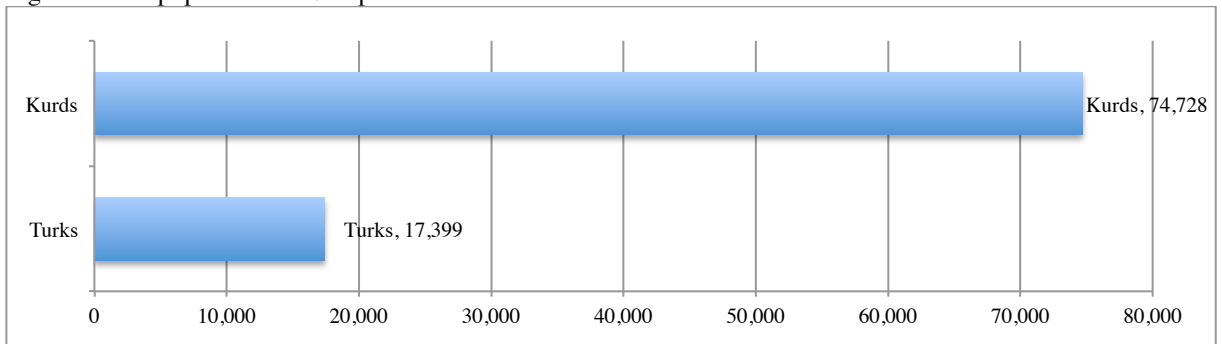


Figure 5: The population of Bitlis in 1914

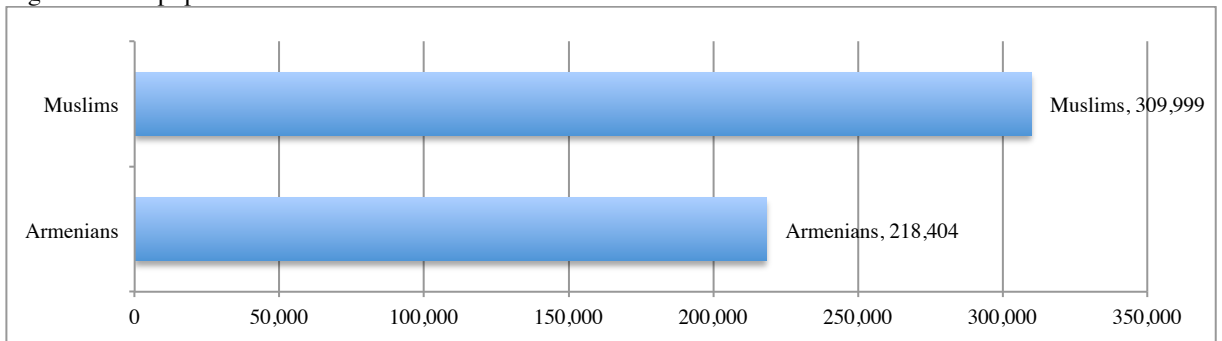


Figure 6: The population of Bitlis in 1927

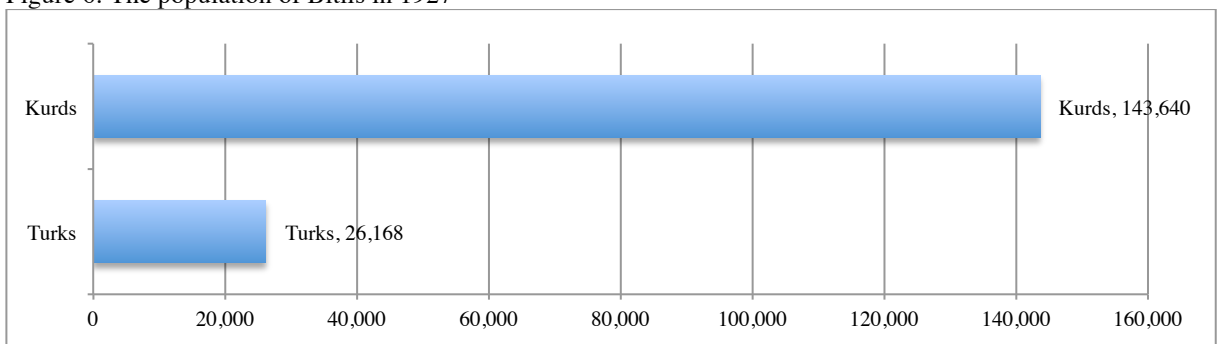


Figure 7: The population of Diyarbakir in 1914

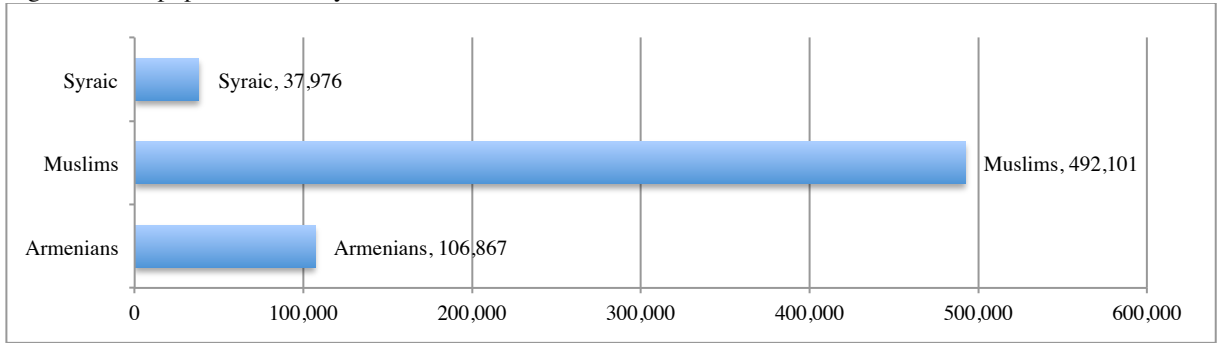


Figure 8: The population of Diyarbakir in 1927

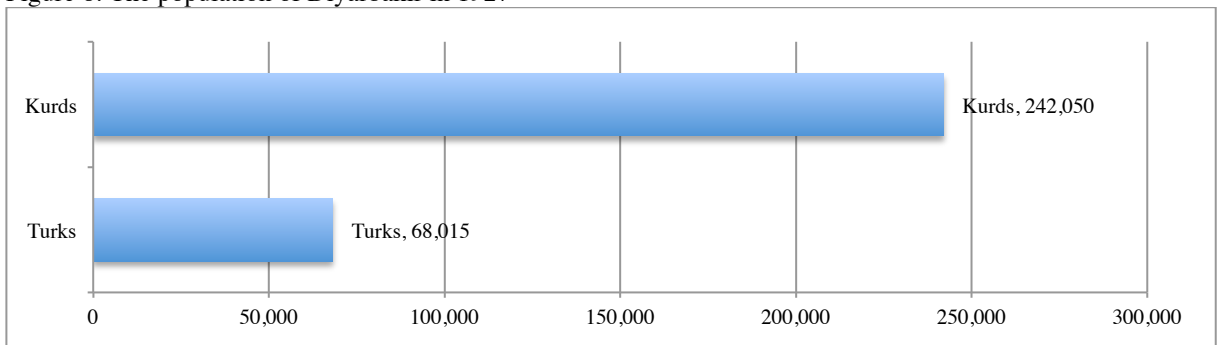


Figure 9: The population of Mameratulaziz in 1914

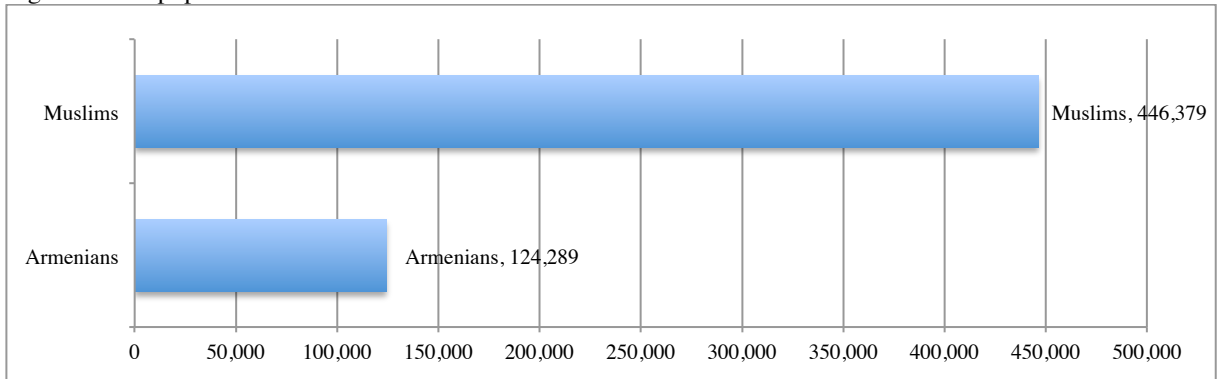


Figure 10: The population of Mameratulaziz in 1927

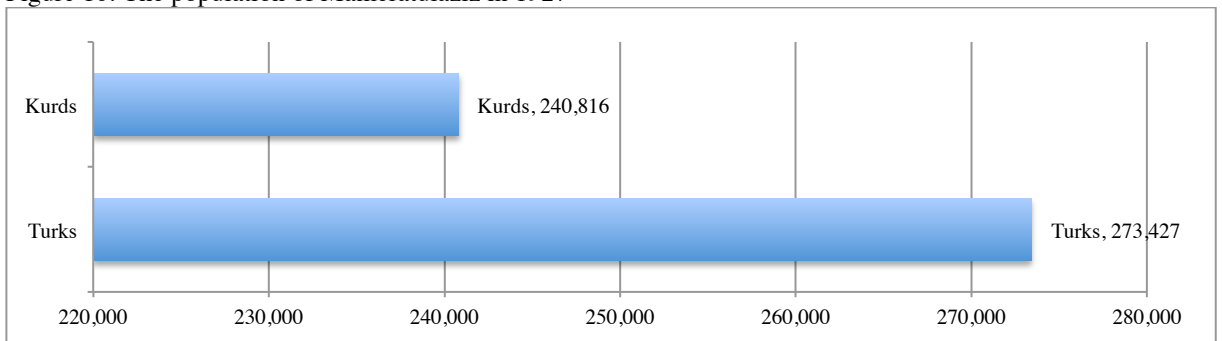


Figure 11: The population of Erzurum in 1914

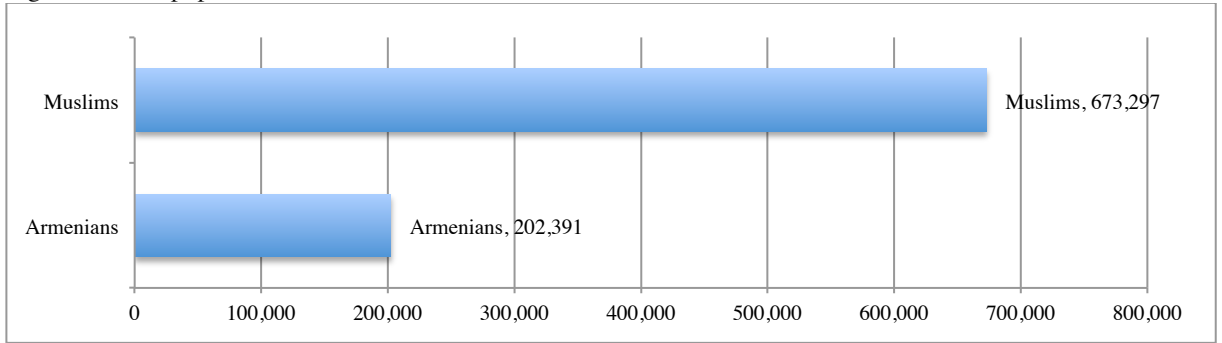


Figure 12: The population of Erzurum in 1927

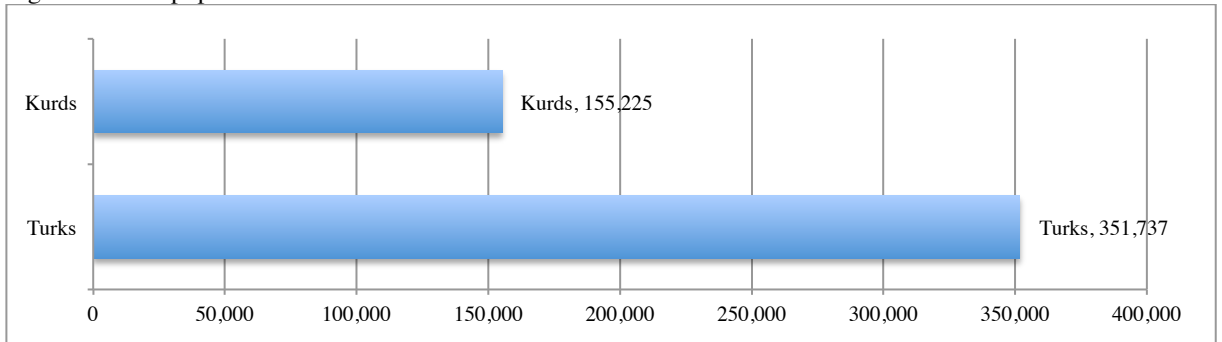


Figure 13: The population of Adana in 1914

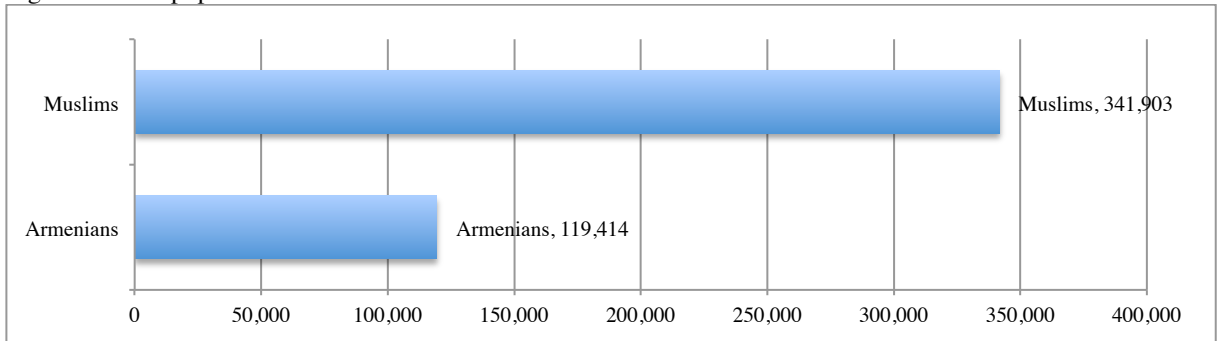
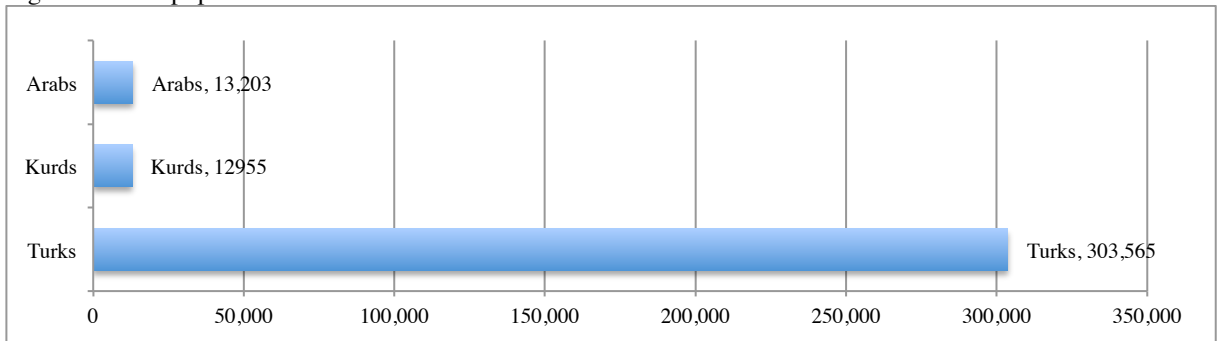


Figure 14: The population of Adana in 1927



## Armenian Activity During the Great War

During the wartime, there were few activities done by the Ottoman Armenians because the deportation process affected the whole community. Almost all parts of the community were plunged into darkness. It is noteworthy that, Ottoman Armenian men, as loyal Ottoman citizens, were serving in the Ottoman military. They served in the Ottoman army and did their best for the victory of the Ottoman Empire. On the other hand, it is possible to concentrate on the activities of the Eastern Armenians, thus the Armenians who were the inhabitants of the Russian Empire and were living in South Caucasus. During the long war years, some revolutionary Caucasian Armenians played roles in favor of the Russian Empire against the Ottomans.

According to the security information that Ottomans had from spies, Russians were trying continually to arm Armenians and they were provoking them to undertake revolutionary activities in the Ottoman Empire at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. For instance, according to an Ottoman report, they paid all the expenses of the Iranian-Armenian volunteers who were waiting near to the Ottoman border in order to create a disorder in the Eastern provinces.<sup>66</sup> According to the Russian consular and military intelligence reports, the Ottoman Armenian and Assyrian communities would assist an invading Russian force and also large majority of the Kurdish population were

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<sup>66</sup> Yusuf Sarıncay, "Rusya'nın Türkiye Siyasetinde Ermeni Kartı (1878-1918), *Akademik Bakış*, 2008, p. 86.

sympathetic toward Russians.<sup>67</sup> Before the Great War period, Ottoman government bureaus were informed about the activities of Armenian revolutionaries. Erzurum's gendarmerie confirmed that Russian Armenians in the town were sending their families back across the border to Aleksandropol (Gumru).<sup>68</sup> Three Russian soldiers who defected at the end of August 1914 explained that Armenian activists were conducting anti-Turkish propaganda among Russian soldiers and distributing arms to their compatriots along the border.<sup>69</sup> Because of these reports and telegraphs, in late September, Enver Pasha warned the Ottoman Third Army that Tashnak revolutionaries agreed with the Russians to create an Ottoman Armenian rebellion.<sup>70</sup> In December 1914, Catholicos Kevork V submitted a demand to Nicholas II to establish an Armenia under Russian rule, the Tsar answered that, "Tell your flock, Holy Father, that a most brilliant future awaits the Armenians."<sup>71</sup>

Before the outbreak of the Great War, the Ottoman authorities met with the Ottoman-Armenian Tashnak representatives in order to offer alliance between the Turks and Armenians. The Tashnak representatives responded that they did not have the authority to make a commitment but Russian-Armenian Tashnaks could do that. But in any case, they said that the Russian Armenians no longer had the enthusiasm for the Ottoman constitutional rule as they had from 1908-1910. The errors that the CUP had

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<sup>67</sup> Michael A. Reynolds, *Shattering Empires*, (Cambridge University Press: 2011), p. 115.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid, p. 116.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid, p. 116.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid, p. 116.

<sup>71</sup> Richard Hovhannisian, *Armenia on the Road to Independence*, (Berkeley: 1967), p. 45.

made regarding the Ottoman Armenians would give the Russian Armenians no confidence that support for the Ottoman government would improve conditions for their compatriots across the border. The Russian government had been using that lack of confidence to win the support of its own Armenian population.<sup>72</sup> In Russian-Armenians' opinion, the dangers for the Turkish-Armenian population were inescapable. Though the order for self-defense had to be given, it was also essential to assemble some large Armenian *fedayi* (martyr) groups who were armed and ready to fight against the Ottomans at a few points near the borders in an extreme circumstance such as a massacre of the Armenian population or a complete defeat of the Ottoman forces.<sup>73</sup>

Before the Great War, the Russian Empire prepared a separate budget for the foundation of the Armenian volunteer troops. It was approximately 242.900 rubles. The primary aim was an attack of the Armenians inside the Russian border to the Ottoman Empire and their unification with their compatriots who were living in the Eastern parts of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>74</sup> According to a report in the Ottoman archives, an Armenian group that went to Russian border from Muş, returned with ammunition.<sup>75</sup> The Armenians of Van were provoked by the Russian consuls of Van, Hoy and Rumiye in order to revolt against the Ottoman government.<sup>76</sup> The administration of the troops that

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<sup>72</sup> Dikran Mesrob Kaligian, *Armenian Organization and Ideology under Ottoman Rule 1908-1914*, (New Jersey: 2009), p. 221.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid, p. 222.

<sup>74</sup> Mehmet Perinçek, *Rus Devlet Arşivlerinden 100 Belgede Ermeni Meselesi*, (Istanbul: 2007), p. 77. Document Number: 27.

<sup>75</sup> Yusuf Sarıncay, *ibid*, p. 92.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid, p.92.

were organized by the Russian army was given to famous Armenian revolutionary leader, Antranik.<sup>77</sup>

After the outbreak of the Great War, the Ottoman Empire announced a mobilization of the entire nation. The Patriarchate of Echmiadzin offered a solution for the Armenian Question to the Russian Empire. According to this solution, under the patronage of the Russian Empire, the six vilayets of the Eastern Ottoman Empire must constitute an autonomous Armenia and Russians must assist for the administration of the country.<sup>78</sup> Furthermore, the Patriarchate of Istanbul who was the leader of the Ottoman Armenians also remarked that the future of the Armenians was in the hands of Russians and their early arrival to the Eastern Anatolia was absolutely important for the Ottoman Armenians.<sup>79</sup>

Also, the Russian war politics were in favor of the Armenians. Two weeks before the Dardanelles campaign got underway, foreign minister Sazonov had decided to try the effect of Russian “public opinion” on the West, in order to convince Russia's allies of the seriousness of her intentions with respect to war aims. For this purpose, a discussion of war aims was deliberately stirred up in the Russian Duma, when it was reconvened on February 9, following a long recess after the beginning of the war. Mikhail V. Rodzyanko, president of the Duma, led off the discussion of war aims on February 9 by predicting in his opening speech that the Russian Army, “with the cross at its breast and its heart” would “wisely carry out the Tsarist heritage and open for Russia the way to the

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<sup>77</sup> Ibid, p. 93.

<sup>78</sup> Hüsamettin Yıldırım, *Rüs-Türk-Ermeni İlişkileri*, (Ankara: 1990), p. 49.

<sup>79</sup> Ovannes Kaçaznuni, *Taşnak Partisinin Yapacağı Bir Şey Yok*, (Istanbul: 2005), p. 12.



decision of the historic tasks willed to it by its predecessors on the shores of the Black Sea, and remove the age-old threat of the German powers to the general peace and quiet.”<sup>80</sup> The important war aims were “the complete liberation of Armenia from Turkish yoke”, the annexation of the Austro-Hungarian Ukrainians to Russia (which would complete “the historic business of the great reunion of the Russian Land”), the reunification of Poland under the scepter of the Russian Tsar, and finally, “freedom of navigation in the Baltic Sea” which might involve “the possibility of territorial gains for Russia to the injury of Germany”.<sup>81</sup>

After the beginning of the Great War, Armenians living outside of the Ottoman Empire and thus far from the atrocities took partial military missions in the Russian, French and British armies. Russians promised an autonomous Armenian state under Russia’s protectorate in the Eastern Anatolia including the six *vilayets*. Armenians organized small military groups as part of the Russian military structure. These groups, *druzhinys* (in Russian) or *gamavors* (in Armenian), came into existence by the great efforts of the Armenian artists, teachers, merchants and students. It is possible to remark that there were only a few professional servicemen in these irregular groups.<sup>82</sup>

Besides the Russian *druzhinys*, the Armenian teenagers living especially in the USA served in the military of the Allied Powers. Special Armenian legions organized in the French army and fought against the Ottoman Empire especially at the southeastern front and they did their best to gain a victory for the Allied Powers. It is significant that

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<sup>80</sup> C. Jay Smith, *The Russian Struggle for Power 1914-1917*, (New York: 1956), p.199.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid, p. 202.

<sup>82</sup> Armen Marashlian, *Hayots Badmutyun Vetserort Kirk*, (Halep: 1960), p. 193.

these groups were not huge military organizations. The total number of the Armenian *druzhinys* in the Caucasus was five and each of them was formed with a thousand soldiers. By 1915, more than twenty thousand Ottoman Armenians went to the Russian territory, where they were trained in partisan tactics. Some of them returned to the Ottoman territory and joined to the revolutionary groups.<sup>83</sup> Some deserters joined the Russian Armenian troops and they participated in the Russian imperial forces as members of *druzhiny*.<sup>84</sup> The Armenian volunteer troops were mostly assigned in the border area. They were in close contact with their compatriots living in the Eastern Anatolia. Five Armenian *druzhiny* took the field on the outbreak of hostilities and others followed later and according to Paul Muratoff they fought well.<sup>85</sup>

The Armenian volunteer troops played crucial roles in the battle of Van. The Armenian volunteers and the 2nd Transbaikal Cossack Brigade of General Trukhin fought together against the Ottoman troops. Trukhin and his Armenians and Cossacks were engaged during June in clearing the Turks from the southern shores of Lake Van. The Armenian *druzhiny*, under such popular leaders as Antranik, Hamazasp and Dro, fought with great elan, and drove the Turkish gendarme units from the villages of Van.<sup>86</sup> These *druzhiny* groups were in front of the Russian army and they attacked before the Russian army in order to open the way to the Russian forces.

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<sup>83</sup> Justin McCarthy, *Death and Exile: The Ethnic Cleansing of Ottoman Muslims*, (The Darwin Press: 1995), p. 186.

<sup>84</sup> Akdes Nimet Kurat, *Türkiye ve Rusya*, (Ankara: 1970), p. 285.

<sup>85</sup> W. E. D. Allen and Paul Muratoff, *Caucasian Battlefields*, (Cambridge: 1953), p. 242.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid*, p. 301.

Armenian militias participated with the Russian troops in order to reach their revolutionary ideas, independence, autonomy etc. In January 1915, Ottoman officials estimated that up to 30.000 Muslim males had been killed and thousands more women and children left without shelter in the winter. Istanbul urgently informed the embassy of Italy, then still a neutral power, of alleged inhumane treatment of Ottoman prisoners by Armenians in the Russian army. David Lang estimates that the first battles at the beginning of 1915 took the lives of 45.000 Muslims, leaving just 7.000 alive.<sup>87</sup>

By 1917, the six vilayets in the Eastern Anatolia were mostly cleared from the Turkish forces. Leo describes the situation with following sentences:

The six *vilayets*, which are named as Armenian provinces were cleared from the Turkish forces and were totally under the control of the Armenian forces. Nothing was missing to defend that area. The Russian forces stocked great extent of ammunition, provisions and necessity needs. Everything was enough to defend that area. A nation who seeks for independence for centuries could not find such an opportunity! Nevertheless, there was a crucial problem. It was the reality of the Armenian question that in the six *vilayets* there were no Armenian population anymore. Most of the Armenian population were killed or deported during the deportation. All in all, everything was ready except the people.<sup>88</sup>

Furthermore, an Armenian official of the Tashnaksutyun from Erzurum province gave following speech to the Horizon daily:

... Our situation here is quite well both in the military post and in the front. Soldiers are getting ready for the war in every moment. It is crucial that we must canalize more young Armenians here. We occupied a great position here, yet we need more men to continue this struggle. Give all your attention to the problem of sending volunteers. We want fighters and only fighters!...<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> A. Reynolds, p. 144.

<sup>88</sup> Leo, *Trkabay Tsehapohutyun Kabaparanutyune 2. Hador*, (1935), p. 198.

<sup>89</sup> *Horizon*, 1916, No: 40, quoted from Leo, p. 199.

After the Bolshevik Revolution in October 1917, the Russian civil war started between the White Army and the Red Army. This incident affected the Caucasian region due to the fact that after the beginning of the civil war, the Transcaucasian Commissariat that was created by the Georgians, Armenians and the Azeris in November 1917 against the Bolshevik threat started to be solved. According to the *Mishag* daily, the Transcaucasian Commissariat was meaningless for the Armenian nation because with this Commissariat, Armenians were accepting only a small part of the Great Armenia as their motherland. The newspaper remarked following sentence at the end of the leading article: “In a word, after thousands of sufferings, mortifications and patriotic deaths, the Republic of Armenian is now returning its old location.”<sup>90</sup>

The nationalist thoughts among these nations let the Transcaucasian Commissariat weak and unreliable. Especially Azeris wanted Turkish government entrance to the Caucasian region, yet the Georgians and Armenians decided to fight against the Turkish army. Pan-Turkist Azeri government imagined a united Turkish government from Baku to Istanbul. The only obstacle was the Armenian existence in the Zangezur area, which was a kind of barrier less than three hundred kilometers between the two Turkish nations.

Wartime for the Eastern Armenians passed like a critical chess game. First, they supported the Russian army in order to capture Eastern vilayets of the Ottoman Empire. Following the Bolshevik revolution, they remained almost with nothing. They neither had the population nor the military power to protect the occupied zones. At the end of

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<sup>90</sup> *Mishag*, 1918, No: 36, quoted from Leo, p. 200.

the war, the future of the Eastern Armenians remained uncertain as the Western Armenians.

### Armenian Intellectuals During the Great War

Authors and poets are at the heart of a nation. What remains if you annihilate all of them? If you remove the emotion from the body of a human being, what remains? If you annihilate the sun, then what remains on the earth?<sup>91</sup>

These sentences belong to a well-known author and politician of the Ottoman Empire at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Abdullah Cevdet, who was one of the founders of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP). Abdullah Cevdet wrote these sentences for an anthology book of the Armenian literature that was published by Sarkis Srents in 1913. After his compliments about the Armenian literature, he concludes his article with the sentences. As he mentioned, authors and poets are at the heart of nation. By the guidance of notables, masses would find the right way and without notables, the nation remains speechless and blind.

Within two years from the publication of this book, on 24 April 1915, by the order of the Ministry of the Interior, the Armenian notables living in the capital, Istanbul, were rounded up and imprisoned. The great majority were murdered or forced to stay in bad conditions far from their families. This was an attempt directed by the

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<sup>91</sup> Sarkis Srents, *Ermeni Edebiyatı Numuneleri 1913 (An Anthology of Armenian Literature)*, (Istanbul: Aras Publishing, 2012), p. 17.

CUP in order to annihilate the Armenian notables living in the Ottoman Empire, especially in Istanbul. This section will clarify the meaning of eliticide and will explain why the arrest of the Armenian notables was an eliticide by comparing other eliticide cases happened in the world history.

### What is Eliticide?

Eliticide is the destruction of members of the socioeconomic elite of a targeted group – political leaders, military officers, businesspeople, religious leaders, and cultural/intellectual figures.<sup>92</sup> In most genocidal cases, annihilating the notables of an aimed group is one of the main points of the operations. The political and religious leaders are commonly the most important targets of the eliticide operations.

The annihilation of the Armenian intellectuals is not the only case in history. For instance, the liquidations of the Polish officers, which were prepared by Soviets in 1939, were obviously an eliticide example.<sup>93</sup> With the order of Stalin on 5 March 1940, more than twenty five thousand Polish notables were murdered in a day. Apart from military officers, political leaders, intellectuals and academicians were also arrested and murdered in the Katyn forest. Likewise, the incidents happened in Pakistan were an example of eliticide. On 25 March 1971, Dhaka University, which was the center of the Bengali academic life, was attacked by West Pakistan powers. Hundreds of students were killed during this operation, which was named, “Operation Searchlight” which

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<sup>92</sup> Adam Jones, *Genocide: A Comprehensive Introduction*, (Routledge, 2011), p. 26.

<sup>93</sup> *Katyn* film, which directed by Andrzej Wajda illustrates the liquidations of the Polish officers. Andrzej Wajda, Dir. *Katyn*, 2007.

should be commemorated as an eliticide due to the massacre of the university students and professors. Moreover, for example in Bosnian genocide, the eliticide of the wealthy Bosnians was a part of the Serbian government's plan.<sup>94</sup>

### The Armenian Intellectuals During the Wartime: The Armenian Eliticide

The arrest of the Armenian notables on 24 April 1915 was not different than the events that mentioned above. Mostly, they share the same methods. The Ottoman security forces arrested the Armenian notables in a one night and transported them by big red buses –in order to conceal them from public– to the targeted cities in Anatolia. The CUP government targeted firstly the Armenian notables because as Harutyun Sahrigyan mentioned in his article in Sarkis Srents' anthology book, *Ermeni Edebiyatı Numuneleri*, the Armenian authors are the voice of the Armenian nation and without their struggle Armenians cannot pronounce their sufferings to the world.<sup>95</sup>

On 24 April 1915, prearranged security officers arrested Istanbul's Armenian notables without showing any reason. Before the operation of arrest, the police officers checked the houses of the Armenian elites, prepared a list and maps in order to make the operation much more easier. They separated Istanbul into the twelve sections and organized special groups for each section. At their last meeting, they took the final decision that they were going to start arrests after the midnight, around 1 am. The

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<sup>94</sup> Mark Danner, "Endgame in Kosovo", *The New York Review of Books*, (May 6, 1999), p. 8. Quoted from Adam Jones, p. 323.

<sup>95</sup> *Ermeni Edebiyatı Numuneleri*, p. 54-55.

Security General Directorate bought new big red buses for the transportation of the Armenian elites secretly from the streets of Istanbul to the train station, Haydarpaşa.<sup>96</sup>

Vartkes Serengulyan, who was elected as a deputy for three times after the Revolution of 1908 from the vilayet of Erzurum, had good connections with the leaders of the CUP government. At the beginning of April, he went to see Talat Pasha to ask about recent news that were stating that the Armenians living in Istanbul were going to be deported to the East. In the *Tanin* daily, which was the organ of the CUP, famous author Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın was sharing the dialogue between Vartkes and Talat Pasha that happened at that meeting.

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One morning they informed that a visitor was coming to see Talat Pasha. Vartkes Serengulyan, the famous deputy of the Tashnaksutyun, came to the house. He was so worried at that morning. He was asking about the arrests of the Armenian elites and trying to make it clear that whether the situation was real or not. Talat Pasha answered confidently:

“It is politics, my friend, now it is the time of the Turkish nation. We will do everything for the glory of our nation.”

...

Vartkes started to beg Talat helplessly:

“I am begging you Talat. I have a wife and a baby. Do not you have mercy? Please tell me if I am in danger.”

Talat Pasha was thinking deeply. He was staring to an uncertain point silently. Finally he looked at Vartkes’ eyes.

“Go my friend, leave this country quickly.”<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> Ali Rıza Öge, *Meşrutiyetten Cumhuriyete Bir Polis Şefinin Gerçek Anıları* (Bursa: Günlük Ticaret Gazetesi Tesisleri: 1982), p. 232. As cited in Nesim Ovadya İzrail, *24 Nisan 1915*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2013), p. 44.

<sup>97</sup> Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın, *Bir İttihatçının Kaleminden Portreler: Tanıdıklarım*, (İstanbul: 2001), p. 49-50. As cited in Nesim Ovadya İzrail, *ibid*, p. 45.



To remark the seriousness of the situation, one may evaluate above-mentioned example. Talat Pasha was very serious toward his old friend even he said that they would do everything for the glory of the Turkish nation. At the end, he concluded his conversation by recommending Vartkes flee from the country. It is noteworthy to mention that this conversation took place at the beginning of April 1915. Thus, perhaps Talat Pasha was warning his old friend before the secret operation, which then turned to a murder.

The secret operation was a big surprise for the Armenian notables. After the declaration of the war and mobilization, the Armenian politicians and the Armenian Patriarchate mentioned that the Ottoman Armenians would stay loyal to the Ottoman government and the Armenian men would do their duty during the mobilization. Most of the Armenian notables especially those living in Istanbul trusted the CUP government. Nevertheless, the turning point of the CUP-Armenian relations was the 8<sup>th</sup> Congress of the Tashnaksutyun, which was held in Erzurum with the full participation of the politicians. During this congress, the CUP government offered an alliance to the Armenians in Caucasus. The CUP government was planning to wipe out the Russian threat by gathering the Muslim populations located in Caucasus. According to this plan, Georgians and Armenians were also an important wing of the struggle. For this reason, the CUP government offered an alliance to the Armenians against the Russian Empire. Nonetheless, after long discussions, Tashnaksutyun congress rejected the alliance offer but stated that the Ottoman Armenians were to stay loyal to the Ottoman Empire. The CUP leaders were not pleased with the response of the Tashnaksutyun and perhaps after this congress they changed their policy toward the Armenians.

The Armenian notables, especially the Tashnak leaders, had complete confidence in the CUP politics. As an illustration, at the midnight of the 24 April, one of the members of the Tashnaksutyun, Hacatur Malumyan who known as Agnuni, was talking about the politics with his friends Vartkes Serengulyan and Hayg Tiryakyan in his house. An undercover policeman knocked at the door, and summoned them for investigation without showing any reason. After three hours of investigation, he arrested Agnuni. Before going out of the house, Agnuni asked: “Does my friend Talat Pasha know anything about this arrest? You should ask him before taking me to the prison.” The undercover policeman smiled and showed him a written order of Talat Pasha about the arrest of the Armenian elites. Agnuni was shocked after seeing this order because they had eaten the lunch together with Talat Pasha on that very day.<sup>98</sup> Furthermore, some famous Tashnak leaders went to see Talat Pasha on 25 April to ask him for an explanation. Yet they saw only a smile on Talat’s face. Zohrab, wrote in his diary that “the Tashnaksutyun after working side by side with the Ittihad and in its interests, has now been dealt a heavy blow by it.”<sup>99</sup>

On the 24 April 1915, Security General Directorate sent a telegraph to the vilayet of Ankara stating that the military officers must be ready for the accommodation of the Armenian prisoners.<sup>100</sup> In another telegraph, the Security General Directorate warned the administration of the vilayet of Ankara. In this telegraph they included the signature of

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<sup>98</sup> Grigoris Balakian, p. 40-41; Antranik Çelebyan, *Antranik Paşa*, (Peri Yayınları: İstanbul, 2003), p. 164. As cited in Nesim Ovadya İzrail, *24 Nisan 1915*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2013), p. 57.

<sup>99</sup> Raymond Kevorkian, *The Armenian Genocide: A Complete History*, (I.B.Tauris, 2011), p. 252.

<sup>100</sup> Nesim Ovadya İzrail, p. 52.

Talat Pasha to show the seriousness of the operation. They stated that approximately one hundred eighty members of the Armenian elite will be deported and sixty of them will stay at the military storehouse of Ayaş and one hundred of them will stay at Çankırı.<sup>101</sup>

The majority of the Armenian elite who were arrested on the 24<sup>th</sup> April were the conservative Armenians who were merchants and wealthy people and who were loyal to the Ottoman Empire during the wartime. They made huge donations to the Hilal-i Ahmer and military aid organizations and organized aid campaigns for the disabled soldiers. However, Stefanos Yerasimos argues that Armenian elites applauded at every victory of the Allied Powers and cried at every defeat of them. According to him, the Armenian elites awaited the occupation of the Istanbul by the Allied Powers every day.<sup>102</sup>

There were radical supporters of the CUP among the arrested Armenian elites. For instance, Dr. Dikran Allahverdi was the president of the Pangaltı bureau of the *Mudafa-i Milliye Cemiyeti* that was one of the organizations of the CUP. *Mudafa-i Milliye Cemiyeti* aimed to train ordinary people to the military in order to support the power of the military with the new soldiers during the wartime. After the Great War, this organization became the key element of the Turkish Nationalist Movement. After his arrest, Dr. Dikran Allahverdi believed that there was a misunderstanding. Yet, he was also sent to the deportation.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> İbid, p. 84.

<sup>102</sup> Stefanos Yerasimos, *Istanbul 1914-1923*, (İletişim Yayınları: 1996), p. 68-70.

<sup>103</sup> Nesim Ovadya İzrail, *24 Nisan 1915*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2013), p. 70.

There were many Armenian police officers who played crucial roles during the operation process. These police officers generally were working as spies and informing the government about the activities of the Armenian elites, journals and the all activities of the Armenian community. Before the operation of April 24, the chief of the Istanbul's police organization, Bedri Bey, stated that they announced twenty job positions for the secret operation and one hundred fifty Armenians applied for the positions.<sup>104</sup> Especially there were three famous Armenian spies, Harutyun Mıgırdıçyan (Harun), Himayag Aramyants (Hidayet) and Arşavir Sahagyan.<sup>105</sup>

Harutyun Mıgırdıçyan was born in Gebze, which was a small town near the Anatolian side of Istanbul. He became Muslim and took the name Harun. Before 1915 he worked as a spy and informed the government's authorities about the "dangerous" publications of the Armenians. He played a crucial role in the preparation of the list of the arrest operation. He was the most reliable officer of the Turkish authorities during the deportation process. Furthermore, he helped to the preparation of the propaganda book, "The Activities of the Armenian Revolutionaries and Their Goals", which was prepared by famous Ittihadist journalist Asaf Bey.<sup>106</sup> He was in the police group who arrested Armenian deputy Krikor Zohrab on the 2<sup>th</sup> June in his house.<sup>107</sup> Furthermore, he reported everything that happened in the Armenian Patriarchate of Istanbul and he was

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<sup>104</sup> Ibid, p. 85.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid, p. 86.

<sup>106</sup> *Ermeni Komitelerinin Emelleri ve İhtilal Hareketleri-Meşrutiyetten Önce ve Sonra*, (Istanbul: Der Yayınları, 2001). As cited in Nesim Ovadya Izrail, *ibid*, p. 57.

<sup>107</sup> Nesim Ovadya Izrail, *1915 Bir Ölüm Yolculuğu Krikor Zohrab* (A Journey of Death Krikor Zohrab: 1915), (Istanbul: Pencere Yayınları, 2011), p. 321.

in the group that escorted the Armenian Patriarch Zaven from Istanbul to Musul in 1916.<sup>108</sup>

After the arrest of the Armenian notables, the Mixed Council of the Armenian community prepared a memorandum to submit it to the government. In this memorandum, they were asking the CUP government to stop the arrest of the Armenian notables. They concluded memorandum with the following sentence: “For the memory of the thousands of the Armenian soldiers who had died defending the Ottoman fatherland”. After declaring the memorandum, the members of the Council had the chance to meet Minister of Interior, Talat Pasha. They asked again to stop the arrest of the Armenian notables. Nevertheless, Talat Pasha answered that “All those Armenians, who by their speeches, acts and writings, have worked or may one day work toward the creation of Armenia, have to be considered enemies of state, and in the present circumstances, must be isolated.”<sup>109</sup> Thus, according to Talat Pasha, all Armenian notables must be annihilated because they were the enemies of the Turkish nation. The important point in his speech was the following part: “may one day work toward the creation of Armenia”. In other words, an Armenian notable even loyal to the government and Turkish nation may one-day work to create an independent Armenia. Therefore, the members of the Council who were talking with Talat Pasha at that moment were also the enemies of the Turkish nation and must be “deactivated.”

After the secret operation, the Armenian notables were transported to the two locations. One was Ayaş, located in the vilayet of Ankara, and the other location was

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<sup>108</sup> Nesim Ovadya İzrail, *ibid*, p. 87.

<sup>109</sup> Kevorkian, p. 253.

Çankırı, located 60 miles away from the vilayet of Ankara. They separated Armenian intellectuals into two parts: Political prisoners and neutral intellectuals. Political prisoners were generally transported to Ayaş and kept in strict control. On the other hand neutral intellectuals were free to circulate in the city of Çankırı. Thus, it was like an open prison. Political leaders such as Agnuni, Rupen Zartaryan, Harutyun Sahrigyan, Hayg Tiryakyan, Levon Paşayan, Murad Boyacıyan, Harutyun Cangülyan and the other Tashnak-Hnchak leaders were kept in the barracks in Ayaş.

The conditions of the prisons were terrible. The prisoners were starving and suffering from diseases. Most of them believed that the imprisonment would be an end for their lives. One of the intellectuals, Karekin Çakalyan, who was a famous member of Tashnaksutyun and the author of the books such as “Towards Federation”, “What is Nationality?”, “Ancient East” and “History of the Armenian People” wrote following letter to his wife when he was in the prison.

Dear,

They are taking me away, away from you, towards Diyarbakır. The following prisoners from Ayaş are with me: Agnuni, Zartar, Sarkis Minasian, Dr. Daghavarian and Djangul.

I met an Armenian in Eyreli station who promised to bring you my letter. Look after yourself and my daughters Nounous and Alos. We do not know where they are taking us, but I have great hopes of us meeting again. So, until we meet again, I embrace you and the goddams. (A nickname given to his daughters).<sup>110</sup>

Although he was finishing his short letter with hope, there was a perceivable fear in his words. Simpad Pürat, who was an activist supporting the Hnchaks and the author of books containing nationalist ideas such as “For Liberty”, “The Cowled Hero”, “The

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<sup>110</sup> Rita Soulahian Kuyumjian, *Teotig: Biography with a translation by Ara Stepan Melkonian*, (London: 2010), p. 84.

Eagle of Avarayr” wrote about the situation of the Karekin Çakalyan’s group in his letter on 30 May 1915:

Agnuni, Khajag, Zartarian, Djangulian, DagHAVarian, and Sarkis Minasian, having been summoned from Ankara, left last week. We do not know where they are now. I regret that, despite suffering many sacrifices under this rule of tyranny, reaching this period of Liberty and Constitution, we are once more suffering privations unjustly. Is this the fate of those who, for love of the fatherland, suffered so much for so many years? If Talat Bey knew how much my family and I have suffered, he would put an end my current situation, which is like his generosity.

...

Assuredly a day will come –and it is very close – when Justice will appear. However what’s that use? What we have suffered will remain with us.<sup>111</sup>

In order to justify these arrests, the *Tanin*, official organ of the CUP, was publishing the story of a vast Armenian plot. During the operation, hundreds of Armenian notables were transported to Anatolia. It was crucial for the CUP government to show some reasons for these arrests in order to conceal its deeds from the public opinion and the foreign civil officers.<sup>112</sup> Johannes Lepsius reports that three days before the arrests of the Armenian intellectuals in Istanbul, Armenian notables had begun to be arrested in many cities. These arrests continued in a systematic fashion over the course of three weeks, from April 21 to May 19.<sup>113</sup>

During their imprisonment, despite the uncertainty and desperateness, the Armenian intellectuals tried to keep their morale at high levels. They played games and sang songs. The most popular game among the prisoners was chess. Hayk Tiryakyan and

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<sup>111</sup> Ibid, p. 85.

<sup>112</sup> Yves Ternon, *The Armenians: History of a Genocide*, (Michigan: 1990), p. 185.

<sup>113</sup> Taner Akçam, *A Shameful Act: The Armenian Genocide and the Question of Turkish Responsibility*, (New York: 2006), p. 130.

Sımpad Pürat were playing well in this game. Some prisoners such as Yenovk Sahen who was a famous theatre player played some sketches from the works of Western authors. Noradunkyan and Jirayr were singing historic Armenian songs like “Hoy Nazanim” and “Grung Hayastani”. Because of the fact that reading books was prohibited, they were playing games or singing songs together in order to kill the time in the dark jailhouse.<sup>114</sup>

It is noteworthy to mention here that, the Ottoman authorities were actually not prepared for the operation. After the arrest, the Security Department of Ministry of Interior sent a cipher telegraph to Ankara and Kastamonu provinces stating that brief biographies of the Armenian notables should be noted and sent to Istanbul. They were asking their names, fathers’ names, occupations, where they were living in Istanbul, and their birthplaces.<sup>115</sup> Furthermore, in this telegraph, they used “the notables imprisoned (mevkuf) in Ayaş and the notables exiled (te’bid) in Çankırı.” Thus, they separated the notables into two groups in terms of their activities in politics.

After the arrest operation, on 29 April 1915, the Ministry of Interior sent a cipher telegraph to Kastamonu province stating that the notables who were being kept at Çankırı had to be kept under strict control. Furthermore, they noted that an escape for the prisoners was impossible in existing situation.<sup>116</sup> On 2 May 1915, the Ministry of Interior again sent a telegraph to emphasize that there was no need to keep Armenian notables who were sent to Çankırı in a prison. Thus, they were allowed to wander in the

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<sup>114</sup> Nesim Ovadya Izrail, *ibid*, p. 56.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid*, p. 124.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid*, p. 104.



city freely.<sup>117</sup> On 7 May 1915, a group of Armenian notable was allowed to return to Istanbul. The Minister of Interior Talat Pasha sent a telegraph to the Kastamonu province stating that Armenian notables Dr. Vahan Torkomyan, Agop Nargileciyan, Garabet Kerovpyan, Zare Bardizbanyan, Püzant Keçyan, Yervant Tolayan, Rafael Karagözyan and Gomidas Vartabet were to be allowed to return their homes.<sup>118</sup> Furthermore, a cipher telegraph was sent for Diran Kelekyan stating that he is allowed to live anywhere in the country where is isolated from the Armenian population.<sup>119</sup> On 14 October 1915, Talat Pasha sent a telegraph to the administration of Adana ordering the release of Dr. Bogosian who was imprisoned first in Ankara and then deported to the Aleppo.<sup>120</sup> On 31 October 1915, The General Directorate of Security Affairs of Istanbul sent a telegraph to the administration of the province of Ankara asking that how many prisoners remained in Ankara and how many of them were sent to the deportation. They were asking also a complete list of the current prisoners.<sup>121</sup>

During the years 1915-16, more than ninety Armenian notables were killed and more than thirty of them died from diseases en route. Only a group of the Armenian notables saved their lives during the operation and managed to return to Istanbul. After the operation, the CUP government managed to silence the Armenian media, politics and schools, thus the all organizations that constitute the Armenian community. In 1919,

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<sup>117</sup> Ibid, p. 105.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid, p. 128.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid, p. 129.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid, p. 126.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid, p. 130.

a group of Armenian intellectuals did the first commemoration of the Armenian eliticide.

The declaration was as below.

Today marks the fourth anniversary of that dreadful night when the Armenian intellectual elite was arrested, to disappear on the road to exile. A group of intellectual survivors of the dreadful calamity felt that they had a duty to show their respect and sorrow to their poor brothers' memory at this time.

To that end, invitations to join this Committee were dispatched, and the following people responded: ladies –Yevpime Avedisian, Zarouhi Kalemkarian, Bercuhi Barsamian, Mari Stambulian and Miss Arpiar. Gentlemen – Dikran Zaven, Meroujan Barsamian, H.J.Siruni, Kevork Mesrob, Shahan Berberian, Hovhannes Boghosian, Takvor Sukiassian and Dr. Parsegh Dinanian.

While arranging a magnificent church and community commemoration on Friday 12<sup>th</sup> April (old style), our Committee also undertook to publish this “Memorial” to immortalize its respect and sorrow not just for local intellectuals and activists, but also those who lived in the provinces and were killed for the same reason.

Bearing in mind the current situation, it would not have seen just to say that the Committee managed to prepare a complete work.

This is a first attempt, if it is possible to say so, leaving to the future the publication of an enriched and complete Memorial, whose profits are allocated to the Intellectuals Fund set up to aid the widows and orphans of the Great Martyrs.<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> Rita Soulahian Kuyumjian, *ibid*, p. 225.

## CHAPTER II: THE GENERAL MOOD OF THE ARMENIANS AFTER THE GREAT WAR

### The Armistice of Mudros and the Ottoman Empire

The partition of the Ottoman Empire was decided at the very beginning of 1916. In a response, which was given to President Wilson, Allied Powers mentioned “to enfranchise the populations enslaved to the sanguinary Turks” and “to drive out of Europe the Ottoman Empire, which is decidedly alien to Western civilization.”<sup>123</sup>

According to their first agreements, Russia was to occupy Eastern Anatolia, İstanbul and the Straits. The British Empire and France were to share Mesopotamia, and Italy was to dominate Western Asia including İzmir.

As Harry Stuermer indicated in his crucial work, the Great War was a game of “to be or not to be” for the Ottoman Empire.<sup>124</sup> After the heavy defeat at the Balkan Wars, the CUP government did its best for the victory of the German Empire during the Great War in order to recapture the lands that the Ottoman Empire had lost during the Balkan Wars. Nonetheless as a small group of Ottoman intellectuals from the very beginning of the Great War, believed that the defeat for the Ottoman Empire was inevitable.<sup>125</sup> Before the war, the Ottoman Empire made attempts to gain the support of Britain, France and Russia. For instance, in July 1913, Tevfik Pasha presented an offer of alliance to Sir Edward Grey, who was the foreign secretary of the UK. Nevertheless,

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<sup>123</sup> Gaston Gaillard, *The Turks And Europe*, (London, 1921), p. 43.

<sup>124</sup> Dr. Harry Stuermer, *Two War Years In Constantinople: Sketches of German And Young Turkish Ethics And Politics*, (New York: George H. Doran Company: 1917), p. 219.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid*, p. 220.

Sir Edward Grey rejected the offer and recommended that the Ottoman Empire should stay neutral in case of a war.<sup>126</sup> Similarly, before the war, Talat Pasha offered an alliance to S. Sazonov who was the minister of foreign affairs of the Russian Empire. Yet, the Russians showed no sympathy toward this offer.<sup>127</sup> Furthermore, in 1914, with the efforts of Cemal Pasha “Le comite France-Turquie” was established and Cemal Pasha visited Paris in order to establish new connections with the French authorities.<sup>128</sup> Nevertheless, the CUP government could not manage to gain the support of the Allied powers and therefore started to adopt the German’s view. Although the Turkish society was not totally supporting entering the war next to the German Empire, the CUP government supported the German ideas without hesitation. As a Turk in a high official position stated in one conversation, Turks will always remain pro-English and pro-French and it was hard to integrate the German propaganda to the Turkish society.<sup>129</sup> Ahmed Emin Yalman remarked how the pro-English feelings among the Turkish society had changed as following:

... Anti-British feeling had become intense in Turkey in 1914, when England sequestered for her own use two warships under construction for Turkey in British shipyards. The Turks had raised the money for those ships by popular subscription, and British refusal to deliver them on completion was deeply resented.<sup>130</sup>

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<sup>126</sup> Feroz Ahmad, *İttihatçılıktan Kemalizme*, (Kaynak Yayınları: İstanbul, 1999), p. 155-156. Quoted from Salih Tunc, “I. Dünya Savaşı Yaklaşırken Osmanlı-Fransız İlişkilerinde Yakınlaşma Girişimleri: Fransa Türkiye Dostluk Cemiyeti ve Cemal Paşa’nın Paris Seyahati”, *OTAM* 25, p. 186.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid, p. 186.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid, p. 187.

<sup>129</sup> Dr. Harry Stuermer , p. 224.

<sup>130</sup> Ahmed Emin Yalman, *Turkey In My Time*, (The University of Oklahoma Press: 1956), p.

The CUP triumvirate, especially Enver Pasha believed the idea that German-Ottoman alliance would bring a total victory for the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, Enver Pasha pushed the government for a German alliance. Enver Pasha's relations with the Germans became so close that the Germans started to call Turkey "Enverland". It was possible to see even "Enverland" stamps on boxes of ammunition sent to the Turkish army from the German Empire.<sup>131</sup> It was clear that the German interest of the CUP government led the Ottoman Empire into the Great War.

The Ottoman Empire gave her all resources in order to be successful during the Great War. Yet, it was a great blow to the economic and social systems of the government. For instance, after the war, the wheat production decreased from two hundred twenty four million kilograms to one hundred nineteen million kilograms<sup>132</sup> and on the other hand the population of the Ottoman Empire decreased in huge amounts after the war. During the Dardanelles Campaign, more than 250,000 soldiers died<sup>133</sup> and more than 700,000 civilians lost their lives during the wartime.<sup>134</sup> The *Alemdar* daily wrote that the CUP government was totally responsible for the defeat. According to the

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<sup>131</sup> Ibid, p. 53.

<sup>132</sup> Vedat Eldem, "Cihan Harbi'nin ve İstiklâl Savaşı'nın Ekonomik Sorunları" (The Economic Problems of the Great War and the Independence War), *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi Semineri*, (Hacettepe Üniversitesi: Ankara, 1975), p. 25-26.

<sup>133</sup> Yılmaz Öztuna, *Osmanlı Devleti Tarihi*, (Faisal Finans Kurumları Yayını: İstanbul), p. 667.

<sup>134</sup> Vedat Eldem, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun İktisadi Şartları Hakkında Bir Tetkik*, (Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları: Ankara), p. 61.

*Alemdar* daily, Ottoman citizens remained hungry for four years, they ate mud instead of bread and the teenagers fought at the battlefields without sufficient equipment but in the end, they surrendered because of the CUP government's policies.<sup>135</sup> According to Yusuf Hikmet Bayur, more than six hundred thousand soldiers died, eight hundred thousand soldiers remained disabled, eight hundred thousand Armenians and two hundred thousand Greeks were killed.<sup>136</sup> Hence, the Great War was a complete catastrophe for the Ottoman Empire both economically and socially.

After the Great War, the administrative powers that were given to the CUP government by the Ottoman authorities were to be taken back. Sultan Vahideddin, for instance, kept silence during the war period and confirmed all the misdeeds of the CUP government. Yet, after the Great War, his attitude against the CUP government had changed remarkably. Sultan Vahideddin, considered the CUP government as the only hindrance to his renewed rule. Therefore, he calculated that being close to the Allied Powers would bring him to power again. By blaming the CUP government for all its misdeeds, Sultan Vahideddin thought that the Allied Powers would offer a fair peace agreement and he would save his throne.<sup>137</sup> Furthermore, Rauf Bey, who was the head of the Ottoman delegation during the peace negotiations, stated in his one conversation

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<sup>135</sup> “Dört sene aç kaldık, ekmek yerine çamur yedik, evladımız soğuk, kar tipi altında yalnız ayak ve yarı aç bir hâlde harp ettiler, köylerimiz harap, tarlalarımız dikenlik hâlinde kaldı. Maliyemiz iflas derecesinden daha aşağı bir derekeye geldi, kolumuz kesik, ayağımız bağlı teslim olduk. Haysiyetimiz kalmadı, paramız kalmadı. Fakr-u sefalet omuzlarımızı çöktürüyor.”, “Allah Belalarını Versin”, *Alemdar*, 16 Mayıs 1335, No:144-1454, s.1.

<sup>136</sup> Yusuf Hikmet Bayur, *Türk İnkılâbı Tarihi* (The History of Turkish Revolution), (TTK Yayınları : Ankara, 1967), C. III, K. 4, s. 787.

<sup>137</sup> A. L. Macfie, *The End of the Ottoman Empire 1908-1923*, (New York: 1998), p. 175.

with Admiral Arthur G. Caltrophe that, the Ottoman Empire had entered war because of Russia and now that Russian was defeated, the Ottoman Empire ready to be an ally of the British Empire as they were in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>138</sup> It is obvious that the new Turkish Cabinet and the Sultan Vahideddin were trying to gain the sympathy of the British Empire in order to save the Empire by their assistance.

On the other hand, there was a heated debate between the Allied Powers for sharing the Ottoman land. Lloyd George remarked on January 5, 1918:

While we do not challenge the maintenance of the Turkish Empire in the homelands of the Turkish race, with its capital at Constantinople –the passage between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean being internationalized and neutralized– Arabia, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine are in our judgment, entitled to a recognition of their separate national conditions.<sup>139</sup>

Sharing the same thoughts with Lloyd George, President Wilson specified the Turkish position in the twelfth point with following sentences:

The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unrestricted opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.<sup>140</sup>

It is noteworthy that both Lloyd George and President Wilson remarked that they had no interest in the areas where Turkish population was in majority. Thus, the USA and the

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<sup>138</sup> Ibid, p. 178.

<sup>139</sup> Albert Howe Lybyer, “Turkey Under the Armistice”, *The Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 12, No. 4 (Apr., 1922), p. 449.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid, p. 449.

British Empire made it clear that their primary aim was on Syria, Palestine, Arabia and Armenia, in other words, the non-Turkish regions of the Ottoman Empire.

There is an evident fact that after the collapse of the Russian Empire in 1917, all the partition plans that were made early in 1916 had changed. Greece joined to the game and started to play a crucial role in the occupation process. The entrance of Greece to the partition process not only changed the relations between the Allied powers but also shaped the Turkish national ideas. It is clear that the entrance of Greece irritated Italy due to the fact that the Italians were to occupy İzmir according to the early agreements. Yet, İzmir was given to “Greater Greece” and furthermore the Greek Empire wanted Epirus, Thrace, İstanbul, İzmir, Trabzon, and Adana. On the other side, the landing of Greeks to İzmir awakened the Turkish society, protests were done in İstanbul and it paved a way for the Turkish national movement.<sup>141</sup>

In the afternoon of 26 May 1919, after the occupation of İzmir by the Greeks, Crown Council was held at Yıldız Köşk including the various political groups to express their thoughts about the recent situations. The general idea was to give a national response to the occupations. The interesting point was the other idea, which was an idea of mandate, offering to give the administration of Turkey to a Western Power such as the British Empire or the United States.<sup>142</sup> The audience did not accept this idea yet it is a clear clue that intellectuals were also thinking about a mandate system. Furthermore, at

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<sup>141</sup> Gaston Gaillard, p.88.

<sup>142</sup> “Somebody else showed the inanity of such suggestions and proposed to entrust the mandate of the administration of Turkey to a Great Power –without mentioning which Power. He added: ‘Otherwise Turkey will be dismembered, which would be her ruin.’” Quoted from *ibid*, p. 53.



the beginning of June, 1919, the Ottoman League sent a note to Mr. Montagu, British Secretary of India, stating that the survival of the Ottoman Empire from these partition plans was crucial to the British Empire due to her Muslim population in the colonies. Therefore, they remarked the importance of the Ottoman Empire for the British Empire secretly and perhaps as an intimidation.<sup>143</sup>

The efforts of the Ottoman authorities to win the sympathy of the British Empire were not successful. The British negotiation delegation did nothing to soften the peace agreement. Rauf Bey could do nothing against the demands of the Allied Powers, at the end of the negotiations he accepted all of the Allied demands including the opening of the Straits; the occupation of the Dardanelles forts; the free use by Allied ships of all Ottoman ports and the right of the Allies to occupy strategic points in the Ottoman Empire.

The only aim of Sultan Vahideddin during this period was to restore the traditional powers of the sultanate. In order to reach this aim, the dissolution of the Ottoman parliament and the complete suppression of the CUP were two major steps. As a result, in the early months of 1919, important figures of the CUP including Emmanuel Karasu, Kara Kemal, Midhat Şükrü, Tevfik Rüştü and Canbolat were arrested. The leaders, Enver, Talat and Cemal who fled from the country and who were charged for many reasons such as war crimes, Armenian massacres, Bab-ı Ali coup of 1913 and taking the Ottoman Empire into the Great War. By accusing the CUP government with everything done during the Great War, the new government tried to justify its legitimacy in the eyes of the Entente Powers. On the other hand, the CUP leaders organized a new

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<sup>143</sup> Ibid, p.54.

secret organization, Karakol, which aimed to prepare the masses for a post-war resistance and revolt.<sup>144</sup> Furthermore, it is possible to claim that the CUP authorities remained the control in the military and were ready to pave a way for a long national resistance.<sup>145</sup>

It is possible to argue that there was no sovereign government, in the years between 1918-1922 in the Ottoman Empire. After signing the Armistice of Mudros on October 30, 1918, the Ottoman Empire had passed away not theoretically but practically. Admiral Arthur G. Calthorpe, the British signatory, gave the guaranty that there would be no Allied military presence in Istanbul. Nevertheless, on November 13, 1918, the Allied occupation of Istanbul began. Nur Bilge Criss points out the *modus operandi* of the Allied occupation of Istanbul: “The Allied occupation of Istanbul was completed in two phases; from November 13, 1918 to March 20, 1920, Istanbul was occupied *de facto*; on March 20, 1920, the Allies declared that they were occupying the city *de jure*.”<sup>146</sup>

There are many speculative population statistics about the population of Istanbul at that time. One of the radical ones of them is the statistics that mentioned in the work of Clarence Johnson.<sup>147</sup> According to that statistics, in 1920, Istanbul boasted an

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<sup>144</sup> Eric Jan Zürcher, *Milli Mücadelede İttihatçılık*, (İletişim Yayınları: İstanbul, 2011), p. 124-127.

<sup>145</sup> Gaston Gillard, p. 186.

<sup>146</sup> Nur Bilge Criss, *Istanbul Under Allied Occupation 1918-1923*, (Leiden; Boston; Köln: Brill, 1999), p. 2.

<sup>147</sup> Clarence Johnson, *Constantinople Today: or the Pathfinder Survey of Constantinople: A study in Oriental Social Life*, (New York: 1922), p. 16.

estimated 1 million to 1.200.000 inhabitants; 560.434 were Muslims; 384.689 Greeks; 118.000 Armenians; and 44.765 Jews. The rest of the people consisted of the foreigners and the Levantines. On the other hand, according to the annual *Statesman's Yearbook*, the total population of the Istanbul in 1914 was 1.203.000<sup>148</sup>. Having said that, the total population can be accepted as 1.200.000 and approximately the half of the population was Muslim and the other half was non-Muslim.

The Armistice of Mudros had a different meaning both for the Muslims and non-Muslims. For the Muslims, it was a signature of defeat and it was the last defeat of the Ottoman Empire. The Armistice and the following occupation by the troops of the Entente headed to a material and moral crisis among the Turkish citizens.<sup>149</sup> It was clear that the end of the Ottoman Empire was at hand. On the other hand, the meaning of the Armistice of Mudros was a victory for the non-Muslim population of the Ottoman Empire. The leaders of the Committee of Union and Progress escaped from the country with a German warship and went to the Russia and they left many problems behind them. The Muslim population of the Empire was in shock naturally, and the non-Muslims were pleased in general with the acceptance of the Armistice of Mudros. When Allied fleet sailed through the Bosphorus for the occupation, hundreds of Armenians and Greeks rushed to the streets to welcome them. There was a surreal happiness, a “drunkenness” in their attitude.<sup>150</sup>

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<sup>148</sup> Mears, p. 580.

<sup>149</sup> Erik Jan Zürcher, *The Unionist Factor*, (Leiden: 1984), p. 71.

<sup>150</sup> Lerna Ekmekcioglu, *Improvising Turkishness: Being Armenian in Post-Ottoman Istanbul (1918-1933)*, (PhD diss., New York University, 2010), p. 3.

Especially the Greeks were the most satisfied non-Muslim community. After the defeat of the Ottoman Empire, they made many celebrations in the streets of Pera and most of them displayed the flag of Greece and posters of Venizelos in their houses and working places. After the signature of defeat, many partition theories were started to be discussed. The words that mentioned in “*The Partition of Turkey A Diplomatic History 1913-1923*” definitely explains the thoughts of Venizelos.

Venizelos made no request for Constantinople, however, though 'in reality Constantinople was a Greek town' it should be internationalized and placed under the League of Nations including the *vilayet* of Constantinople, the *sanjaks* of Ismid, Gallipoli, Biga and a part of Bursa. The sultan should be made to leave and go to Konia or Bursa, and a small Turkish State should be confined in Asia. Armenia, Venizelos thought, should include the six Armenian *vilayets*, with Russian Armenia and Trebizond and Ardahan, as well as Cilicia.<sup>151</sup>

In order to understand the general atmosphere of the Armenians after the victory of the Allies, the words of Boghos Nubar Pasha who was a politician and the key figure of the community are crucial to recall:

After the victory of the Allies it will readily be seen that it could no longer be a question of simple reforms, but that liberation from the Turkish yoke was imperative. The Armenians therefore demanded their liberation and the constitution of an independent Armenian State. Furthermore, the Armenians shed their blood on all the fields of battle, in France, in Asia Minor, in the Caucasus, under the French, English or American flags, in order to contribute, so far as their means permitted, to the victory of those who fought for justice and right, and from whom they awaited their deliverance and the reconstitution of their national life.<sup>152</sup>

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<sup>151</sup> Harry N. Howard, *The Partition of Turkey A Diplomatic History 1913-1923*, (Oklahoma: 1931), p. 222.

<sup>152</sup> Mears, p. 72.

It is clear that Boghos Nubar Pasha emphasized an independent Armenia instead of an autonomous government. Furthermore, he suggested the way by which an independent Armenia would be established. “The majority of the population would be rapidly reestablished in favor of the Armenians, for all those who have taken refuge abroad or immigrated nearly everywhere to escape the massacres will return to their mother country as soon as they shall have the assurance of living there in safety. The dream of united Armenia could have been realized only if the United States had accepted the mandate, for of the belligerent Powers that country was the least affected by the war, and was in position to undertake so great a task and to take under their protection a united Armenia stretching from the Mediterranean to the Black Sea and including the present Armenian Republic.”<sup>153</sup> A mandate of the United States was the solution of Nubar Pasha for the Armenian provinces.

On February 26, 1919, the Armenian delegation presented its demands to the Paris Conference. Both M. Aharonian, president of the Republic of Armenia and Boghos Nubar Pasha made statements. Armenia aspirations called for an Armenian state including Cilicia with the *sanjaks* of Maraş, the six *vilayets* and a part of Trebizond, and the territory of the Armenian Republic.<sup>154</sup>

Although the Armenians also were celebrating the Allied Occupation of the Istanbul, their mood was different than Greeks. Thousands of Armenians died during the Great War and thousands of orphans, widows and villagers, who managed to save their lives during the deportation of 1915, were trying to reach Istanbul in order to ensure

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<sup>153</sup> Mears, p. 73.

<sup>154</sup> N. Howard, p. 226.

their lives under the guaranty of the Allies. This is because the mood of Armenian dailies was different than the dailies of Greeks or Jews. There were many news items in which they were requesting justice from the government, in which they were identifying the leaders of CUP who planned the deportation of the Armenians. Other articles were reporting the condition of the towns and cities where Armenians still existed. One cannot find any victory sign or celebration in the Armenian journals. The common mood of the Armenians can be understood by analyzing the news, articles and reports that published in the columns of the newspapers. According to Criss, the Istanbul Armenian press was discreet about greater Armenian ambitions to avoid attracting Turkish hostility.<sup>155</sup> In addition, by 1921, there was no European power left that supported the Armenian cause. Therefore, leading Ottoman Armenians, including Zaven Efendi, the Armenian Patriarch, were resolved to forget past problems and to live in peace with the Turks.<sup>156</sup> Furthermore, after the Treaty of Lausanne, an active association was founded in İstanbul, called “*L'Association d'Amitié Turko-Armenienne*” to bring about a rapprochement between the Turks and the Armenians. The Turkish officials at İstanbul were the members. The noteworthy object of the Association was to “forgive and forget former troubles and grievances”.<sup>157</sup> It is quite obvious that the Kemalist victory shaped the attitude of the Ottoman Armenians. Especially after 1922, the Armenian community,

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<sup>155</sup> Criss, p. 47.

<sup>156</sup> Rahmi Çilek, “Türk Basınında Azınlıklar (Rumlar ve Ermeniler) 1919-1922” (Armenians and Greeks in the Turkish Press), (M.A thesis, University of Ankara), pp. 124-128.

<sup>157</sup> Mears, p. 531.

which remained in the Turkish Republic' borders, was supposed to establish friendly connections with the Turks.

After the Great War, it is obvious that the Ottoman Empire went through a radical change. The dictatorship of the CUP was no longer head of the government, on the one hand Sultan Vahideddin and his supporters were trying to save the Empire by staying close to the Entente Powers, on the other hand, the CUP organization went through a cover change in order to conceal their activities for a national liberation. Apart from these, Armenians, after accursed years were trying to get on the stage in order to defend the rights of the remaining Armenian population. Arabs were demanding independence from the Ottoman Empire and also there was an idea of establishment of a Jewish government in the Palestine. Under these circumstances, it is possible to claim that the Ottoman Empire was in a great chaos with all her bodies after the Great War.

#### The Relations Between the Armenians and the Allied Powers

After the Great War, the CUP government searched for an appropriate peace agreement with the Allied Powers. Yet, the fact that having a peace agreement suitable to the CUP ideas was impossible at that situation, the CUP government left the power not practically but theoretically. Thus, although the CUP government resigned, bureaucrats and officials who were supporting the CUP remained in their office. Therefore, it is possible to argue that the CUP did not disappeared totally after the defeat. After the resignation of the CUP government on 13 October 1918, Ahmed İzzet Pasha established the new

government on 14 October 1918. The main aim of the new government was to make a peace agreement and establish healthy relations with the Allied Powers. The negotiations started on October 27 and the Armistice of Mudros was signed on October 30.

After becoming Grand Vizier of the Ottoman Empire, Ahmed İzzet Pasha tried to act friendly to the Armenians, especially to the new government of the Armenian Republic, which was established in the Caucasus. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs organized meetings with the delegation of the new Armenian government and according to Rauf Orbay, the Turkish government did her best to accept the demands of the new Armenian government.<sup>158</sup> On 21 October 1918, the Ministry of Interior sent a telegraph to all provinces stating that the Armenian migrants who wanted to return their hometowns could come back. Furthermore, it was stated that the officials must provide essential needs of the migrants including travel expenses.<sup>159</sup> On 22 October 1918, the General Directorate of Security Affairs sent a cipher telegraph to the provinces stating that the Armenian orphans who were detained at Muslim families must be returned to their families or relatives immediately.<sup>160</sup> In addition, it was stated in a notification that was sent from the Ministry of Interior to the Ministry of Education that the Armenian

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<sup>158</sup> Rauf Orbay, *Cebennem Değirmeni (Siyasi Hatıralarım) 1*, (Emre Yayınları: İstanbul, 1933), p. 163. As cited in Akın Çelik, *Osmanlı'nın Ermeni'yle İmtihanı* (Paraf Yayınlar: İstanbul, 2011), p. 71.

<sup>159</sup> Akın Çelik, *Osmanlı'nın Ermeni'yle İmtihanı* (Paraf Yayınlar: İstanbul, 2011), p. 72.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid*, p. 72.



orphans should be returned to their families.<sup>161</sup> It seems that, the post-war Ottoman government tried to aid Armenians who survived the deportation.

Ahmed İzzet Pasha's government also dismissed some governors who mishandled the deportation process. According to an article published in the *Vakit* daily, the governor of Kastamonu, Atif Bey, and the governor of Musul, Memduh Bey, were dismissed because of their attitudes during the deportation.<sup>162</sup> These were positive steps to recover the Armenians who perished during the long deportation.

On 2 November 1918, Armenian deputies of the current period, Mateos Nalbantian, the deputy of Halep, Artin, the deputy of Maraş, Agop, the deputy of Erzurum, Medetian, the deputy of Izmir, Onnik İhsan and the deputy of Sivas, Dikran Barsamian submitted a resolution asking to the government that what they will implement to punish the perpetrators of the Armenian deportation and what the government thought about the Armenian massacres.<sup>163</sup>

The Armenian co-Patriarch Archbishop Cevahirciyan Efendi visited several branches of the new government to show his pleasure about recent orders related with the Armenian orphans and refugees. The Armenian Patriarchate made a decision to establish two commissions for the Armenian orphans and the Armenian refugees.

Archbishop Cevahirciyan Efendi visited also the Minister of Interior, Fethi Bey, to

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<sup>161</sup> *Vakit*, 23 Teşrinievvel 1918, no: 359. As cited in Akın Çelik, *Osmanlı'nın Ermeni'yle İmtihanı* (Paraf Yayınlar: İstanbul, 2011), p. 73.

<sup>162</sup> *Vakit*, 24 Teşrinievvel 1918, no: 360. As cited in Akın Çelik, *Osmanlı'nın Ermeni'yle İmtihanı* (Paraf Yayınlar: İstanbul, 2011), p. 74.

<sup>163</sup> Sabahattin Özel, *Millet-i Sadıka Ermeniler*, (Tasam Yayınları: İstanbul, 2005), p. 40, quoted from Akın Çelik, *Osmanlı'nın Ermeni'yle İmtihanı* (Paraf Yayınlar: İstanbul, 2011), p. 76.

inform the decision of establishing commissions and to get permission to establish these commissions before the beginning of winter.<sup>164</sup> The president of Council of State, Reşit Akif Pasha, showed his sympathy for the Armenians with the following words: “I will consider myself as guilt-ridden if I fail to recover the Armenians’ sufferings. As you may know, while I was the governor of the Sivas province, I showed my sympathy and respect to the Armenian community.”<sup>165</sup> These were clear clues that after the CUP government’s negative attitude against the Armenians, the position of the new government was friendly and helpful.

After the Armistice of Mudros, it is possible to argue that there was a certain change in the perception of the Ottoman authorities toward the Armenians. Critical issues that were not touched in the Ottoman media or in the assembly during the wartime started to be discussed. Armenian and Greek deputies of the Ottoman Empire made an alliance to submit a parliamentary question on 2 November 1918. In this parliamentary question they asked to the government about the punishment situation of the responsible officials who caused the death and massacred more than one million Armenians, and who prohibited non-Muslims to do business in order to nationalize the economy, and who exiled the Greek population without showing any reasons.<sup>166</sup> After this parliamentary question, heated debates occurred in the Ottoman assembly. The Greek deputy of Aydın, Emmanuelidi Efendi, got the floor and blamed the CUP government

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<sup>164</sup> *Vakit*, 27 Teşrinievvel, 1918, no: 363. As cited in Akın Çelik, *Osmanlı’nın Ermeni’yle İmtihanı* (Paraf Yayınlar: İstanbul, 2011), p. 85.

<sup>165</sup> Akın Çelik, *Osmanlı’nın Ermeni’yle İmtihanı* (Paraf Yayınlar: İstanbul, 2011), p. 84.

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid*, p. 87.

for its activities in the Armenian deportation. The Turkish deputies also joined the debate and clarified that both the Christians and Muslims suffered during the Great War and the Turkish deputies were doing best for establishing justice in the society again.<sup>167</sup>

During the wartime, the CUP government had transformed the status of the Armenian Patriarchates. According to this change, the Akhtamar and Sis Patriarchates were united and the location of the Istanbul Patriarchate moved to Jerusalem. Furthermore, the patriarchate of Echmiadzin, which was the center of the Armenian Apostolic Church, was rejected totally. This way the CUP government thought by rejecting the authority of the Echmiadzin, the Russian effect on the Ottoman Armenians would decrease and the power of the CUP government on the Ottoman Armenians would rise again. Likewise, the CUP government made an end of the General Council, which was a committee under the authority of the Armenian Patriarchate and in which the Armenian notables had discussed the politics and had made decisions on behalf of the Armenian nation. After three years, the government of Tevfik Pasha changed this legislation and gave it the old form. This was a positive change for the Armenians because the Armenian Patriarch, Zaven Efendi, was able to return to the Istanbul after this law. On 5 November 1918, the Ottoman government offered Zaven Efendi to return Istanbul and be the Patriarch of Istanbul again.<sup>168</sup> This was also a positive step that was done by the new government to reestablish justice.

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<sup>167</sup> Ibid, p. 88.

<sup>168</sup> Ibid, p 109.

Besides the efforts of the new government, Sultan Vahideddin was also optimistic about post-war situations. On 23 November 1918, he gave a speech to the *Daily Mail* and said following sentences:

Some political circles in Turkey treated the Armenians badly and I watched events with a great sadness. The massacres between two brothers who were sharing the same land broke my heart. After gaining power at the Sultanate, I started to do my best to punish those who entered these bad incidents. Because of some reasons it was hard to proceed rapidly but now these incidents are under serious investigation.<sup>169</sup>

It is clear from his words that both the new government and the Sultanate were friendly toward the Armenians and they acknowledged that “bad things” happened to the Armenians during the deportation. Perhaps, they were acting friendly to the Armenians in order to gain sympathy of the Allied Powers. The new government and the Sultanate were trying to rebuild the relations that were damaged during the wartime in order to save the Empire from a mass occupation.

The *Yeni Gazete* daily published an article with a heading “Tehçir Kurbanları” (The Victims of the Deportation). In this article the newspaper started to introduce the victims of the Armenian deportation and blamed the CUP government together with the German Empire. The newspaper also provided some complaint petitions, which were written during the deportation time to urge the government authorities to punish those who acted badly to the Armenians. Furthermore, the *Yeni Istanbul* daily provided the speech of Sait Molla. Sait Molla stated in his speech “we, Ottomans, are guilty because we kept silent during the Armenian deportation.”<sup>170</sup> Although the new government and

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<sup>169</sup> Ibid, p. 110.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid, p. 124.

the Sultanate were totally blaming the CUP government for the Armenian massacres, there were intellectuals such as Sait Molla defending that bystanders were also guilty because they did nothing to stop the deportation.

It is noteworthy to mention that some Armenians also did more harm than good to the Armenian refugees. Some of them tried to capture the property of the Armenian refugees. Extraordinary situations of the Armistice period gave courage to the opportunist Armenians. For instance, an opportunist Armenian collected money from the refugees by convincing them. The Ministry of Interior sent a notification to the administration of Eskişehir stating that Agop Arslanyan who introduced himself as village headman to the Armenian refugees to collect money from the refugees in exchange for the keys of the houses.<sup>171</sup> These incidents were not extraordinary after the Armistice of Mudros.

According to *Ati* daily, after the Armistice of Mudros, the Armenians were feeling free to give voice to the idea of independence. The newspaper claimed that in a Christmas ceremony, which was held in the Armenian Patriarchate, a priest mentioned the importance of working on the idea of an independent Armenia and also he prayed that following year they would celebrate the Christmas in the capital of free Armenia.<sup>172</sup>

The *Ati* Daily's claim seems an exaggeration yet it is possible to argue that the Armenian political organizations also benefited from the free atmosphere of the Armistice and they accelerated their activities. It is clear that there was an independence idea among the Armenian politicians. For instance, to increase the Armenian population

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<sup>171</sup> Ibid, p. 136.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid, p. 184.

in some provinces especially in the Eastern Anatolia we know that Armenian political organizations forced the Armenian families such as families living in Balıkesir province to move to Van or Adana because these two cities were considered as parts of the independent Armenia.<sup>173</sup>

On the other hand, Avedis Aharonian, who came to Istanbul as a representative of the new Armenian government to establish connections with the Turkish government gave a speech to the *Verchin Lur* daily including following sentences:

... The conflicts between the Muslims and the Armenians in the Caucasia are not important at all. They all happened under Tsarist rule. Today, in Caucasia, Yerevan and Karabakh, the Armenians and the Muslims are living together peacefully. Therefore, I have no doubt that it will be the same in the new Armenian government. It is time understand each other and forget about the past events.<sup>174</sup>

In addition to Avedis Aharonian, Hadisian, who came to Istanbul as a representative of the Armenian government like Avedis Aharonian, used following sentences:

... We played our last game during the Great War and lost that game. We never had a government in this lands throughout the history. We were dreaming. Now, one part of this dream came to an end, which was about the Turkish lands. Henceforward, it is impossible to claim rights in the Turkish provinces. The Turkish provinces belong to the Turkish nation. We lost this game definitely.<sup>175</sup>

Furthermore, Hadisian stated that there was no relation between the Armenian government and Boghos Nubar Pasha who was trying to defend the Ottoman Armenians' rights. Hadisian mentioned that Boghos Nubar Pasha's activities and efforts had no connection with the Armenian government and his activities were affecting

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<sup>173</sup> Ibid, p.186.

<sup>174</sup> *Verchin Lur*, 1918, no: 1296, quoted from Leo, p. 202.

<sup>175</sup> *Verchin Lur*, 1918, no: 1302, quoted from Leo, p. 203.

seriously the new relations between the Turkish and Armenian governments.<sup>176</sup> The primary aim of the Armenian delegation that visited Istanbul was to express their gratitude to the Ottoman Empire for tolerating the establishment of the Armenian republic.<sup>177</sup>

Another mission was a land issue. The Turkish government occupied southern Lori and Bambak regions, which had belonged to the Republic of Armenia. The Turkish government and the Ministry of War made statements that the Ottoman forces would withdraw; nevertheless the Turkish forces stayed their zones until the announcement of the defeat of Central Powers.<sup>178</sup> The Armenian delegation made numerous efforts to inform the Ottoman leaders about their demands but neither Talat Pasha and Enver nor the Sultanate gave a positive response to the delegation. It is obvious that the Armenian political leaders were also separated during this period. Although it was a small land, Eastern Armenians were satisfied with the declaration of independence in the Caucasus. Therefore, the politicians of the new Armenian government were trying to establish new healthy relations with the Turks. As Aharonian mentioned in his speech, the events that happened in the past were not important for them. Therefore, it is possible to claim that the new Armenian government was ready to forget Armenian massacres. On the other hand, Ottoman Armenians tried to seek for justice and the recognition of the massacres. It is clear from the statements of Aharonian and Hadisian that the newly established

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<sup>176</sup> Leo, p. 204.

<sup>177</sup> Richard G. Hovhanissian, *The Republic of Armenia, Volume I, The First Year: 1918-1919*, (University of California Press: 1971), p. 52.

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid*, p. 53.

Armenian Republic in Caucasus first of all was trying to save its borders. That is why, they were ready to forget the wartime events in order to establish friendly connections with the Ottomans. The fact that Hadisian and Aharonian were annoyed by Nubar Pasha's statements which were about the idea of creating a united Armenia in Eastern Anatolia and Caucasus, they were insistently stating that Nubar Pasha had no relations with the Armenian government.

With the Brest-Litovsk Treaty, the Russian army left the six *vilayets* totally to the control of the Ottoman Empire at the beginning of March 1918. The Armenian forces were in shock and not ready for a Turkish attack because they were alone against the Ottoman army. Furthermore, Azeris were waiting at the back of the Armenians for the entrance of Turkish army to the Caucasus. The Armenian forces were supposed to fight both with the Turkish army and the Azeris. The Turkish army started an effective attack to the Armenian border, conquered Kars and also Alexandropol (today Gumru) that was only a hundred kilometers from the capital Yerevan. The Armenian irregular forces were not sufficient to defend the border against the Turkish army. According to Armen Marashlian, these attacks by the Turkish government were clues of the CUP idea that all the Armenian population must be annihilated. According to him, after annihilating the Armenians living in the six vilayets, the Turkish government was trying to conquer the last stronghold of the Armenian nation.<sup>179</sup> This was a turning point in the Eastern Armenian politics. After the Turkish attack, Eastern Armenians started to believe that Western Armenians' struggle was fair.

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<sup>179</sup> Armen Marashlian, *Hayots Badmutyun Vetserort Kirk*, (Halep: 1960), p. 195.



It was obvious that Eastern Armenians were in big trouble, which was impossible to solve by their own sources. Yet, the whole Armenian political circles united and the assembly declared Aram Manugyan as *ishanabed* (dictator). Aram Manugyan organized the Armenian army against the Turkish power and in the following days Armenian troops won the struggle in the Sardarabad, Karakilise and Abaran battlefields. This miraculous victory paved the way for an independent Armenia. In 28 May 1918, after the victory, the Armenians declared their independence and created their own country after seven centuries.<sup>180</sup> Richard G. Hovhanissian summarizes the general mood of the new government flawlessly:

... The inglorious birth of the Republic followed four years of devastating warfare, the decimation of the Turkish Armenian population, the illusory hope prompted by the first Russian revolution of 1917, the disastrous policy of the Sovnarkom at Brest-Litovsk, the relentless Turkish invasion of 1918, the disintegration of Transcaucasia, and, finally, the frantic efforts of the Armenian leaders to save the nation from total annihilation... The new government turned to the problems of a barren and isolated land, abounding with rocks and mountains, orphans and refugees, heartache and misery.<sup>181</sup>

It should be noted that, there was a great famine in the newly established government.

People were dying in the streets because of hunger and diseases. An American eyewitness, who was in Yerevan, the capital of the Republic of Armenia, wrote at the beginning of 1919:

A terrible population! Unspeakably filthy and tattered demoralized throngs; shelterless, deathstricken throngs milling from place to place; children crying aloud; women sobbing in broken inarticulate lamentation; men utterly hopeless and reduced to staggering weakness, heedless of the tears rolling down their dirt-streaked faces. As a picture of the Armenians most in evidence in Armenia I can think of

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<sup>180</sup> Ibid, p. 197.

<sup>181</sup> Richard G. Hovhanissian, p.38.

nothing better than this, unless I turn to other kinds of mobs: Large numbers here and there, wide-eyed, eager, hands outstretched in wolfish supplication; teeth bared in a ghastly grin that had long since ceased to be a smile –an emaciated, skin-stretched grin, fixed and uncontrollable.<sup>182</sup>

Ronald G. Suny analyzes the establishment of an independent Armenian state as following:

First of all, it should be remembered that independence came about because of the absence of alternatives; it took place in a power vacuum and lasted as long as the two large states that had divided Armenian in the last century and a half were both too weak to establish hegemony over this small country. As soon as either or both of these powers, Russia and Turkey, regained strength, one was likely to reestablish its authority over Armenia.<sup>183</sup>

After the announcement of the Armistice of Mudros, the Armenian political circles and the assembly made a common decision and declared that both Eastern Armenia (the current Republic of Armenia) and the Western Armenia (six *vilayets* in the Eastern Anatolia and the Cilicia region) must be united. Thus, the difference between *Rusahay* (Russian Armenian) and *Trkahay* (Turkish Armenian) must be removed. The assembly asserted that a new *miatsyal* (united) government must be created.<sup>184</sup>

Furthermore, some of the Western Armenians struggled against the Ottoman Empire by joining the Allied forces. The French army fought at the Palestine front against the Ottoman Empire. There were three Armenian battalions (around two thousand soldiers) that fought valiantly against the Ottomans and occupy the Cilicia.

British General Allenby stated Boghos Pasha that he was so proud that he had Armenian

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<sup>182</sup> Ibid, p. 127.

<sup>183</sup> Ronald G. Suny, *Looking Toward Ararat: Armenia in Modern History*, (Indiana University Press: 1993), p. 126.

<sup>184</sup> Armen Marashlian, p. 204.

battalions under his order, according to him the Armenian battalions fought brilliantly and played a crucial role in the Allied Powers' victory.<sup>185</sup> On 14 July 1918, Clemenceau wrote to Boghos Nubar Pasha:

The spirit of self-sacrifice of the Armenians, their loyalty towards the Allies, their contributions to the Foreign Legion, to the Caucasus front, to the Legion d'Orient, have strengthened the ties that connect them with France. I am happy to confirm to you that the government of the Republic, like that of Great Britain, has not ceased to place the Armenian nation among the peoples whose fate the Allies intend to settle according to the supreme laws of Humanity and Justice.<sup>186</sup>

After the occupation of Cilicia by French forces, the Armenian press and society welcomed French forces and the perception toward the French government shaped suddenly among the Armenians. An Armenian daily "Cilicia" provided the following sentences after the occupation:

... France! Great France! The protector of the liberty, brotherhood and equality! The protector of the democracy and civilization! There is no doubt that France is the savior of those nations who are oppressed by the Monarchies...<sup>187</sup>

Furthermore, another Armenian daily which was published in Adana, *Hay Tsayn*, wrote: "... Nevertheless, we believe that, France, you will always protect the oppressed, poor and miserable nations in front of the international area."<sup>188</sup>

On 12 February 1919, Avedis Aharonian who was giving friendly speeches to the Turkish government as mentioned above and Boghos Nubar Pasha who defended the

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<sup>185</sup> *Yeridasart Hayastan*, 1919, no: 100, quoted from Leo, p. 208.

<sup>186</sup> Richard G. Hovhanissian, "The Allies and the Armenia 1915-1918", *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (Jan., 1968), p. 151.

<sup>187</sup> *Cilicia*, 1919, No: 35, quoted from Leo, p. 212.

<sup>188</sup> *Hay Tsayn*, 1920, No: 379, quoted from Leo, p. 214.

rights of Western Armenians with an endless energy made an alliance. It seems that Avedis Aharonian and Hadisian who were the representatives of the Armenian government changed their minds rapidly because of the fact that Turkey surrendered totally. Perhaps, the partition plans of the Allied Powers whetted their appetites. The newly established Armenian Republic also started to think to capture some provinces from Eastern Anatolia and to extend the borders. Now, they became also the protector of the Western Armenians but they had said before that Western Armenians were not their business. Avedis Aharonian, who stated in 1918 that Boghos Nubar Pasha had no relations with the Armenian Republic, changed his opinions rapidly and prepared a new *miatsyal* (united) Armenia map with Nubar Pasha and submitted to the Paris Peace Conference. According to this map, the six *vilayets*, Cilicia and Trebizond were in Armenia's borders.<sup>189</sup>

On 10 October 1920, the Turkish government accepted the Treaty of Sevres and by which the Turkish government acknowledge the *Miatsyal* Armenia including the six provinces, Cilicia and the Republic of Armenia. According to Armen Marashlian, this treaty was a big victory for the Armenians in terms of legitimacy and recognition. Both the Turkish government and the Allied Powers acknowledged the Great Armenia by this treaty.<sup>190</sup> Yet, with the victory of the Kemalist movement in Turkey, the Treaty of Sevres was never implemented. Furthermore, the army of the new Turkey attacked Karabagh-Zangezur-Nahicevan area to unite the forces with the Azeris. The Armenian forces defended their motherland again and did not let the Turkish forces enter Caucasia.

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<sup>189</sup> Leo, p. 207.

<sup>190</sup> Leo, p. 206.

Nevertheless, the Armenian government could not resist against the Bolshevik demands. On 2 December 1920, the Republic of Armenia transformed into a Soviet state. Thus, the Armenians not only lost *miatsyal* Armenia but also lost the small Eastern Armenia and all of their dreams came to an end. On the other hand, the Western Armenians were still hoping the implementation of the Treaty of Sevres. The *Cagadamard* daily used following sentences just after the sign of the treaty in 11 August 1920:

... Despite those atrocities and massacres which were done by Turks against the innocent Armenian nation, we believe that if Turks really work to make us forget about the massacres and act against us friendly, the Armenian nation will accept those apologies slowly and will never think to response those atrocities by blood. There is one way to solve the revenge problem, perhaps the most beautiful way. Making that nation strong and productive again and paving the way of rebirthing and reconstruction for that nation including complete independence.<sup>191</sup>

It is obvious that Treaty of Sevres gave courage to the Ottoman Armenians. Yet, as stated in the *Cagadamard* daily, the Ottoman Armenians were not keen on taking revenge from the Ottoman Empire.

## Those Who Continued to Live: The Armenian Population After the Great War

### The Demographic Dimension

After the Armenian deportation, the American Consul General in Salonika reported on the condition of deported Armenians in Anatolia as following:

Encouraged by the Armistice, and the declaration of the Ottoman Government that the deported are now free to return to their homes, many of these [Armenian]

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<sup>191</sup> *Cagadamard*, 1920, no: 536, quoted from Leo, p. 236.

people . . . are now setting out to return to their old homes. They are to be found all along the roads, in general without money, food, shelter, or clothing; and are therefore easy victims to death and disease. Their condition is made still worse by the fact that although the Central Government has apparently changed its attitude toward them, nevertheless the attitude of local officials with whom they come in vital daily contact, has not changed. . . . Those of the deported who reach their homes at last, are finding them either in ruins as a result of general plunder, or else they are occupied by Moslem refugees from European Turkey, the Caucasus, or elsewhere. The latter refuse to give up the homes they occupy, and the Moslem officials naturally support the Moslem occupants rather than the Armenian newcomers, who were the former owners. Thus the Armenians find themselves on the streets of their own villages, surrounded by hostile people and officials, and without means of work or support.<sup>192</sup>

After the Great War, the Ottoman government did not allow the return of the Armenians to the Vilayet-i Sitte, since the Muslim population of these provinces was decreased due to the Russian invasion during the war. Because, if Armenians were resettled there, it was highly possible that Muslims would form as the minority in case of a plebiscite.<sup>193</sup> That is why, the only province that the Armenian refugees resettled totally was Adana. Approximately 120,000 Armenians resettled in this province under the French occupation.

After the Armenian deportation, the situation of the Armenian survivors was as the following:

1) those who had converted and were living in Muslim localities; 2) those who were scattered throughout the empire, living in isolation and looking for their families, whose fate they did not know; 3) those who had returned to their homes, which they

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<sup>192</sup> From George Horton to the Secretary of State, 16 Dec. 1918, United States-National Archives, Record Group 59, 867.4016/398. Quoted from Nesim Şeker, "Demographic engineering in the late Ottoman Empire and the Armenians", *Middle Eastern Studies*, 43:3, p. 469.

<sup>193</sup> *Ibid*, p. 470.

generally found in ruins or inhabited by “new owners who did not intend to be pushed out”; 4) those who had regained possession of their goods (an exception); 5) those who did not have the means they needed to return to their native regions; 6) those who had returned but had been unable to regain their homes and had left again, bound for areas in which their safety was assured.<sup>194</sup>

It should be noted that the majority of the Armenian survivors were as in the first case, thus, the majority converted to Islam and was living with Muslim families. With the Armistice of Mudros, thousands of Armenians who were living a life of great misery in the deserts of Syria started to search for an appropriate way to return Anatolia. A considerable amount of the Armenian deportees managed to return Adana area thanks to the rail line and the French and British authorities. Nevertheless, they were not allowed to pass through Adana and enter to the interior parts of Anatolia. This situation created a new Armenian community at Adana and there were more than 40,000 Armenian deportees at the province.<sup>195</sup> After the Armenian deportation, it was clear that the Armenian communities of the six provinces, especially Erzurum, Bitlis, Van, Harput and Diyarbakir were totally disappeared. It was hard to find even fifty Armenian families in those provinces. On the other hand, there were still Armenians in Sivas province, but not more than five thousand. It is clear that after the Armenian deportation, except Adana province, the Armenian population was disappeared in Anatolia. The Ecumenical and Armenian Patriarchates published population statistics early in 1919. According to these

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<sup>194</sup> *La Renaissance*, no. 291, 8 November 1919. Quoted from Raymond Kevorkian, *The Armenian Genocide: A Complete History* (London: I. B. Tauris & Co Ltd, 2011), p. 745.

<sup>195</sup> *La Renaissance*, no. 47, 26 January 1919. Quoted from *ibid.*, p. 746.

data, there were 762 Armenian deportees in Bitlis, 195 deportees in Diyarbakir, 2,897 deportees in Sivas, 1,992 deportees in Harput, 3,193 deportees in Erzurum and 45,075 deportees in Cilicia.<sup>196</sup> Before the Treaty of Sevres, the population picture of the Armenians was as following: 150,000 in Istanbul, 17,800 in Sivas, 1,500 in Erzurum, 500 in Van, none in Bitlis, 3,000 in Diyarbakir, 150,000 in Adana and 30,000 in Harput.<sup>197</sup> Furthermore, it should be noted that there were 5,800 Armenian orphans who were abducted in the deserts of Der Zor and there were 58,000 Armenian orphans and widows who were abducted in Anatolia and 400,000 Armenian deportees in the Caucasian Armenia who were escaped especially from Erzurum, Van and Bitlis during the deportation.<sup>198</sup> Justin McCarthy similarly states that there were 400,000 Armenian survivors in Caucasian Armenia, 100,000 in Syria, 50,000 in Lebanon, 25,000 in Iraq, 40,000 in Egypt, 50,000 in Iran, 45,000 in Greece, 30,000 in France, 20,000 in Bulgaria and 35,830 in North America.<sup>199</sup> Therefore, besides Istanbul and Adana, there were no significant Armenian communities remained at Anatolia after the Great War. In an interview to a representative of the New York Times (December 26, 1922), Rev. G. R. Montgomery, director of the Armenian-American Society, stated that there were 70,000 Armenian refugees in Anatolia and 40,000 Armenian refugees in Istanbul with 100,000

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<sup>196</sup> Raymond Kevorkian, *The Armenian Genocide: A Complete History*, p. 749.

<sup>197</sup> Ibid, p. 749.

<sup>198</sup> Zartonk Daily, *Hushamadyan Medz Yegherne* (Beirut: 1965), p. 218.

<sup>199</sup> Justin McCarthy, *The population of the Ottoman Armenians*. Available [online]: "<http://www.tallarmeniantale.com/PopulationOttomanArmenians.pdf> [22 July 2013].



local Armenians. Furthermore, Lord Curzon gave the number of Armenians as 150,000 in Istanbul and 150,000 in Anatolia.<sup>200</sup>

According to the Patriarchate's estimations, there were 58,000 Armenian orphans and widows who were living with Muslim families in Anatolia. Children were generally taken from their family before the deportation and many of them were taken by local Muslims or government personnel and they were converted to Islam.<sup>201</sup> These children were between 4-12 years old. Thus, they were not able to identify themselves and that is why the Turkish authorities chose these children who became Muslim Turks in a few months and who were assimilated easily in time.<sup>202</sup> On the other hand, some Armenian widows were being kept forcefully in the Muslim homes and some of them found a Muslim man in order to protect themselves during deportation. These women were not able to return their native community because it was a "shameful act". After living with a Muslim man more than four years, it was difficult for them to find an Armenian husband in the community. In addition to this, they had no wish to return to their places of origin where perhaps they would not find even one of their relatives.<sup>203</sup> Therefore,

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<sup>200</sup> Eliot Grinnell Mears, *Modern Turkey* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1924), p. 517.

<sup>201</sup> Lerna Ekmekcioglu, "A Climate for Abduction, a Climate for Redemption: The Politics of Inclusion during and after the Armenian Genocide", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, no: 3, 2013, p. 528.

<sup>202</sup> Taner Akçam, interview by Tuğba Tekerek, *Taraf Gazetesi*, İstanbul, Turkey, 22 July 2013. Available [online]: "<http://www.taraf.com.tr/haber/cocuklar-mallari-icin-kapisildi.htm> [24 July 2013].

<sup>203</sup> Yervant Odian, *Accursed Years: My Exile and Return from Der Zor 1914-1919* (London: Garod Books, 2009), p. 213.

these Armenian widows and orphans accepted Muslim-Turk identity after the Great War and continued their lives as Muslims.

Emma Cushman, who was a worker at Near East Relief, stated in her report that the total numbers of Armenian orphans reclaimed by the organizations since the Armistice of Mudros was 90,819. 12,480 of these were rescued in Anatolia, 11,339 were rescued in the areas occupied by the Allied Powers, and 67,000 were rescued in Armenia, Georgia, Egypt and Cyprus. According to Cushman, 73,350 Armenian orphans were believed to remain in Turkish institutions and homes with 60,750 in the unoccupied areas and 12,600 in the occupied areas.<sup>204</sup>

At any rate, it is a clear fact that the statistics regarding the Armenian survivors are insufficient. Like the prewar statistics, sometimes these statistics were also used as propaganda by both the Turkish and Armenian authorities. In conclusion, the total population of the Armenians after the Great War can be clarified by using the abovementioned sources as in the following table.

Table 3: Survived population after the Great War

Ottoman Provinces and Other Countries	Survived Population
Van	500
Bitlis	0
Erzurum	1,500
Sivas	13,000
Diyarbakir	3,000

<sup>204</sup> Richard G. Hovannisian, ed. *Looking Backward, Moving Forward: Confronting the Armenian Genocide* (New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 2003), p. 97.

Harput (Only in Arapgir)	35,000
Adana (Incl. Maras, Zeytun, Sis, Haçın)	182,500
Samsun, Izmit, Edirne, Bursa, Aydın, Kastamonu, Ankara, Konya	78,000
İstanbul	150,000
Caucasus	400,000
Iraq	25,000
Syria	100,000
Lebanon	50,000
Jerusalem	2,500
Bulgaria	20,000
France	30,000
Greece	45,000
Egypt	40,000
Iran	50,000
North America	35,830

### The Sociological Dimension

The survivors of the Armenian deportation were mostly widows and orphans who lost their families during the march and remained lonely during those years. Interestingly, the CUP government showed excessive interest in the Armenian orphans and widows.

The Ministry of Interior sent many cipher telegrams to the provinces ordering that the Armenian orphans should be kept in the governmental orphanages and not be sent to Istanbul.<sup>205</sup> Vahe Tachjian interprets these CUP concerns about the Armenian orphans and widows as following:

It must be pointed out that the nationalistic ideology of the CUP had not exhibited the same ferocity and extremism in the case of young Armenian girls, women and children as it had in that of Armenian males of all ages. CUP ideology tolerated the integration of women into Muslim society, provided, of course, that these individuals no longer lived in a group, but were isolated in their new Muslim environment and certain to lose their national identity. These women and children were often regarded as spoils of war, slaves, or even objects of sexual slavery. In essence, the tactic deployed by the CUP was to prevent the perpetuation of the national identity of this component of Armenian society. Thus, rather than being physically destroyed, women and children were transferred from one group to another, always with the *idee fixe* of changing their national identity.<sup>206</sup>

According to Ara Sarafian, the Armenian orphans who were given to Muslim families were part of an assimilation campaign organized by the Ottoman government and the Muslim families unwittingly participated in the “genocidal designs” of the government.<sup>207</sup> According to him, absorption of the Armenian orphans into the general Muslim population was the final step of a genocidal plan. It is stated that 20,000

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<sup>205</sup> Dr. Ibrahim Ethem Atnur, *Türkiye’de Ermeni Kadınları ve Çocukları Meselesi*, (Ankara: Babil Yayıncılık, 2005), p. 57.

<sup>206</sup> Vahe Tachjian, “Gender, nationalism, exclusion: the reintegration process of female survivors of the Armenian genocide”, *Nations and Nationalism*, 15 (1), 2009, p. 63.

<sup>207</sup> Ara Sarafian, “The Absorption of Armenian Women and Children into Muslim Households as a Structural Component of the Armenian Genocide” in Omer Bartov and Phyllis Mack (eds.), *In God’s Name: Genocide and Religion in the Twentieth Century*, (New York: Berghahn, 2001), p. 216

Armenian orphans who were in different parts of the Ottoman Empire were collected during the Armistice period by the efforts of American and Armenian organizations.<sup>208</sup>

In 30 April 1917, the Ministry of Interior sent a general telegram to all provinces and ordered that the Armenian and Greek orphans who were under twelve years old should immediately be settled in the governmental orphanages.<sup>209</sup> Another telegram dated 25 July 1917 ordered that all the statistics about the Armenian and Greek orphans including their age, gender and religion (whether converted to Islam or not) should be sent to Istanbul and secondly they should inform the Ministry of Interior about how many of these orphans were settled in the orphanages and how many of them were homeless.<sup>210</sup>

Certainly, the most complicated question regards the purposes of these activities. Were these efforts, which were done by the CUP government, were done just because humanitarian purposes or were there another purposes like assimilation and absorption? For instance, Cemal Pasha who was one of the leaders of the CUP and who was the commander of the Fourth Army in Syria during the wartime worked assiduously for the Armenian orphans. He organized campaigns in order to accommodate the homeless orphans in the public orphanages. He established new orphanages in Aleppo and Damascus.<sup>211</sup> With his efforts, Halide Edip (a Turkish feminist) and her friends organized various projects about the education system in these orphanages. They opened

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<sup>208</sup> Ara Sarafian, *ibid*, p. 217

<sup>209</sup> Dr. Ibrahim Ethem Atnur, p. 58.

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid*, p. 58.

<sup>211</sup> *Ibid*, p. 59.

the School of Industry in Beirut which had more than four thousand students who were mostly orphans.<sup>212</sup> However, it was stated that in these orphanages which were established by Cemal Pasha, there was an implementation of a strong assimilation process in order to Turkify the Armenian orphans. For instance, James Barton gives the example that more than two thousand Armenian orphans who were in Antoura orphanage were Islamized.<sup>213</sup> Interestingly, an Armenian orphan who stayed in one of the orphanages that Cemal Pasha established stated that Cemal Pasha believed that these Turkified Armenian orphans would serve and rise the Turkish nation after the war.<sup>214</sup> Therefore, it is possible to argue that perhaps the CUP government planned to use the Armenian orphans as a workforce during the postwar period.

Emma D. Cushman, an American humanitarian worker from Near East Relief, wrote that “unique and clever manner in which the Turks contrive to conceal the identity of the children. They try to bring about not so much a change a name and locality, but rather a complete change of mind in the child. These children, for a period of time extending from one week to three months, will deny strenuously that they are Christians [sic]. Some indeed will go so far to revile the Christians as infidels, and declare they are loyal Moslems, while at the same time their history is sufficiently doubtful to keep them under observation, and sooner or later will be forthcoming that they are indeed

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<sup>212</sup> Ibid, p. 59.

<sup>213</sup> James Barton, *Story of Near East Relief*, (New York: 1930), p. 74. Quoted from Dr. Ibrahim Ethem Atnur, *ibid*, p. 60.

<sup>214</sup> Dr. Ibrahim Ethem Atnur, p. 60.

Christians.”<sup>215</sup> Similarly, the attitude of Ceman, also known as Verjine coincides with Emma D. Cushman’s thoughts. The story of Ceman was written as following:

10-11 years old. Brought from a neighborhood in Istanbul, from Sinan Hoca Seyh Nurullah’s house. A very beautiful and charming girl, they have kept her... three days in a subterranean den explaining her that if she tells she is *Gavur* (Christian), the Armenians and the British will kill her. She kept silent under this terror for two days and confirmed that she know nothing. By and by her terror passed she got used to us and began to relate that she was from Ankara, her name Verjine, father’s Vitchen, mother’s Foulík (?), sister’s Josephine. During exile she has gone as far as Aleppo with her family; there, they have separated her from them and brought to Constantinople. She knows the Armenian letter, but cannot speak.<sup>216</sup>

Besides the orphanages, the Armenian orphans were given to the Muslim families in some regions where there were no orphanages. According to the Ottoman statistics, 10,314 Armenian orphans were given to the Muslim families during the wartime. Interestingly, it was noted that these Armenian orphans were to be educated with the norms of “adab-i Islamiye” (Islamic principles).<sup>217</sup> Thus, the government stated in a legal document that they were to be converted to Islam. Armenian authorities as well as

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<sup>215</sup> Letter from Emma Cushman to Eric Drummond, ALON-UNOG, Health and Social Questions Section (1919-1946), 12/14199/4631. Quoted from Armen Manuk Khaloyan, “Rescued and Safe: Armenian Orphans and the Experience of Genocide”. Available [online]: “[http://www.academia.edu/2425274/\\_Rescued\\_and\\_Safe\\_Armenian\\_Orphans\\_and\\_the\\_Experience\\_of\\_Genocide\\_Center\\_for\\_Armenian\\_Remembrance\\_Occasional\\_Paper](http://www.academia.edu/2425274/_Rescued_and_Safe_Armenian_Orphans_and_the_Experience_of_Genocide_Center_for_Armenian_Remembrance_Occasional_Paper)” [16 January 2014].

<sup>216</sup> Keith David Watenpaugh, “The League of Nations’ Rescue of Armenian Genocide Survivors and the Making of Modern Humanitarianism, 1920-1927”, *American Historical Review* 115 (December 2010): p. 1331.

<sup>217</sup> Dr. Ibrahim Ethem Atnur, p. 67.

missionaries argued that the Ottomans wanted to raise these Armenian orphans as Muslims and they aimed to use these orphans as labour force.<sup>218</sup>

In 9 November 1918, an interesting article titled “Armenian female children” published in the *Yeni Istanbul* daily. The following sentences were written in this Turkish newspaper:

After torturing the miserable Armenian nation and conducting many lawlessness toward them, now the CUP rebels without being satisfied with their dishonest wealth, encroaching the Armenian orphans who were homeless. The “poor hero” of Diyarbakir Reşid Pasha, who resides in Şişli and who keeps forcibly six male and one female orphans in his residence is a great example for this.<sup>219</sup>

During the deportation, because of the disorder in almost every organization that the government orchestrated, the Armenian orphans suffered so much. The Armenian widows and girls were taken by Ottoman officers were sold to elite and middle-class families as *beslemes* (servants). It was such an atmosphere that the wealthy families benefited from these miserable as a source of free labor.<sup>220</sup> The story of Serona, which was written by a humanitarian worker, can be given as an example of such sufferings:

She was deported with her parents sister and brother to the region of Çemişgezek. Her brother died on the road being too small for such journeys. In a village named Egizar she lost her parents and her sister and she found herself alone among Turks. The chief man of the village took her to his house and kept her two years. Then he gave her as a present to a Turkish officer living in Mardin. Serona lived 3 years in the officer’s house but he sent her at night to our

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<sup>218</sup> Nazan Maksudyan, *Hearing the Voiceless- Seeing the Invisible: Orphans and Destitute Children As Actors of Social, Economic and Political History in the Late Ottoman Empire*, (PhD diss. Sabanci University, 2008), pp. 355-359.

<sup>219</sup> *Yeni Istanbul*, 9 November 1918. Quoted from Dr. Ibrahim Ethem Atnur, *ibid*, p. 140.

<sup>220</sup> Keith David Watenpaugh, *ibid*, p. 1324.



Hassitebe agent. From there she was sent to Der-Zor. Our Der-Zor agent got a passport for her and sent her to us. As far as we know she has no relatives.<sup>221</sup>

Similarly, the situation of Dikranuhi, daughter of Panos, reflects what these miserable suffered during the deportation. Her father died while serving in the Ottoman army and she was deported with her mother. On the road, a Kurd took them both and forced her mother into concubinage. When her mother died, the Kurd wanted to take Dikranuhi as a concubine, but she somehow managed to escape.<sup>222</sup>

Besides the Armenian widows and orphans, there were thousands of Armenians who accepted Islam and continued to live at their native lands. Nevertheless, according to the local Muslims, the new Armenian converts who accepted Islam were not sincere. Rubina Perroomian points out the issue as following: “They were never trusted by Muslims and were called *dönmes*. And although Muslims themselves might neglect their religious rituals and practice, they kept the Islamized Armenians under continuous scrutiny to see that they followed the religion of Islam punctiliously. Muslim or Christian, an Armenian was a *gavur oğlu gavur* (son of an infidel).”<sup>223</sup> Therefore, they always acted unfriendly against the converted Armenians. For instance, when a convert entered a shop and said “*esselamu aleykum*” (peace be with you), the local Muslims, instead of answering “*aleykum esselam*” (peace be upon you) would answer “*merhaba*”

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<sup>221</sup> Archives of the League of Nations, United Nations Organization, Geneva [ALON-UNOG], Records of the Nansen International Refugee Office, 1920-1947, Registers of the Inmates of the Armenian Orphanage in Aleppo, 1922-1930, C1601/497/563, June 22, 1924. Quoted from Armen Manuk Khaloyan, *ibid*.

<sup>222</sup> Keith David Watenpugh, *ibid*, p. 1324.

<sup>223</sup> Rubina Perroomian, *And Those Who Continued Living in Turkey after 1915*, (Armenian Genocide Museum Institute: 2008), p. 79-80.

(hello) which is a less religious answer and an answer, which can be given to a non-Muslim.<sup>224</sup> Therefore, it is possible to argue that those Armenians who converted to Islam in order to save their lives were not accepted as Muslim brothers among the local Muslim circles. They were supposed to stay isolated from the community. As a consequence, it was neutral to see during the postwar period that these converted Armenians lived together, and mostly they married their children together.<sup>225</sup>

Following the Turkish victory at the end of the 1922, the Armenian presence in Anatolia decreased to minimum amounts. Yet, there were still Armenian communities especially south regions of the Turkish State particularly in Adana, Mardin and Diyarbakir. The Turkish daily newspapers, *Türk Sözü*, *Yeni Adana*, *Teceddüt* and *Altın Öz* were publishing xenophobic articles in their columns in order to frighten the remained Armenian population and to make Turkish population agitated against the remained Armenians.<sup>226</sup> Furthermore, the remained Armenians were accused of helping the French armies from 1919 to 1921 and accused of acts of violence against local Muslims. They were sentenced without investigation. In addition, the Turkish State forced the Armenians who were still living in the villages to migrate to the towns in order to control them. The remained Armenian population faced with these oppression methods.

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<sup>224</sup> Vahe Tachjian, *ibid*, p. 77.

<sup>225</sup> As an example, see Binay, Mehmet. (Director). 2009. Anadolu'dan Fısıltılar & Konuşan Fotoğraflar (*Whispering Memories-Talking Pictures*). Available [online]: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xXd3WK5v3w8> [17 January 2014].

<sup>226</sup> Vahe Tachjian, "The expulsion of non-Turkish ethnic and religious groups from Turkey to Syria during the 1920s and early 1930s", p. 4. Available [online]: [http://www.massviolence.org/PdfVersion?id\\_article=330](http://www.massviolence.org/PdfVersion?id_article=330) [15 January 2014].

On the other side of the medallion it is a necessary to mention what the Armenian community thought about the Armenian widows, orphans and converts in this section. There were different ideas among the Armenian authorities and intellectuals of how these Armenian orphans and widows could be returned to the Armenian community. Some authorities rejected the idea that these widows and orphans could regain their national identity, thus they rejected totally the Armenianness of these miserable. On the other hand, some circles, with a nationalistic approach, believed that the reintegrating of the abandoned girls and women would serve the idea of “racial rebirth” and “racial reestablishment”.<sup>227</sup>

Teotig who was an eyewitness to the deportation wrote about the Armenian orphans the following sentences:

“Our orphans, Armenian orphans, those who had been called Barkev and were renamed Pertev, had been called Lussia and were renamed Fatima, had been called Haik and were renamed Faik, had been called Ardaş and were renamed Reşad, in other words, those who were elmas (diamond) in Armenian communities but became cam (glass) in Turkish hands, and went, in great numbers, to fill eytamhanes (orphanage) and study the elifbey (Turkish alphabet) with bismillah (Turkish prayer).”<sup>228</sup> According to Teotig, these orphans needed physical care and also education “so that they may be cleansed of

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<sup>227</sup> Vahe Tachjian, “Gender, nationalism, exclusion: the reintegration process of female survivors of the Armenian genocide”, *Nations and Nationalism* 15 (1), 2009, p. 66.

<sup>228</sup> Ibid, p. 66.

the filth that the Turanic nation has smeared on the their souls.”<sup>229</sup> The word “filth” and the verb “smearing” reflect how Teotig approached to these miserable.

Mikayel Natanian who was working assiduously to return Armenian women who were being kept at Muslim houses, wrote in June 1919 as following:

If older girls and women want to come, there is no problem. If they do not come, there is still no problem: they do well to stay where they are. They are of no use to us, and may even be harmful. I have seen many who are already adults and do not come willingly... The sad and, for us, important thing is the very young children: the boys and those girls who have not been tainted by breathing the foul air of corruption. Unfortunately, most of them no longer know us, and are already lost. They have no idea of their nations or parents. I have seen many who, apart from the fact that they do not speak a word of Armenian, remember nothing of their fathers, mothers, or homes; many even refuse to follow their parents, father, mother, or sisters and brothers, and run away.<sup>230</sup>

Mikayel Natanian also accepted those Armenian women who had Muslim husbands as “poisoned” whereas he stated that the very young children could be returned to the Armenian community.

Furthermore, Garo Balian wrote in 1918 on the front page of *Husaper* daily newspaper published in Cairo as following:

Hatred is our heart’s invincible armor and the pledge of our nation’s salvation. The Armenian who does not know how to hate the Turk is a traitor to the nation. But hatred must not remain a word without meaning. We must declare a boycott, in our daily existence and throughout our lives, of Turkish language and music, which have craftily, like German spies, dared to invade our temples and the thresholds of our homes. Boycott Turkish customs, Turkish production, and, finally, boycott everything that is Turkish!<sup>231</sup>

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<sup>229</sup> Ibid, p. 67.

<sup>230</sup> Ibid, p. 74.

<sup>231</sup> Ibid, p. 68.

It is clear that Garo Balian's chauvinist approach was not unfamiliar among the Armenia communities after the Great War. It was a common approach. On the other hand, there were also more liberal and humane thoughts. For instance, Boghos Nubar Pasha categorized the situation of the Armenian widows flawlessly as following:

These women accordingly feel gratitude towards those who saved them from a terrible fate. Some have lost their whole families, and so face an uncertain future. Some have had children by their Muslim husbands, and do not want to abandon these children. Some, after living disreputable lives, are borne down by feelings of shame and lack the courage to return to their compatriots. Some have lost all sense of moral value. Some have no confidence that they can live in safety in their country. It is therefore necessary to create women's groups to address the situations of these women, inspire them with courage, provide them moral support, and examine and solve their complex situations calmly, with justice and humanity.<sup>232</sup>

As a consequence, it is clear from the above-mentioned facts that the Armenian widows, orphans and converts were in a great contradiction and uncertainty. The Armenian orphans were a target both for the Ottoman government and for the Armenian community. With the efforts of the Armenian Patriarchate and foreign relief organizations, many orphans were returned to their community and accommodated in the orphanages. Yet also many of them were assimilated in the government's orphanages. The Armenian widows were accepted as servants in the Muslim houses in most cases and those who wanted to return their community were not welcomed by the Armenians and accepted as "smeared". Finally, neither the Muslims nor the Armenians welcomed the "Muslim Armenians". The Armenian community accepted them as betrayers and the local Muslims never believed that they were really Muslims. Thus, during the postwar period the "Muslim Armenians" stayed in absolute obscurity.

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<sup>232</sup> Ibid, p. 70.

### CHAPTER III: THE JAMANAK DAILY AS A MIRROR OF SUFFERINGS

#### Articles Related With the Armenian Orphans

There was a national consensus among the Armenians for helping the orphans after the Great War. Hundreds of articles can be found in the columns of the *Jamanak* daily related with the orphans. It was one of the main problems of the Armenian community after the Great War. With the assistance of the Armenian Patriarchate at Istanbul, the Armenian community established a special body, *Vorpahnam* (Orphan Commission), in order to organize and cover the special needs of the Armenian orphans and *darakryals* (migrants who lost their property during the deportation) after the Great War. The members of the *Vorpahnam* were Arsenyan Efendi, Dr. Tavityan and M. Nalbandyan. These members were supposed to inform the Armenian National Assembly about their activities. At a meeting which was held by the *Vorpahnam* members and the National Assembly on 9 November 1918, the members of the *Vorpahnam* informed the authorities that the Armenian orphans and migrants who were totally homeless were coming directly to the Armenian Patriarchate which was located at Kumkapı from Anatolia and they should organize a systematic procedure to accommodate these helpless people. Thus, the first problem was the organization of accommodation. They asked the Patriarchate to provide, temporary accommodation for these helpless people for two or three days in order to give sufficient time to the members to organize assistance for the migrants and orphans. Furthermore, the members demanded a special fund from the Patriarchate to cover the travel expenses of the orphans.<sup>233</sup> It was difficult

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<sup>233</sup> *Jamanak*, 9 November 1918, No: 3349.

to solve the accommodation problem. The members of *Vorpahnam* held a meeting again on 11 November 1918 and the major question was the housing problem. Whether the orphans should stay in one building or should they stay in different districts of Istanbul was the primary issue. Furthermore, the *Vorphnam* received many letters from the districts of Istanbul that they could accommodate the orphans with pleasure. Yet, the members were trying to standardize the conditions in all orphanages to serve them sufficiently.<sup>234</sup>

The Armenian Patriarchate made an announcement that those Armenian orphans who were in Anatolia must be accommodated in their villages or towns because there was no place for newcomers in the orphanages of Istanbul. In response to this announcement, A. Dumanian, an official from Sivas region, sent a letter arguing that there were hundreds of orphans living in the Muslim houses especially in Sivas *vilayet*. Therefore, the Patriarchate should support the local authorities to establish a building for a new orphanage.<sup>235</sup> Both the officials in various provinces of Anatolia and the officials in Istanbul were demanding appropriate places to locate the Armenian orphans. Yet, the buildings were not sufficient for the homeless migrants. For instance, the Armenian *darakryals* who had departed from Konya province by train arrived to Istanbul at the beginning of December 1918. These people who traveled by sixteen wagons were placed in Samatya and Kumkapı districts. Nevertheless, the majority of these people were going

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<sup>234</sup> *Jamanak*, 12 November 1918, No: 3352.

<sup>235</sup> *Jamanak*, 25 December 1918, No: 3395.

to be sent to Sölöz, Bursa because it was informed that there were no empty places for accommodation in Istanbul.<sup>236</sup>

The central body of *Vorpahnam* decided to gather all Armenian orphans who arrived Istanbul and could not find any place in the orphanages into a new center. For this aim, they closed the recent center, which was in Pera and in a bad condition and they organized a new place in the building of Surp Hagop Hospital near Pangaltı in order to accommodate the orphans in their first days in Istanbul. After finding appropriate places, the orphans were going to be sent to the different orphanages established various districts of Istanbul.<sup>237</sup>

The Armenian National Assembly organized a meeting on 7 December 1918. In this meeting the general topic was the Armenian *darakryals* who were waiting to come to Istanbul. Thousands of Armenian migrants who were generally orphans and homeless people waiting in the train station of Eskişehir to come to the Armenian Patriarchate of Istanbul. The National Assembly made a decision that several commissions were to be organized and sent to those provinces where Armenians were waiting in bad conditions. The primary aim of the assembly was to protect the remaining Armenian population in Anatolia and not to let them come to, Istanbul. Therefore, a commission was established to help those Armenians who were still living in Anatolia.<sup>238</sup>

Besides the accommodation issue of the orphans and homeless migrants who were coming from Anatolia, there was a huge assimilation process in the provinces. For

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<sup>236</sup> *Jamanak*, 3 December 1918, No: 3373.

<sup>237</sup> *Jamanak*, 7 December 1918, No: 3377.

<sup>238</sup> *Jamanak*, 7 December 1918, No: 3377.



example, an eyewitness sent a letter to the *Jamanak* daily on 21 December 1918 stating that he saw tens of Armenian boys in Eskişehir working for the Muslim families as slave labor and most of these Armenian boys were Islamized. Furthermore he saw many Armenian girls in Seydi Gazi, Çengel village, who were kept by the Turkish families. Furthermore, an eyewitness sent a letter from Adana stating that the Armenian children were imprisoned by Muslim families still living in those places. Apkaryan School, which was located in Adana, went to rack and ruin and most of the buildings and facilities that belonged to the Armenians were not given back to the Armenians. Therefore, there was no place to accommodate the Armenian orphans and *darakryals* and most of the orphans were Islamized.<sup>239</sup>

After the Great War, thousands of Armenians lost their relatives and families. Newspapers were the only vehicles to find the relatives. The *Jamanak* daily reserved a special place, named *Anhayd Darakryalner* (Lost Migrants), to publish reports about the missing migrants. The most effective way to find the relatives was giving a classified announcement to the Armenian dailies. *Jamanak* daily devoted a place, especially on the third page, to publish these classified announcements. For instance, some classified announcements were as below.

-The daughters of Mariam Mıgıryan, who was from the Çengiler village of Yalova, Elmas, Ağavni, Gülizar and Ağavni's children nine years old Arusyak and seven years old Mesrob. Furthermore Mariam's brother Hagop and his wife Shamiram and their ten years old child Mıgırdiç.

-Garabed Camizyan who is from Tepebaş street of Adana and his brother in law Mihran Camizyan and Arşaguhi Hanım. Nisan who is the son of Dr. Sarkis and his wife Filor and his brothers Harutyun and Samuel.”

-Garabed Ortakapulyan who was serving in railroads in Edirne, Karaağaç and was deported to Afyon Karahisar.

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<sup>239</sup> *Jamanak*, 21 December 1918, No: 3391.

-Zadik Simonyan who is from Medz Nor village of Bursa is searching for his aunt Paran Nalbandyan and her children Hovhannes, Panik, M. Keghetsik and M. Keghetsik's children Hayguhi and Hovhannes.

-Sarkis Mosdiçyan is searching for Aharon Mosdiçyan, Nuritsa Hanim, Setrak's family and Verjin Mosdiçyan who were deported from Dinar.

-Artin Avedissian is searching for Hagop Avedissian and his daughter Hayguhi and Hayguhi's children Stepan, Garabed and Parlas.

-Antranig Çapkınyan who is from Suğehri, Sivas did not see his family for more than four years and is searching for his father Asadur, his mother Elmas, his lady Isguhi, his children Avedis, Haçig, Srabyon, Vartan, Masis, Annik, Tekzitsa, Bayzar and his sisters Shozagt and Ovsanna.

-Avag Haçaduryan who is from Aramutah village of Divriği, Sivas is searching for his wife's father Hagop Garabedian, wife's mother Antaram, their child Filippos, Filippos' wife Yentar, Yentar's children Markrid, Zabel, Hayganuş, Hayganuş's children Haçadur, Haçadur's wife Mania, Mania's child Kevork. Furthermore he is searching for anybody from his village, which had seventy five hundred villagers. He is asking to know whether they are living or not.

-Antranik Norintzayan who is from Zara, Sivas, is searching for his father Der Bab Norintzayan, his mother Srpug, his sisters Sirma and Bayzar, Boghos Barmasyan, Armaş Zil Hovhanesyan, Setrak Hacoyan. If you know their places please contact Bulgar Çarşısı, Arparu street, M. Artin House, No: 6 Şişli, Istanbul.

-Harutyun Melkonian, his wife and children who were deported to Der Zor desert are being searched.

-Minas Berberian is searching for his family members, who were living in Abuceh village of Agn before the deportation, Nigohos, Nazeni, Azniv and Azniv's children Harutyun and Mariam.

-Avedis Der Mardirosyan who is from Garva village of Sivas is searching for his brother's, Zakar's, family and his sister's, Mariam's, family. If you know their places please contact Avedis Der Mardirosyan who is working at the ticket office of Şirket-i Hayriyye at Galata, Istanbul.

Missing migrants who were seen:

-Dear publisher, I saw your list under "*Anhayd Darakryalner*" title. I saw Hrant who is from Kumkapı and his friend Yerevum and Arshag in the desert of Abu Harari. Furthermore, in Meskyan desert, which is one hour far from Halep, I saw Vahram Asaduryan who is a famous chemist in Gedikpaşa, Istanbul.<sup>240</sup>

The fact that the Armistice of Mudros was perceived as an end of the never-ending nightmare for the Ottoman Armenians, they started to search for their relatives and

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<sup>240</sup> *Jamanak*, 12 November 1918, No: 3352.

families hoping to reestablish their lives again. Therefore, it is natural to find hundreds of these classified announcements especially after the Armistice of Mudros. As it is written in the announcements, people sometimes searched for their wives, children and relatives, or sometimes even a member from the same village also became the subject of the announcement. For instance, Avag Haçaduryan, as written above, was searching “anybody” from his village. This context shed light on the idea of how the Armenians’ social life changed rapidly after the deportation and for example people from the same village or province became as brothers and sisters. Avag Haçaduryan was searching for anybody from his village in Sivas, because a villager would have told him the story of his family and what happened to them.

It is also noteworthy that under these announcements there was a special place for those who were seen by someone. In these sections, people who had read the announcements and found someone, wrote to the daily’s editors to indicate that they saw some of them. As written above, someone sent a letter to the publisher stating that he saw Hrant, Yerevum and Arşag in the desert of Abu Harari. Needless to say, these responses were crucial for those who were searching for their relatives and families.

The issue of the Armenian orphans was also as devastating as the issue of *darakryals*. To understand the gravity of the issue, D. H. Yeraz’s article, which was published in the *Jamanak* Daily, is remarkable.

... Armenian orphans, two words, that wound Armenians’ feelings. The sufferings of the Armenians and the memories of those days come into existence in those two words. My purpose is not to illustrate those black days but to show an eyewitness account. I knew a wealthy family from a neighboring village. The father of that family died during the deportation and I heard that the child who was 11 years old was brought to Istanbul to stay in an orphanage. Yet, which orphanage was he staying? I could not find him. Yesterday, I heard by chance

that he was staying at Taş Kışla Orphanage. After long discussions with the officers of the orphanage, I managed to enter the building. In a big hall, I saw more than 200 orphans who were the real witnesses of the Armenian deportation. The officer called “Huseyin!” in order to find the child. I could not take it anymore and called his real Armenian name. A small boy came next to me, I recognized him and he recognized me. The other orphans started to cry: “Matmazel, please take me” ...<sup>241</sup>

After seeing that it was almost impossible to stop migration from Anatolia to Istanbul, the administration body of the Armenian *Vorpahnam* made a decision that Armenian orphanages will be organized in all districts of, Istanbul. These orphanages would be for boys, girls or mixed. The officers of these orphanages were going to be employed by the central body of the *Vorpahnam*. The main task of these officers was to collect donations from wealthy Armenians for the orphans. In addition to the donations, it was also the task of these officers to collect clothes, apparels, food and supplies for the orphanages. Each orphanage established in the districts was supposed to provide a special building for the education of the Armenian orphans and was supposed to provide necessary information for the central body of the *Vorpahnam*.<sup>242</sup>

The accommodation problem of the *darakryals* and orphans was the major concern of the Armenian National Assembly during this period. The migrants that arrived near Istanbul, generally to Gemlik and Sölöz, which were in the province of Bursa, were waiting allowance from the government to go to Istanbul. The Armenian National Assembly demanded from the Ottoman authorities that some of these migrants should be accommodated in the houses of Armenians in Bursa province. Those who

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<sup>241</sup> *Jamanak*, 15 November 1918, No: 3355.

<sup>242</sup> *Jamanak*, 17 November 1918, No: 3357.

could not find a place should be sent to the Armenian Patriarchate, Istanbul.

Furthermore, the Assembly demanded from the government that an investigation commission must be organized in order to check the conditions in the Bursa province.<sup>243</sup>

There was an accommodation problem of those Armenian girls who were taken from Muslim families. M. S. Alacacyan Efendi suggested that these Armenian girls must be placed in the Kalfayan Orphanage or in the *Tbrotsaser Dignants* School in order to teach these girls some production with sewing machines.<sup>244</sup>

The donations were the only financial resource of the *Vorpahnam* during this period. Therefore, managing an effective donation campaign was crucial for the administration. Nevertheless, there were naturally some problems in collecting the donations. For instance, in a letter sent to the editors of the daily, M. Civelekyan who is an ordinary reader of the newspaper asking the editors about the donation issue. M. Civelekyan is also asking why the *Vorpahnam* officials did not appeal to him to let him give donations. It seems M. Civelekyan was a wealthy businessman trying to help his community. In response, the editors answered that M. Civelekyan had helped the charity organizations magnificently. They stated that the *Vorphnam* appealed more than two hundred wealthy businessmen to collect donations and the primary issue of the *Vorphnam* was not money or budget but buildings, facilities and organizations for the orphans and *darakryals*. There were no sufficient buildings in Istanbul to provide necessary service to the orphans. The center of *Vorpahnam* transferred to a bigger building, Surp Hagop Hospital, Pangaltı. Nevertheless, the orphanage in Hasköy

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<sup>243</sup> *Jamanak*, 1 December 1918, No: 3371.

<sup>244</sup> *Jamanak*, 11 December 1918, No: 3381.

transformed to a Turkish orphanage. The Armenian authorities started to think that each Armenian family living in Istanbul should adopt an Armenian orphan at least during the cold winters.<sup>245</sup>

The donations that made to support the orphanages were being published in the *Jamanak* daily's columns. For instance, in one aid campaign that was organized for the Pera district, the donors' names published in the announcement. "Bağdasar Gedikyan 200 kuruş, Madam Karayan 1000 kuruş, Yervant Portukalyan 300 kuruş, Dikran Kazazyan 1500 kuruş etc." Furthermore, they stated even the donation of clothes and foods. "Apik Efendi Haçaduryan (50 loaves of bread), Madam Verjin Yesayan (rice in a big saucepan), Madam Çubukçuyan (8 breads), Nişastacıyan brothers (96 meals), etc."<sup>246</sup>

According to an announcement of the administration of the *Jamanak* daily, they wanted to produce shoes for orphans. Those who were master shoemakers were welcome to join their special meeting at Sepetçi Han.<sup>247</sup>

The Armenian students were also collecting money for the orphans. The students of Nigoğosyan School collected around 2220 kuruş for the orphans.<sup>248</sup>

The central body of *Vorpahnams* created separate gift cards and started to sell them to the wealthy Armenians. In return, they demanded "anything that beneficial to the orphans." *Vorpahnams* in districts such as Üsküdar, Ortaköy, Beşiktaş, Şişli,

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<sup>245</sup> *Jamanak*, 15 December 1918, No: 3385.

<sup>246</sup> *Jamanak*, 3 December 1918, No: 3373.

<sup>247</sup> *Jamanak*, 14 December 1918. No: 3384.

<sup>248</sup> *Jamanak*, 14 December 1918. No: 3384.

Gedikpaşa, Boyacıköy and Kınalıada were assigned by the central *Vorpahnam* to collect the donations.<sup>249</sup>

A. Mintaçyan, an Armenian businessman in Istanbul, sent a special letter to the *Jamanak* daily stating that he was ready to find vacancies for the women orphans and *darakryals*. Hundreds of women orphans and *darakryals* wanted to serve at houses as maids in order to give a new start for their life and earn money. A. Mintaçyan stated that he could find appropriate jobs for these women and he believed that he could contribute his nation's recovering in this way. Many poor women found a job and started to earn money by applying these positions.<sup>250</sup>

Several Armenian individuals complained about the Armenian officials who were working at the administration of *Vorpahnam*. According to their letter that was published on 24 January 1919, the officials were not collecting fair donations. Some wealthy Armenians donated symbolic amounts in order to be in donation lists. Nevertheless, individuals in their letter claimed that they should have donated much more than they did. For instance, a wealthy Armenian businessman donated only ten gold liras, yet he was able to donate more than two hundred gold liras. Also, it was crucial to accommodate orphans who were under eight years old and over fourteen years old separately because these age groups might have special needs. Furthermore, the orphans who came from the villages of Anatolia must be accommodated separately in order to educate them with special curriculums.<sup>251</sup>

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<sup>249</sup> *Jamanak*, 7 December 1918, No: 3377.

<sup>250</sup> *Jamanak*, 4 December 1918, No: 3374.

<sup>251</sup> *Jamanak*, 24 January 1919, No: 3424.

## Orphan Hunting

There is much evidence to defend the idea that after the Great War there was an “orphan hunting” race between the Ottoman authorities and the Armenian Patriarchate. In one article, the Armenian names of the thirty-seven converted orphans were written in a list with their Muslim names one by one.<sup>252</sup> The issue of orphans was a critical one after the Great War period because there were many orphans both from Muslim and non-Muslim communities. Furthermore, in most situations, due to the insufficient birth records in villages, it was hard to identify the identity of an orphan. That is why, especially the Armenian Patriarchate worked assiduously to prove the identities of the Armenian orphans.

In an announcement, the administration of *Vorpahnam* stated that the right to collect Armenian orphans from the Muslim families belonged to them. Thus, they were stating the importance of this right to the Armenians who tried to take back the Armenian orphans from the Muslim families through their own initiative. The Ottoman government gave this right only to the Central body of the *Vorphnam*. Therefore, everyone should follow the rules and apply to Der S. Kahana Papazian in Pera district, Der. V. Kahana Karagözyan in Feriköy district, Der. D. Kahana Pasayan in Üsküdar district, Der Husik Kahana in Ayestefanos district and Der. Anania Kahana in Samatya district in order to take the Armenian orphans back from the Muslim families through

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<sup>252</sup> *Jamanak*, 19 November 1918. For instance, they wrote the names of converted Armenian orphans like Sarkis Konsolian (Ahmet Mithat) from Harput, Bedros Bodukian (Ali Tarin) from Bursa, Levon Ceceyan (Ali Nadir) from Sivas, Mardiros Kılıcian (Musa Kazim) from Sivas, etc.



proper legal procedure.<sup>253</sup> On 4 December 1918, the Armenian Patriarchate again announced that individuals did not have the right to intervene in the orphans' issue. The Patriarchate was the only responsible institution to inform the security forces in case of an orphan problem.<sup>254</sup>

After the Armenian deportations in 1915, there were thousands of Armenian orphans living with Muslim families, especially young Armenian girls. For this reason, there were many announcements to Muslim families in the columns of the *Jamanak* daily. In one article, they were calling the Muslim families who kept Armenian orphans in their houses to bring them to the Armenian Patriarchate. Interestingly, a Turkish journal, *Akşam* also called the Muslim families to bring the Armenian orphans to the Armenian Patriarchate.<sup>255</sup> Perhaps, some Muslim families who sheltered the Armenian orphans to save them from the bad wartime conditions were willing to give them back to the Armenian community.

According to *Tasvir-i Efkar* daily, a 13 year old girl Şükriye was a Turkish orphan and she was brought to the Armenian Patriarchate forcefully and she said that she was a Muslim-Turkish girl. After the investigation it was understood that she lied and said that she was Turkish because of her fear. After spending one week in a friendly atmosphere in Armenian Patriarchate, she pronounced her own identity.<sup>256</sup>

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<sup>253</sup> *Jamanak*, 1 December 1918, No: 3371.

<sup>254</sup> *Jamanak*, 4 December 1918, No: 3374

<sup>255</sup> *Jamanak*, 20 November 1918. No: 3360.

<sup>256</sup> *Jamanak*, 24 November 1918. No: 3364.

Another announcement was stating that there were two Armenian orphans at the house of a Turkish man who was from Trabzon and living in Şişli district of Istanbul. With the notification of an Armenian youth, Ardaşes Minasyan, to the French police, two Armenian orphans were taken from the Turkish man and delivered to the Armenian Patriarchate. This situation proves that there might have been many orphans living in the Turkish houses.<sup>257</sup>

Another article states that the Armenian Patriarchate made an application to the court for an Armenian orphan who lived at the house of a Turk. Nevertheless, the Muslim Women association claimed that the girl was Turkish and Muslim. That is why, a new inspection was going to be made for a final decision.<sup>258</sup>

An interesting event can be seen in an article, which was published on January 4, 1919. A 55 years old Muslim man wanted to get married with a 12 year old Armenian orphan who had been forcibly converted to Islam two days previously. An Armenian lawyer, Levon Efendi Değirmenciyan, saw their case in the courthouse of Galata by chance and managed to cancel the marriage and informed the Armenian Patriarchate about this issue. This situation proves that there might have been many assimilation cases as such during this period.<sup>259</sup>

The Armenian Patriarchate received a telegraph that more than one hundred Armenian orphans were brought to Haydarpaşa train station. The guards of the Patriarchate went to the station to take orphans to the Patriarchate. Nevertheless, the

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<sup>257</sup> *Jamanak*, 6 December 1918. No: 3377.

<sup>258</sup> *Jamanak*, 31 December 1918. No: 3401.

<sup>259</sup> *Jamanak*, 4 January 1919. No: 3406.

Ottoman officials did not release the orphans because they stated that the identification of the orphans had not finished yet. Therefore, the guards were supposed to return to the Patriarchate without taking the orphans. Although some witnesses stated to the Ottoman officials that the orphans were speaking in Armenian, the officials tried to slow down the process and did not let the orphans go to the Patriarchate.<sup>260</sup>

*Yeni Gazete* daily warned on 21 December 1918 the Turkish families who adopted Armenian children that the children must be returned to their original families or if they lost their families must be returned to the Armenian Patriarchate. *Yeni Gazete* daily wrote that the Armenian citizens suffered deeply during the Great War and several “*zalims*” (tyrants) conducted the process. Therefore, according to the daily, Turkish families must help the Armenians by returning their children and show that they had no responsibility in the Armenian deportations.<sup>261</sup>

An article published in the *Minber* daily expressing that Naciye Feham Hanım who was living in the Pangaltı district of Istanbul adopted a Kurdish girl from Konya and brought her to Pangaltı. Nevertheless, the Armenian authorities took the Kurdish girl from her house claiming that she indeed was an Armenian. Naciye Feham Hanım was complaining about the newly appointed chief of police in Pangaltı area, Krikor Efendi, that he did nothing to stop the Armenian authorities.<sup>262</sup> It should be noted that in some cases, Muslim children who lost their families during the wartime were taken by the

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<sup>260</sup> *Jamanak*, 7 December 1918, No: 3377.

<sup>261</sup> *Jamanak*, 21 December 1918, No: 3391.

<sup>262</sup> *Jamanak*, 23 December 1918, No: 3393.

Armenian authorities and forcibly made Armenian. Thus, the Armenian authorities also joined to the orphan hunting.<sup>263</sup>

The Armenian orphans who were found at the houses of Muslim families were being kept at the Police Headquarters in bad conditions pending an investigation. The *Jamanak* daily suggests the Police Department to accelerate these legal processes in order to bring the orphans to the orphanages. The fact that the Armenian orphans were generally under five or four years old, they were not able to identify themselves to the officials. The daily was mentioning this problem and suggesting that the Police Department must conduct research before making decisions whether an orphan was a Turk or an Armenian.<sup>264</sup>

The Police Department announced that there were hundreds of Armenian orphans living with the Muslim families in Istanbul. According to the Police Department, these orphans were either converted or hiding their religion from the officials in order to not to return to their original families. The government gave a deadline for the Muslim families to return the Armenian orphans to the Armenian Patriarchate. The Police Department stated that they were ready to fine the Muslim families, if they were not willing to return the Armenian orphans. Furthermore, it is stated that some Armenians were wandering around the Muslim houses and demanding that the Muslim families to return orphans to them. Therefore, it was emphasized that

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<sup>263</sup> Yavuz Selim Karakışla, "Savaş Yetimleri ve Kimsesiz Çocuklar: Ermeni mi, Türk mü?", *Toplumsal Tarih*, V. 69, Eylül 1999, pp. 46-49.

<sup>264</sup> *Jamanak*, 19 January 1919, No: 3420.

they should only return the orphans to the Patriarchate's officials.<sup>265</sup> On the other hand, the regulations were not being implemented totally. According to an article published on 14 February 1919, two Armenian orphans, who were living with Muslim families in Makriköy district of Istanbul, were taken to the Police Office by the officials of the Armenian Patriarchate in order to register the girls as Armenian. Nevertheless, because of pressure, the Armenian girls claimed that they were Turkish and Muslim. Interestingly, the Turkish policemen did nothing about investigation and sent these girls to their Muslim families rapidly. Yet, according to the article, these girls were definitely Armenian.<sup>266</sup>

The director of the Ottoman orphanages, Selahaddin Bey, claimed that there was no Armenian orphan in the governments' orphanages. Hovhannes Balyan, Der Apisohom and another Armenian official visited the Turkish orphanage, which was located in Valide Bağ district, and noticed that there were two Armenian orphans, two girls one from Üsküdar and the other one, Şahantuht, who was sixteen years old, from Erzurum. When the Armenian officials made an appeal to return the orphans, Şahantuht cried and said that she did not want to go with them alone because there were hundreds of Armenian orphans inside the orphanage. Two weeks later, the administration of the Turkish orphanage tried to relocate more than one hundred twenty Armenian orphans from Valide Bağ to Kağıthane Çağlayan Köşk. Yet, during the relocation, the Armenian officials found them and informed the police department. Nevertheless, Selahaddin Bey was claiming that there were no Armenian orphans in the Turkish orphanages.

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<sup>265</sup> *Jamanak*, 6 February 1919, No: 3437.

<sup>266</sup> *Jamanak*, 14 February 1919, No: 3445.

Furthermore, while the Armenian officials were trying to take Şahantuht from the Turkish orphanage to the Armenian orphanage, Selahaddin Bey claimed insistently that she was twenty years old, thus it was impossible to take her back because she was not a child anymore.<sup>267</sup>

Interestingly, in an announcement, Ardaşes Efendi Azaryan, who was born in Adapazarı, stated that he and his wife were ready to adopt an Armenian baby who lost his family during the deportation. Ardaşes Efendi Azaryan applied to the Central Committee in order to adopt the baby. The *Jamanak* daily concluded the announcement by acknowledging his efforts and remarking that his behavior must be a model for all wealthy Armenian families.<sup>268</sup>

It is obvious that after the Great War, the Armenian community had to struggle with the orphan problem. The great deportation of 1915 put thousands of people to death and gave birth to various problems. The orphan problem was only one of them. The Armenian orphans and homeless migrants who were living various provinces of Anatolia and who had survived the deportations were coming to Istanbul to save their lives. The Armenian community of Istanbul welcomed this huge migration wave and did its best to cover the needs of these people. It can be seen on the *Jamanak*'s columns that Armenian authorities and the Armenian Patriarchate tried to work systematically to solve this problem. Establishment of *Vorpahnam* was the most important step to help these people systematically. After the establishment of a central *Vorpahnam*, they organized branches almost every district of Istanbul. These branches collected donations

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<sup>267</sup> *Jamanak*, 22 March 1919, No: 3476.

<sup>268</sup> *Jamanak*, 11 December 1918, No: 3381.

from the local Armenians, especially from those Armenians who were wealthy and ready to donate huge parts of their incomes. It seems, the *Vorpahnam* did not have any problems in financial issues but the problem of the accommodation of orphans was the major issue. There was no building in Istanbul to accommodate the orphans in one center. Therefore, the officers distributed the orphans to the districts of Istanbul. Besides the accommodation problem, there was “orphan hunting” in the streets of Istanbul. The Armenian individuals were applying to take back the Armenian orphans who were kept by Muslim families. Yet, the Ottoman government naturally gave this right only to the Armenian Patriarchate. Thus, Patriarchate’s officers were the only legitimate authority to apply to the Police Department to take back the Armenian orphans. Furthermore, the Muslim families were not keen on giving their new children back to their real families and relatives. There was also the chaos caused by the problem in identifying the orphans who were not mature enough to identify themselves. The *Jamanak* daily mirrored the orphan situation completely during this period by giving the necessary attention in publishing the articles and announcements related with this issue.

#### Reports From the Provinces of Anatolia Where Armenians Were Deported

Besides the orphan issue, the consequences of the Armenian deportation were also the primary pursuit of the *Jamanak* daily after the Great War. It is an obvious fact that approximately ninety percent of the Armenian population in Anatolia left their homes and properties by force during the deportation process. Only those who were working at Ottoman Railway Company or serving at the military stayed at their hometowns. After the Great War and long deportation process, some Armenians managed to save their

lives and wanted to return their hometowns. The *Jamanak* daily provided tens of reports, which were sent from the various provinces of Anatolia, during this period. Individuals who were native inhabitants of that provinces and towns wrote these reports. Thus, these reports were mostly eyewitness accounts and provided crucial information about the towns and provinces where the Armenian community had lived. They generally stated the prewar and postwar population statistics of the regions and they relayed the recent situation of the Armenians at the provinces. In some cities such as Sivas, Kayseri, Erzurum, Van and Bitlis, the Armenian community had totally disappeared after the deportation. Yet, in some cities, for example in Zonguldak, the local Ottoman authorities protected the Armenian population and did not implement the deportation orders. These reports present us a picture of the Armenian community of Anatolia after the Great War and deportation.

In a report that was sent from Bursa, a local Armenian from the province stated that the Armenian population in Bursa was deported entirely from the city and most of the population went to the neighboring cities such as Konya, Ereğli and Kütahya. The houses and properties of the Armenians were given to the *muhacirs* (Muslim refugees) who came from Western Thrace during the Great War. With the recent orders of the Ottoman government, these houses were being returned to the Armenian families yet according to the report, these houses were not in a good condition and they were like ruins. The report ends with stating the fact that the most Armenians who were deported from Bursa were waiting at Konya rail station in order to return their hometowns yet



they did not have enough money to cover the travel expenses. The report asks the aid of the Armenian Patriarchate in order to help these people.<sup>269</sup>

According to a report which was sent from Bandırma town, the Armenian inhabitants of Bandırma were more than one thousand families. During the Armenian deportation of 1915, only sixty families of whole population were allowed to stay at Bandırma and nine hundred forty families were deported from the town. Hundred families were waiting at Konya train station to return their hometown and eight hundred forty families had disappeared during the deportation. Furthermore, it is stated in the report that the local authorities destroyed more than eight hundred Armenian houses totally and it was almost impossible to renovate them.<sup>270</sup>

According to a report that was sent from Bilecik town, the Armenian population before the Great War was more than eight hundred families. After the Great War, only ten of them returned to Bilecik. Those inhabitants who managed to return to Bilecik faced a housing problem because their houses were left to *muhacirs* who came from Western Thrace during the Great War. Therefore, the Armenians were staying at streets in small tents. Furthermore, the Armenian church of Bilecik was destroyed totally and went to rack and ruin.<sup>271</sup> In another report, it was stated that the Armenians who returned from the deportation to Bilecik were dying at streets because of hunger. Local Ottoman authorities were rejecting to give their daily bread. They reported that four Armenian migrant died during last three days. Interestingly, the Armenian Catholic clerks were

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<sup>269</sup> *Jamanak*, 1 November 1918, No: 3341.

<sup>270</sup> *Jamanak*, 18 November 1918, No: 3358.

<sup>271</sup> *Jamanak*, 26 November 1918, No: 3366.

offering the Armenian migrants to become Catholics in return for their food and aid service.<sup>272</sup>

Minas Efendi Tzalyan who was an Armenian official assigned by the Armenian Patriarchate to Konya in order to report the situation of the local Armenians. According to his report, the Armenian villagers who were deported from various provinces of Anatolia were waiting at the train station of Konya. These migrants were homeless and even they did not have a tent to shelter. Minas Efendi Tzalyan stated that there was a strong possibility of epidemics. He appealed to the local Ottoman authorities but could not get a response to solve the housing problem. The Armenian community of Izmir sent around three thousand lira to Konya for the Armenian migrants. Furthermore, he stated that the Ottoman government gave each Arab migrant around fifteen Ottoman lira for his travel expenses yet did not give anything to the Armenian migrants for travel expenses. Minas Efendi Tzalyan blamed the local Ottoman authorities that they were not following the orders of the Ottoman government and were not paying anything to the Armenian migrants.<sup>273</sup>

According to a report that was published on 29 November 1918, the Armenian population at Diyarbakır was mostly deported from the city. Dr. Reşit who was one of the founders of the CUP stated that they cleared Diyarbakır from Armenians. Nevertheless, the local Armenians informed that there were around six hundred Armenians living at the villages of Diyarbakır. The central cathedral of the Armenians was destroyed and the magnificent bell tower was pulled down. Furthermore, it is stated

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<sup>272</sup> *Jamanak*, 6 December 1918, No: 3376.

<sup>273</sup> *Jamanak*, 28 November 1918, No: 3368.

that the local religious leader, Çlhadian Vartabed was burned alive and also the leader of the Armenian Catholic community, Çelebyan Efendi and the leader of Mardin, Maloyan Efendi were killed during the deportation. According to the report, Dr. Reşit was the most responsible person for the Diyarbakır massacres.<sup>274</sup>

Garabed Hazaryan, who was a local leader of the Armenian community at Yozgat, reported from the city center that the Armenian population in Yozgat was totally annihilated during the deportation. According to him, the deportations were “well planned systematic slaughters.” At the beginning of war, there were two thousand five hundred Armenian families but by the end of the Great War there were only four hundred Armenian families remained at the city. Garabed Hazaryan called the Armenian Patriarchate’s attention to Yozgat in order to make them send aid to the Armenians of Yozgat.<sup>275</sup>

The Armenian bishop of Zonguldak, Der Dacad, informed the Armenian Patriarchate about the current position of Armenians in Zonguldak. According to him, there were hundred families and approximately five hundred Armenians in Zonguldak. All of them survived during the deportations because the governor of district Ibrahim Bey and the military officer Hayri Bey protected both the Armenian and Greek population in the city. Der Dacad reported that the chairman of the CUP branch at Bolu visited Zonguldak and demanded from the local authorities to deport the whole

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<sup>274</sup> *Jamanak*, 29 November 1918, No: 3369.

<sup>275</sup> *Jamanak*, 2 December 1918, No: 3372.

Armenians. In response, Ibrahim Bey answered: “Leave my town tomorrow immediately.”<sup>276</sup>

The *Jamanak* daily received a telegraph from Adapazarı on 3 December 1918. According to this telegraph which was sent by the local religious leader, there were four thousand Armenian families before the Great War and after the war there were only three hundred left at the city. Four Armenian churches which were located at the city center were destroyed and turned to stables.<sup>277</sup> In another report which was written by Levon Cerrahyan, there were three thousand five hundred Armenian families at the city before the war. According to him, most of the Armenians who returned from the deportation to Adapazarı lost his fathers, mothers or relatives. In order to reconstruct the Armenian churches, schools and graveyard, the community needed more than eighty thousand Ottoman liras. The Ottoman government offered to return the churches, schools and national properties but Der Mikayel, the religious leader, rejected this offer stating that they did not leave these properties in these conditions, therefore they wanted to take them back as they were before the war.<sup>278</sup>

The Armenian officials from Kayseri sent a petition to the Armenian Patriarchate that Surp Garabed monastery of Efkere which was located in the Kayseri province, returned to the Armenian community. The monastery was used as Muslim orphanage by the Ottoman government during the war. The officials stated that it was possible to use this monastery as an Armenian orphanage. Furthermore, there were three thousand

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<sup>276</sup> *Jamanak*, 3 December 1918, No: 3373.

<sup>277</sup> *Jamanak*, 3 December 1918, No: 3373.

<sup>278</sup> *Jamanak*, 20 December, 1918, No: 3390.

Armenian women who had had been Islamized during the war in the city. They were demanding from the Armenian Patriarchate to send a representative or a bishop to Kayseri in order to reestablish the local Armenian community and rescue the Islamized Armenian women.<sup>279</sup>

In a report that was sent from Adana, it is stated that the Armenian population at Adana town was forty thousand before the Great War and at the first year of war it reduced to twenty thousand. After the war, the population was totally disappeared. There were only Armenian workers who were working for the Railway Company and their total population was around two thousand. The Armenian schools and churches stayed closed during the war years. Most of the properties of the Armenian community were given to Muslim *muhacirs*. Furthermore, there was a serious problem about properties. The Ottoman authorities were returning the Armenian houses only those Armenians whose names were written in the title deeds. Thus, if the father of a family died during the deportation, it was impossible for the other members of that family to take back their properties. According to the report, the Ottoman authorities were completely aware that most of the Armenian families lost their fathers. Therefore, this attitude was a great pretext for the government to not to return the Armenian properties to their owners.<sup>280</sup>

In a report that was sent from Burdur, it is stated that the Armenian population at Burdur was one hundred seventy families before the Great War. This amount reduced to sixty families after the war. Those who remained at the city were the families of soldiers and Protestant Armenians. According to report, the Armenian church at Burdur was

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<sup>279</sup> *Jamanak*, 6 December 1918, No: 3376.

<sup>280</sup> *Jamanak*, 11 December 1918, No: 3381.

totally destroyed by the government and the Armenian school was transformed to a Turkish school. The Ottoman authorities stated that they could return the school but could not do anything about the church.<sup>281</sup> In another report, which was published on 25 January 1919, it is indicated that before the war there were two hundred Armenian families at Burdur. During the wartime, the local government sold the Armenian properties as well as the valuable goods of the Armenian church. The church was destroyed by the authorities and ruins of the church sold to Hacı Rifatzade Ahmed who was a notable at the district to build a new villa. It is also stated in the report that only 8 families from Burdur survived the deportation.<sup>282</sup>

In a report that written by M. Ananyan who was from Manisa, the total population of Manisa was fifty thousand before the Great War consisting of Turks, Greeks, Jews and Armenians. The majority of the population were Turks. The Armenians were four hundred families in two districts of Manisa, one was Malta and the other one was Veri Tağ. It is stated in the report that during the Armenian deportation, the local Ottoman authorities and people acted friendly to Armenians. Therefore, this small population mostly survived the deportation. Trade was the major source of income for the Armenians. Most shops located at the city center belonged to Armenians. The trade of Manisa, which was a kind of flax, was popular in this district and the Armenians were managing the Manisa trade.<sup>283</sup>

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<sup>281</sup> *Jamanak*, 14 December 1918, No: 3384.

<sup>282</sup> *Jamanak*, 25 January 1919, No: 3425.

<sup>283</sup> *Jamanak*, 15 December 1918, No: 3385.

A young Armenian from the city center of Sivas reported that there were Islamized Armenians who came from different cities such as Harput, Muş, Divriği, Samsun and Ordu. These Islamized Armenians were seven hundred families in total who were living at the city center. On the other hand, there were only four Armenian families remained at the city after the deportation. Miss Graffam who was a missionary came from Merzifon to Sivas employed and saved seven hundred Armenian women and two hundred fifty Armenian orphans. They were manufacturing socks and underclothes. The author of the report was thankful to Miss Graffam for her efforts to save the Armenian community at Sivas. Furthermore, he stated in his report that hundreds of Armenians were hiding in the mountains of Sivas and waiting for a guaranty from the government to protect their lives.<sup>284</sup> In another report which was published on 4 January 1919, it is indicated that there were three hundred Armenian families at the city and the total population of the Armenians was five thousand. Also in Amasya region, which was a part of the Sivas vilayet, there were hundred Armenian families. Likewise, in Tokat, which was a part of Sivas vilayet, there were hundred Armenian families. In addition, in Samsun city, which was located at the north of Sivas, there were fifty Armenian families.<sup>285</sup> Furthermore, I. M. Ara, who was living at Amasya town reported that the Armenians who remained at Amasya totally changed their names and took Muslim names in order to hide themselves.<sup>286</sup>

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<sup>284</sup> *Jamanak*, 18 December 1918, No: 3388.

<sup>285</sup> *Jamanak*, 4 January 1919, No: 3405.

<sup>286</sup> *Jamanak*, 24 April 1919, No: 3503.

In a petition, which was sent from Malatya, it is stated that all Armenian population at Malatya disappeared after the deportation. There were approximately hundred Armenian women remained at the city who mostly came from Tokat and Amasya. These women worked at hospitals as nurses. Nevertheless, after the war, these hospitals were closed and the Armenian women became unemployed. In this petition they were asking the aid of Miss Graffam to help these miserable women.<sup>287</sup>

In a report which was sent from Bolu, it is stated that the Armenian population at Bolu was six hundred. There were two Armenian churches and two Armenian schools at the city center. Nevertheless, during the war, one of the churches was destroyed and the other one was transformed to an armory. There were also Islamized Armenian families at the city. It is also stated in the report that there were ninety Armenian families at the Devreg town, which was close to Bolu, and there were sixty families at Bartın and one hundred sixteen families at Düzce and eight families at Ereğli.<sup>288</sup>

The Armenians of Sinop sent a telegraph to the Armenian Patriarchate at İstanbul stating that only forty Armenian families remained at Sinop. During the deportation, the Ottoman authorities deported the Armenian men only. Therefore, Armenian families in Sinop were without menfolk. They were asking the immediate help of the Patriarchate in their telegraph.<sup>289</sup>

An article which was published on 31 December 1918, shed lights on the situation of the Armenians after the deportation. According to the article, Armenians of

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<sup>287</sup> *Jamanak*, 21 December 1918, No: 3391.

<sup>288</sup> *Jamanak*, 21 December 1918, No: 3391.

<sup>289</sup> *Jamanak*, 30 December 1918, No: 3400.



Efkere, which was a district of Kayseri, were annihilated during the deportation. There were only one hundred fifty Armenian women and orphans remaining at the town. The author, who did not write his name, stated that during the deportation they deported all Armenians except children who were under ten years old. The Ottoman officials took all the properties of the Armenians and shared with the local community. The article ends with an example that a Turk, Cadioglu Nuri, was very poor before the war yet after the deportation his property was more than five thousand Ottoman liras.<sup>290</sup> In another report which was published on 23 February 1919, it is stated that Efkere was an important Armenian center because of its closeness to Surp Garabed monastery. The population was two thousand five hundred. According to this report, during the deportation, ninety two Armenian community leaders and notables of the town were killed on the road of Gemerek and one hundred fifty Armenian men were killed near the Gemerek mountain. After these killings, all Armenians in Efkere were deported to Elbistan and nobody stayed at the town.<sup>291</sup>

In a report, which was sent from Afyon Karahisar, it is indicated that there were four hundred Armenian families remained at Afyon Karahisar after the deportation. Because of a destructive economic crisis at city, the Armenian migrants were in a bad condition. Besides four hundred Armenian families, there were hundreds of homeless people in the streets. The Armenian women at Afyon Karahisar were working at coalmines in order to earn their money and cover their daily expenses. An Armenian woman from Harput, Elizabeth Kamburyan, who was from a wealthy family helped

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<sup>290</sup> *Jamanak*, 31 December 1918, No: 3401.

<sup>291</sup> *Jamanak*, 23 February 1919, No: 3453.

Armenian homeless people at Afyon Karahisar and she was a well-known person at the city.<sup>292</sup>

Levon Mıgırdıçyan reported from Akşehir that the Armenian population at the city before the Great War was more than thousand families. Yet, after the war the population decreased to hundred families. Those who stayed at the city were working at the governmental jobs or at the Ottoman Railway Company. Hundreds of Armenians were trying to return their hometown but more than three hundred Armenian residences at city were destroyed by Boshnaks and local Kurds and Turks. The properties of the Armenian church at the city center were sold by the government at low prices. For example, some goods, which were four hundred years old, were sold by the government during the wartime at ridiculous prices. The new caimacam, Samih Fethi Bey, was friendly to the Armenians. He was doing his best to return the properties of the Armenian community. It is also stated that the local Armenian community started to recover its branches. They organized a city council and reopened the Armenian kindergarten and primary school. Also, the Armenian church started serving again.<sup>293</sup>

In another report, which was sent from Rodosto (today Tekirdağ), it is stated that before the Great War, the total population of the city was thirty thousand and the half of this population was Armenian. Even the Turkish shopkeepers were also speaking in Armenian language in order to do business at the city. Nevertheless, after the war, all Armenians disappeared from the city and the properties of the Armenian families were shared by the Turkish community. It is indicated that some poor Turkish families

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<sup>292</sup> *Jamanak*, 2 January 1919, No: 3403.

<sup>293</sup> *Jamanak*, 3 January 1919, No: 3404.

became wealthy after the Armenian deportation. Some ordinary individuals who were working as fishermen became “ağa”s and “bey”s. It is also indicated that only a few Armenian families returned to the city after the deportation.<sup>294</sup>

A report was sent from Maraş on 29 January 1919 stating that the Armenian population at the city was fifteen thousand after the war. The large part of the local Armenian community managed to save its life yet there were thousands of Armenian women and orphans at the houses of Kurds. After the war, the primary issue of the Armenian community at the city was to save the Armenian widows and orphans from Kurd families because most of the widows and their children were taken by Kurds during the wartime. It is also indicated in the report that these widows and orphans forgot their native language and religion and most of them were Islamized during the wartime.<sup>295</sup>

A report was sent from Giresun stating that the Armenian population at the city was four hundred families before the war yet by the end of the war there were only hundred Armenian widows and orphans who were living with the Muslim families. Joseph Artom who was an Armenian living at Giresun stated that he wrote to the Armenian Patriarchate at İstanbul to ask their help for the orphans and widows. The Armenian Patriarchate sent two hundred Ottoman liras for the orphans and widows yet Joseph Artom stated that it was essential to organize an orphanage at the city. According

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<sup>294</sup> *Jamanak*, 27 January 1919, No: 3427.

<sup>295</sup> *Jamanak*, 29 January 1919, No: 3429.

to the report, Armenians and Greeks were waiting the Allied Powers' entrance to Giresun.<sup>296</sup>

Konya was transformed into a center for the Armenian community after the deportation. Because of its central position on the Ottoman Railway system, Konya was the main station of all Armenian migrants during the wartime. The Armenian population at Konya after the war became cosmopolitan and varied. In a report, which was sent from Konya, the Armenian population was categorized district by district. According to this report, after the war, there were one thousand nine hundred thirty Armenians who were born in Konya and living in Konya. In addition to this, there were sixty families who migrated from Afyon Karahisar, one hundred fifty families who migrated from Adapazarı, sixty families who migrated from Kazada, twenty families from Kırmaştı, seventy families from Eskişehir, twenty hundred fifty families from Medz Nor Kugh, forty families from Bardizak, thirty families from Suöz, eighty families from Sivri Hisar, twenty five families from Sakar Bıçkı, twenty families from Muradçay, twenty families from Cerah, two hundred fifty families from Bursa, sixty families from Yenişehir, two hundred fifty families from Bilecik, one hundred sixty families from Bandırma, two hundred sixty families from Balıkesir, thirty families from Haykugh, six families from Çengiler, fifteen families from Kar, fifty families from Isparta, fifteen families from Burdur, fifteen families from Dardanel, twenty families from Marmarcık, twenty families from Yenice, hundred families from Merdegöz, fifty families from Rodosto, twenty five families from Göldağ, hundred families from Izmit, fifteen families from Kurdbelen, twenty families from Sapanca and ten families from Türkmen, in total there

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<sup>296</sup> *Jamanak*, 8 April 1919, No: 3490.

were two thousand six hundred ninety six Armenian families at Konya. Besides the city center of Konya, there were many Armenian migrants at neighboring cities. There were four hundred families at Ereğli, one hundred fifty families at Koçhisar, sixty families at Karaman, one hundred fifty families at Niğde, fifty families at Akdağ, thirty families at Ilgın, three hundred families at Akşehir, sixty families at Kadınhisar, three families at Kızılod, fifty families at Beyşehir, forty families at Seydişehir, fifteen families at Sultaniye, eighty families at Elmalı and fifteen families at Adalia. In total, there were four thousand ninety nine Armenian families at Konya province.<sup>297</sup>

In another report which sheds light on the situation of six Eastern provinces, it is stated that there were no signs in Erzurum that the Armenians had lived in the city. The Armenian quarters were totally destroyed and annihilated. There were one thousand five hundred Armenian families at Bitlis and Van but these families were Islamized during the wartime. There were Islamized Armenian widows at Trabzon but no Armenian men remained. Only in Diyarbakır, there were three thousand Armenian population and in Sivas, there were seven thousand Armenians. Besides these communities, there were no Armenians remained at six provinces.<sup>298</sup>

These reports are crucial sources for calculating the Armenian population after the deportation. Individuals who wrote these reports from the provinces wanted to inform both the Armenian Patriarchate and the Armenian community at İstanbul in order to receive economic and moral support. On the other hand, the *Jamanak* daily published these reports directly in order to draw the attention of the Allied Powers as well as the

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<sup>297</sup> *Jamanak*, 4 December 1918, No: 3374.

<sup>298</sup> *Jamanak*, 18 January 1919, No: 3418.

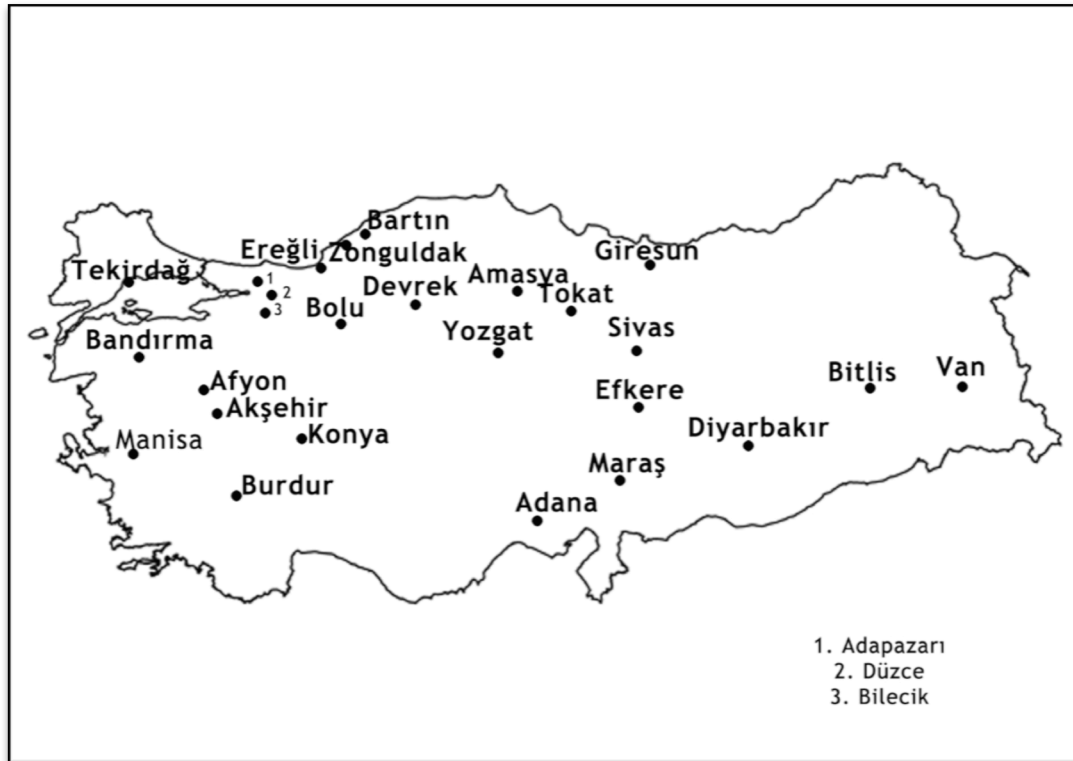
new established Ottoman cabinet for the Armenian issue. The objectivity of these reports is arguable yet it is certain that these reports illustrate perfectly the condition of the Armenian community at Anatolia after the Great War.

Table 4: Population Statistics According to the Articles that Published in the *Jamanak* Daily

City	Before The Deportation	After The Deportation (At the beginning of 1919)
Bandırma	1000 families	60 families
Bilecik	800 families	10 families
Yozgat	2500 families	400 families
Zonguldak	500 families	50 families
Adapazarı	4000 families	300 families
Burdur	170 families	60 families
Manisa	400 families	400 families
Akşehir	1000 families	100 families
Giresun	400 families	0
Diyarbakır	Not mentioned	3000 population
Tokat	Not mentioned	100 families
Amasya	Not mentioned	100 families
Bolu	Not mentioned	150 families
Devreg	Not mentioned	90 families
Bartın	Not mentioned	60 families
Düzce	Not mentioned	116 families
Ereğli	Not mentioned	8 families
Sinop	Not mentioned	40 families
Efkere	2500 population	0

Afyon Karahisar	Not mentioned	400 families
Tekirdağ	15000 population	less than thousand
Maraş	Not mentioned	15000 population
Bitlis and Van	Not mentioned	1500 Islamized families

Figure 15: Towns and cities in Anatolia that mentioned in this section



### Tracing the CUP Leaders

After the ceasefire agreement between the Allied Powers and the Ottoman Empire, the leaders of the CUP left the country on a German submarine.<sup>299</sup> There were several

<sup>299</sup> They were: Talaat, Enver, Cemal, Dr. Nazim, Dr. Bahaddin Şakir, Bedri, Azmi, Haydar Ibrahim. Quoted from Erik Jan Zürcher, *The Unionist Factor* (Leiden: 1984), p. 72.

reasons that made the CUP leaders to take this decision. On the one hand, they realized that with the efforts of the CUP, the Ottoman Empire entered the war. Thus, they were afraid of a public protest. On the other hand, the result of the Armenian deportation was a catastrophe and the CUP government was responsible in these events. As the one of the close friends of Talat Pasha, İhsan Bey, said to Talat Pasha when he was leaving the country, the Armenian deportation was the main point that made the CUP leaders to take this decision. İhsan Bey said following words:

A politician can be unsuccessful and a government can lose a war. Yet that politician does not have to leave the country. I think, the main reason that makes you leave this country is the Armenian issue. Because of the Armenian issue, you are leaving the country. This is an obligation. Certainly, you acted improperly and intemperately in this issue.<sup>300</sup>

Not only the chief of the party-organization in Istanbul, Kara Kemal, but also a number of cabinet ministers, among them the Grand Vizier İzzet Pasha, knew of their escape beforehand.<sup>301</sup> After the flight of leaders, members of the CUP made a decision on 5 November 1918 to change the name of the party. They chose “Teceddüd” (Renovation) name as a symbol of a new beginning. Indeed, there was no difference between the Teceddüd Party and the CUP. For instance, Celal Bayar illustrates the relation between the old party and the new when he quotes the following conversation with a visiting officer:

... He had noticed the sign over the entrance of the Unionist club. Under the words ‘Renovation Party’ the text ‘Union and Progress’ could still be seen. He said that he thought this a strange situation. I said: ‘It’s a coincidence. It is just turned out that way. When he asked: ‘Won’t you repair it?’ I laughed and

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<sup>300</sup> Mustafa Ragıp Esatlı, *İttihat ve Terakki’nin Son Günleri* (İstanbul: 2007), p. 695.

<sup>301</sup> Erik Jan Zürcher, *The Unionist Factor*, p. 72.



answered: 'Things that are covered by the times, can one day also be uncovered by the times. That's life. Let's just wait and see.'<sup>302</sup>

It is clear from Bayar's words that the CUP wanted to be powerful again during the postwar period. Although the leaders of the CUP left the country, there were well-prepared plans to organize a national struggle in Anatolia. For instance, the Milli Talim ve Terbiye Cemiyeti (National Society for Instruction and Education) was founded in 1916. Mithat Şükrü Bleda, who was a prominent member of the CUP, administered this organization. In 1919, Milli Talim ve Terbiye Cemiyeti organized mass meetings in Istanbul to protest the Allied Powers. The CUP tried to shape the public opinion for a national struggle. Furthermore, they organized an underground organization, Karakol (The Guard), in Istanbul. This organization sent numerous arms to Anatolia and organized the ways of nationalist officers, who wanted to join the national struggle in Anatolia, to escape from Istanbul to Anatolia. Interestingly, some sources claim that the Karakol organization chose Mustafa Kemal as a leader of the national struggle.<sup>303</sup> This assertion may be true because it is clear that Mustafa Kemal kept close contact during the national struggle with Kara Kemal who was the founder of the Karakol organization. Rauf Orbay stated in his memoirs that when he went to Mustafa Kemal's home with İsmail Canbolat they saw that Mustafa Kemal and Kara Kemal were in a deep conversation, which was related with the methods of the national struggle.<sup>304</sup> Also, Kara

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<sup>302</sup> Ibid, p. 75.

<sup>303</sup> Şeref Çavuşoğlu, *İttihat ve Terakki'nin Gizli Planı. YT: Vol. 1*, p. 263-264. Quoted from Zürcher, *The Unionist Factor*, p. 112.

<sup>304</sup> Rauf Orbay in his memoirs, Y.T: Vol. 1, p. 402. Quoted from Zürcher, *The Unionist Factor*, p. 113.

Vasif, who was one of the leaders of Karakol, said directly that Mustafa Kemal was the commandant of their struggle.<sup>305</sup> These are clear clues to claim that although the leaders left the country, the CUP continued its political life during the postwar period. Because of their roles in the Armenian deportation, the Armenian community saw these leaders as murderers. The *Jamanak* daily published hundreds of stories about the CUP leaders who left the country during this period.

After the escape of the CUP leaders, the *Jamanak* daily published an article on its front page. The issue of justice was the major point of this article. According to the daily it was natural that these leaders escaped from the country but it was not acceptable that they also escaped from justice. Firstly, these “evil” leaders should have given an account of their deeds during the Great War. They should have explained why they let the Empire go to war. Secondly, these leaders should have explained why they organized a deportation plan for the Armenian population of the Empire. According to the information that was received from the German and Austrian Embassies there was no place for these leaders in Germany or Austria.<sup>306</sup> Yet Cemal and Talat Pasha went to the German Empire at the end of their journey. In another article, which was published the following day, it is stated that the CUP leaders escaped on a German torpedo boat after the Friday midnight. The foreign affairs minister informed the German officials to arrest and return the leaders but could not get a response from the German authorities. Talat and Cemal Pasha sent a message to the Ottoman government stating that they would return to the country as soon as the conditions were stabilized. Enver Pasha stated in his

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<sup>305</sup> Zürcher, p. 120.

<sup>306</sup> *Jamanak*, 4 November 1918, No: 3344.

message that he was planning to go to the Caucasus to struggle in establishing a Muslim government. Interestingly, it is reported that after the escape of Cemal Pasha, a group of Ottomans gathered in front of his villa and protested him and the CUP. In the same article, it is also stated that Enver Pasha took a great amount of money with him, which belonged to the Ministry of War. According to the article, a prominent member of the CUP offered Cemal and Enver to flee the country and gave them great amount of money. In response, Cemal and Enver accepted the offer and also wanted Talat to leave the country as well.<sup>307</sup>

On 5 November 1918, the *Jamanak* daily reported that the general assembly of the CUP made a decision to change the name of the party. The Committee of Union of Progress was transformed to the Regeneration Party (Teceddüd Fırkası). Also the assembly made a decision to remove all the members who were serving at the military from the membership. Cemal and Enver Pasha were removed from the member list but Talat Pasha remained because he was a civilian.<sup>308</sup>

On 7 November 1918, an article, “The CUP leaders according to the Armenian view” was published. After giving the thoughts of Süleyman Nazif and Refik Halid who were the strong opponents of the CUP government, the *Jamanak* daily introduces its opinion. According to the daily, Bahaddin Şakir, Dr. Nazım and Talat Pasha planned the annihilation of the Armenian community. Dr. Nazım believed that there was no way to gain the power in economy and social life against the Greeks and Armenians. Therefore, he thought that the only way to control the power in the economy was to boycott the

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<sup>307</sup> *Jamanak*, 5 November 1918, No: 3345.

<sup>308</sup> *Jamanak*, 5 November 1918, No: 3345.

Armenian and Greek tradesmen and in the social life was to annihilate the Christian population. According to the daily, Bahaddin Şakir and Talat Pasha helped Dr. Nazım in order to implement this programme. Bahaddin Şakir stated that they did in two days what they could not do in two hundred years. When Avedis Aharonian who was a representative of the new Armenian Republic came to Istanbul had an interview with Bahaddin Şakir. He asked about the Armenian massacres. Bahaddin Şakir answered that he was sorry about the Armenian massacres but he could not indicate anyone who could be held responsible. Aharonian stated that all the Ottoman officials that he had interviews with were sorry about the massacres but no one was prepared to point to a responsible person or organization. According to the *Jamanak* daily, Enver and Cemal Pasha were not as responsible as Talat Pasha, Bahaddin Şakir and Dr. Nazım. Furthermore, Cemal Pasha had tried to help the Armenian community at Halep region.<sup>309</sup>

According to the daily, the governor of Trabzon, Cemal Azmi Bey, was also responsible in the Armenian deportation. Cemal Azmi Bey was a Turk from Eğin town and had no experience in state affairs nor did he not know any foreign language. Nevertheless, first Talat Pasha made him the governor of Rize town and then the governor of Trabzon province. Cemal Azmi Bey did his duty well and after the war there were no Armenian families remaining in Trabzon. According to the daily, Cemal Azmi Bey gathered Armenian families in boats to send them Istanbul and at the sea, Laz captains threw them out of the boats. After embezzling the Armenian properties, he left the country and went to Berlin.<sup>310</sup>

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<sup>309</sup> *Jamanak*, 7 November 1918, No: 3347.

<sup>310</sup> *Jamanak*, 17 November 1918, No: 3357.

On 10 December 1918, the *Jamanak* daily reported that the prosecutor and some police officers made an examination at the CUP headquarters. Nevertheless, they saw that all the documents related with the Armenian deportation were annihilated. The general secretary Midhat Şükrü Bey was questioned by the prosecutor and police officers.<sup>311</sup> Midhat Şükrü Bey testified that the Armenian deportation was planned and implemented by the Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa<sup>312</sup> organization and this organization had no relation with the CUP. The prosecutor did not accept the idea that Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa and the CUP had no relation and continued the interrogation. The police officers investigated the house of Ahmed Ramiz Bey who was an advisor at the Ministry of War and found a chest full of with the documents related with the Armenian deportation.<sup>313</sup>

On the following day, it was reported that although the documents related with the Armenian deportation were annihilated the police officers found two telegrams, which were signed by Bahaddin Şakir and Dr. Nazım, ordering the annihilation process

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<sup>311</sup> *Jamanak*, 10 December 1918, No: 3380.

<sup>312</sup> Polat Safi explains *Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa* in his article as following: “The Special Organization (SO, *Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa*) was one of the most important products of this endeavor. The SO emerged primarily out of the experience of the CUP in the Tripolitanian and Balkan wars. As an early type of unconventional warfare organization, the SO, which officially existed from 13 November 1913 to 30 October 1918, had no precedent in Ottoman history. Its operations included the recruitment, training, and supervision of armed groups tasked with conducting asymmetric warfare to weaken enemy morale and fighting strength. The SO also engaged in small-scale intelligence activity aimed both at strengthening solidarity among Muslims and revealing internal and external threats to Ottoman interests.”

Polat Safi, “History in the Trench: The Ottoman Special Organization – Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa Literature”, *Middle Eastern Studies*, 48:1, pp. 89-106.

<sup>313</sup> *Jamanak*, 13 December 1918, No: 3383.

of the Armenians.<sup>314</sup> Following sentence was written in one of the telegrams:

“Implement the annihilation order of the Armenians completely.” On the other telegram:

“Have you implemented the order of the annihilation of the Armenians?”<sup>315</sup> On the following day, the daily reported that the police officers found another telegram, which was written by Talat Pasha and was sent to Malatya. Talat Pasha wrote the following sentence: “Annihilate the Armenians who were gathered at your town. All the material and spiritual responsibility is mine.”<sup>316</sup>

On 11 December 1918, the daily reported that the prosecutor started to interrogate the CUP members. After Midhat Şükrü Bey, Ziya Gökalp and Talat Bey were also interrogated by the police officers. Furthermore, the former governor of Halep, Celal Bey, stated that he had some cipher telegrams, which were sent by Bahaddin Şakir ordering the annihilation of the Armenian population at Halep.<sup>317</sup>

On 14 December 1918, the daily published an article stating that Yunus Nadi Bey who was a deputy at Ottoman assembly and the editor of *Yenigün* daily clarified that the telegrams, which were found at the CUP center, were forged and unacceptable. According to him, these forged documents were a propaganda attempt of the Armenians.

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<sup>314</sup> *Jamanak*, 11 December 1918, No: 3381.

<sup>315</sup> *Jamanak*, 12 December 1918, No: 3382.

<sup>316</sup> *Jamanak*, 12 December 1918, No: 3382. “Իթթիհատի կեդրոնին մէջ գտնուեցաւ ուրիշ հեռագիր մըն ալ զոր փախստական Թալէաթ փաշա ղրկած էր Մաւաթիոյ Իթթիհատի ակումբին: Սհաւասիկ այդ հեռագրին պատմէնր. «Ծեր գաւառը ղրրկուած և հաւաքուած Հայերը բնաջինջ ըրէ՛ք. Բարոյական և նիւթական ամէն պատասխանատուութիւն ինձի պատկանաւու պայմանաւ:»”

<sup>317</sup> *Jamanak*, 11 December 1918, No: 3381.

The *Jamanak* daily responded to Yunus Nadi Bey that the Turkish media could not bend the truth because everything was clear and the Western Powers knew the reality as well.<sup>318</sup>

On 26 December 1918, the daily published an article stating that according to the *Tribune de Geneve*, which was published in Geneve, Talat, Cemal and Enver Pasha were feeling that they were at risk in Berlin and planning to move to the Netherlands or Switzerland. The government of the Netherlands refused to accommodate these CUP leaders. Also, according to the *Jamanak* daily, Switzerland rejected these leaders who were “the murderers of millions of Armenians.”<sup>319</sup>

On 27 December 1918, an open letter, which was written by the editorial board, was published on the front page addressing the Ministry of Interior Affairs. In this letter, the daily urged the Ottoman authorities to arrest some prominent CUP members who committed crimes during the Armenian deportation. According to the daily, the president of Bursa branch of the CUP, İbrahim Bey, who was the sole responsible person for the events that happened during the deportation at Bursa was wandering in the streets of Istanbul freely. Also Zeki Bey, who oppressed two hundred thousand Armenians gathered at Der Zor desert, and Atif Bey who oppressed the Armenians of Ankara and Cemal Azmi and Nail Bey who oppressed the Armenians of Trabzon were wondering in the streets freely. The daily was urging the government to arrest these CUP members who committed crimes during the deportation.<sup>320</sup>

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<sup>318</sup> *Jamanak*, 14 December 1918, No: 3384.

<sup>319</sup> *Jamanak*, 26 December 1918, No: 3396.

<sup>320</sup> *Jamanak*, 27 December 1918, No: 3397.

On 29 January 1919, the investigation of *Poti Parizien* daily on the Armenian deportation of 1915 was published on the front page of the *Jamanak* daily. According to this long report that was written by Moris Praks, Talat, Enver, Cemal, Liman von Sanders were the major responsible leaders in this “crime against humanity”. After explaining various massacres that happened at Muş, Der Zor, Erzurum and Ankara, Moris Praks stated that besides the CUP leaders and Liman Von Sanders, the local governors such as the governor of Harput, Sabit Bey and the governor of Muş, Vasfi Bey should also have been punished. He concluded that many Turks helped the Armenian migrants to save their lives and the entire Turkish population was not responsible in the massacres.<sup>321</sup>

On 31 January 1919 an article was published which was reporting that the police forces carried out an operation to arrest the prominent members of the CUP. According to the report the deputy of Izmir Rahmi Bey, the leader of the CUP’ Istanbul branch Kemal Bey, the secretary-general of the CUP Midhat Şükrü Bey, the deputy of Lazistan Süleyman Sudi and a prominent member Emmanuel Karasu were arrested during this secret operation. It is stated that during the arrest, Emmanuel Karasu escaped and hid at a French citizen’s house in order to not to surrender to the police forces. The police forces were only able to arrest him after receiving permission from the French consulate. Furthermore, Ziya Gökalp, Kahya Ferid, the deputy of Bursa Rıza Bey, Çolak Selahaddin and the assistant of Enver Pasha, Derviş Bey were also arrested. According to Ministry of Interior Affairs these members were arrested because of their deeds

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<sup>321</sup> *Jamanak*, 29 January 1919, No: 3429.



during the wartime.<sup>322</sup> On the following day it was reported that the uncle of Enver Pasha, Halil Bey, Vehib and Remzi Pasha who were the former commanders and Dr. Rusuhi and Memduh Şevket fled the country and escaped from arrest. A total of, twenty two prominent figures were arrested by the police forces.<sup>323</sup> The former minister of economy Cavid Bey, the former minister of education Şükrü Bey, the former vice governor of Diyarbakir Bedreddin, Dr. Rüştü, the former head of the financial department of Istanbul Fazıl Bey, engineer Salim Bey, İsmail Hakkı, the former minister of the Foreign Affairs Ahmed Nesim, the editor of *Tanin* daily Muhiddin Bey, Selah Cımcöz and Mahmud Kamil Paşa were in the arrest list.<sup>324</sup> A member from the government stated that there were two groups in these arrests. One of them consisted of the CUP members who played crucial role during the Armenian massacres and the other group consisted of the CUP members who acquired great amount of money illegally during the wartime.<sup>325</sup>

On 7 February 1919, the daily reported that Reşid Bey, who was responsible for massacring the Armenian population of Diyarbakir, escaped from the police by car. He hid in an apartment located between Beşiktaş and Nişantaşı. Yet, after a wide investigation, the police found him again. He managed to escape from that apartment and run away from the building. He shot at police forces in the streets of Fulya. At that moment, he understood that it was impossible to escape from the police forces. Rather

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<sup>322</sup> *Jamanak*, 31 January 1919, No: 3431.

<sup>323</sup> *Jamanak*, 1 February 1919, No: 3432.

<sup>324</sup> *Jamanak*, 1 February 1919, No: 3432.

<sup>325</sup> *Jamanak*, 3 February 1919, No: 3434.

than surrender he committed suicide. It is noteworthy that the police found some crucial documents in the pockets of Reşid's jacket.<sup>326</sup>

On 25 March 1919, the daily published a crucial document, which was stating the secret plan of the CUP during the Armenian deportation. According to this document, there were ten steps that the CUP government implemented during the deportation. These steps were:

- 1- Closing all the Armenian business organizations and arresting those merchants who opposed the CUP government and sending them to Musul or Bagdad.
- 2- Collecting all the arms.
- 3- Organizing provocative actions in the provinces such as Van, Adana and Erzurum in order to provoke Muslim population against the Armenian community.
- 4- Letting the executions totally to the ordinary people in provinces like Erzurum, Van, Mamuretulaziz and Bitlis, and making the troops and the military forces look like preventing massacres. On the contrary, supporting Muslims with the military force in places like Sivas, Bursa and İzmit and İzmir.
- 5- First annihilating the men and teachers. Converting the women and children to Islam.
- 6- Annihilating the families of those who managed to survive from the deportation and are looking for their families.
- 7- Discharging all the Armenian officials who were working in the government jobs.
- 8- Annihilating those men who were serving in the military.
- 9- Starting all measures at the same time in order to prevent a national self-defense.
- 10- Paying attention to keep these measures secret.<sup>327</sup>

After the Armistice of Mudros, it is perceivable that the Armenian community started to speak about the wartime events. The CUP leaders were responsible for the Armenian deportation. The *Jamanak* daily published many reports about these leaders

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<sup>326</sup> *Jamanak*, 7 February 1919, No: 3438.

<sup>327</sup> *Jamanak*, 25 March 1919, No: 3478.

just after the Armistice. The main aim was to arrest these leaders and to call them to account for their deeds. Yet, one should keep in mind the propaganda issue. Naturally, there might be exaggeration and dramatization in these reports. Nevertheless, these reports and articles that were published in the *Jamanak* daily reflect the general attitude of the Armenian community against the CUP leaders.

### An Armenian Intellectual As A Survivor of Deportation: Yervant Odyan

#### Yervant Odyan, A Brief Biography:

Yervant Odyan was born on 19 September 1869 in Istanbul. He was the nephew of Krikor Odyan who was one of the creators of the Armenian Constitution in 1863. In 1884, he attended Berberyan Armenian High School in Üsküdar for one and a half years and then he took private courses from prominent Armenian authors who were close friends of Krikor Odyan. Odyan learned French and started to do translations from French into Turkish and Armenian. His first writings were published in *Arevelk* and *Manzume-i Efkar*. In 1892, he became the assistant editor of *Arevelk* and worked there four years. Between 1896-1908, he traveled to Athens, London, Paris, Alexandria, Bombay and Cairo. He published in various Armenian journals and worked as an editor. After the Revolution of 1908, he returned to İstanbul and worked in *Jamanak*, *Puzantion* and *Azadamard* dailies. In 1915, he was exiled from İstanbul to Der Zor deserts. After four years of struggle, he managed to return İstanbul and to write in various Armenian

dailies again. He moved to Bucharest in 1922 after the Kemalist revolution and he died of cancer in Cairo in 1926.<sup>328</sup>

His works were: *Vasharun* (Pawnbroker) 1893, *Michnort Der Baban* (Matchmaker Priest) 1895-1920, *Heghapoghutyanyan Magapuyzdnere* (The Parasites of Revolution) 1898-1899, *Propagandist* 1901, *Hampartzum Aga* 1904, *Dasnergu Dari Bolsen Turs* (Twelve Years Out of Istanbul) 1912-1913, *Mer Yerespoghannere* (Our Representatives) 1913, *Im Asharhayatsknere* (My Worldviews) 1914, *Azkayin Parerar* (National Benefactor) 1905, *Indanik Badiv Paroyagan* (Family, Honesty, Morality) 1910, *Yes Tirsetsi Chem Arner* (I Shall Not Marry an Outsider) 1913, *Taghaganin Gnike* (The Wife of Trustee) 1915, *Anidzyal Dariner* (Accursed Years) 1918-1919, *Nor Harusdner* (The New Upper Class) 1919-1920, *Tiv 17 Hafiyen* (Spy the Seventeenth) 1919-1921, *Hay Diasporan* (The Armenian Diaspora) 1924-1925.

Yervant Odyan was the leading author of Armenian satire literature. He was the prominent critic of the Armenian social life with his humor books. Daily life, political alternation and social change are the topics of his writings. Furthermore, Odyan contributed to the Armenian literature with his translations from Tolstoy, Zola, Dostoyevsky, Gorky and Twain.

Yervant Odyan was a popular author and intellectual in the Armenian community but he never became a member of the political parties. He never joined to Tashnaksutyun, Hnchak or any other political parties. He was an objective liberal who sought for the truth and justice.

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<sup>328</sup> *Haygagan Sovedagan Hanrakidaran*, Vol. 12, s.v. “Yervant Odyan”; Yervant Odyan, *Yoldaş Pañçuni*, çev. Sirvart Malbasyan (İstanbul: Aras Yayıncılık, 2013), p. 8-12.

## Yervant Odyan, As a Witness of Sufferings

Yervan Odyan was exiled from Istanbul during the arrest of the Armenian intellectuals on 24 April 1915. His destination point was Konya but with the orders of the CUP administration he was supposed to go to the Der Zor dessert. During his long journey, he wrote what he saw and he gave great insight to understand what deportation was for the Armenians. For instance, when he was on the road to Islahiye he noted following words:

On this journey we saw the indescribable misery of the caravans of deportees. Thousands of women, girls and children, bent under heavy loads, broken and racked with pain, walked along undulating, stony and muddy roads, crying and lamenting... Newborn children abandoned, crying with hunger... Scenes from hell that no Dante could have imagined. Small children, lost or abandoned, would cry 'Mummy, mummy' but received no answer.<sup>329</sup>

When he was at Sebil, a town near Aleppo, he witnessed a very sad scene. There were trenches for the deportees which acted as latrines. He saw two boys there who were standing above them, looking at something and saying "Is she dead?... No, she is not dead... Look she moved" and so on. When he came close to the boys he saw a young woman lying at the bottom of the trench. She was not yet dead and occasionally moving. After a few hours he saw a young man and a woman standing above trenches. He moved close to them and said that this woman had been brought from the camp and thrown there. The man answered that this poor lady was his sister-in-law and they threw her there last night. Then he explained the reason as following:

My wife, daughter, sister-in-law and I reached Sebil almost completely naked, without even one lira, hungry and thirsty. It was certain that we should have all

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<sup>329</sup> Yervant Odian, *Accursed Years: My Exile and Return from Der Zor 1914-1919* (London: Gomidas Institute, 2009), p. 88.

died here, if we had not met a family the members of which were our friends. They took us into their tent, dressed and fed us and are looking after us even now. There is not enough space or beds in the tent. We are forced to sleep in close groups of two or three. Under these circumstances my sister-in-law caught dysentery very badly. There is no doctor or medicines. You know that dysentery is a contagious disease. The family looking after us said that either we take the sick girl out of the tent or we would all have to leave. For my wife, daughter and I to leave the tent is simply to go to our deaths. Four people would have died instead of one, for no reason. My wife and I thought and found no other way out. Crying, we brought my sister-in-law here at night and threw her in...<sup>330</sup>

When Odyan was at Sebil, he witnessed the trade of the Armenian children in the camp.

Arab, Turkish and Jewish women came to the camps and asked Armenian families to buy their children. Yervant Odyan explained the event as following:

I saw a woman go mad a few hours after selling her two children. Others fell into a sort of lethargic, stupid state, silent, their gaze distant, sitting for hours on the ground. You would think that their feelings and consciousness were dead; they would become animal-like. Thousands of boys and girls were sold in Sebil in this way to Arabs, Turks and Jews from Aleppo. The small children of about 7-10 years old were usually considered to be valuable, especially the girls.<sup>331</sup>

When Odyan was in Hama, he saw thirty deported Armenian women from Samsun.

They were separated from their husbands, brothers and children. Yervant Odyan narrated as above:

Those women's stories were heart breaking... On the road the Turks and Kurds had abducted all the young and attractive brides and girls. Then they were robbed several times. The women were forced to swallow their gold items so that they would not be stolen.<sup>332</sup>

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<sup>330</sup> Ibid, p. 98.

<sup>331</sup> Ibid, p. 99.

<sup>332</sup> Ibid, p. 107.

These eyewitness accounts that Yervant Odyan showed in his memoirs are crucial for understanding conditions during the deportation.

### Yervant Odyan: A Survivor of the Armenian Deportation

On 12 November 1918, a telegram which was written by Yervant Odyan was published on the *Jamanak* daily. Odyan stated in this short telegram that he was in Ereğli train station and he was going to be in Istanbul as soon as possible.<sup>333</sup> The fact that the leader writer of the daily was coming back to home, the *Jamanak* daily announced this telegram as a celebration. After four years of pain, Yervant Odyan was taking back his position in the daily again.

On 21 November 1918, Odyan published his first article, in which he greeted the Armenian community after long four years and he summarized the sufferings of the people who were perished en route during the deportation.

Greetings, Armenian people – forgive me: greetings to you, the remnants of the Armenian community – I’ve come from a very long way away. I’ve come from Der Zor, over whose bridge 300,000 Armenians passed, of whom only 1,500 women and orphan children survived. I’ve come from Osmaniye, from where, in torrential rain 60,000 Armenians were force-marched, being whipped continuously, from mountain to mountain. I’ve come from the dreadful road from Pozantı to Tarsus where, under silver fir trees, newborn Armenian babies, abandoned by their mothers, became food for hyenas and dogs.

...

I’ve come from those hellish places where the Zohrabs, Agnunis, Khajags, Zartarians, Siamantos, Varujans, Sevags and Dagavaryans –a whole nation’s Intellect– was smashed to pieces, at the hands of the worthy descendants of Tamerlane and Genghiz Khan.

My greetings to you, remnants of the Armenian community.<sup>334</sup>

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<sup>333</sup> *Jamanak*, 12 November 1918, No: 3352.

<sup>334</sup> *Jamanak*, 21 November 1918, No: 3361. The translation is quoted directly from Rita

On 26 November 1918, Odyan wrote an article titled “Let us save the survivors”. In this article, Odyan mentioned that the Armenian population before the Great War was about two million but after the war it reduced to two hundred thousand. Odyan tried to shape the Armenian public opinion in order to organize aid campaigns for the Armenian orphans and widows. According to him, there were more than forty thousand Armenian homeless people in the streets of Konya, Bursa and Ankara and the Armenian community of Istanbul must help these poor people.<sup>335</sup>

On 28 November 1918, Odyan wrote that the CUP leaders planned to annihilate the entire Christian population of Anatolia yet they could not achieve their goals. According to him, the conditions during the Great War were appropriate for an ethnic cleansing in Anatolia and the CUP government tried to do that.<sup>336</sup>

On 30 November 1918, Odyan criticized the Armenian political life. After the Great War, some new Armenian politicians appeared in the political arena. According to Odyan, these politicians were nothing but shameless. He explained the reason as below:

These politicians are not our deputies. Our deputies were those who were killed during the deportation by gangs such as Krikor Zohrab, Vartkes Serengülyan and Nazaret Dağavaryan.<sup>337</sup>

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Soulahian Kuyumjian, *Teotig: Biography and Monument to April 11* (London: Gomidas Institute, 2010), p. 75.

<sup>335</sup> *Jamanak*, 26 November 1918, No: 3366.

<sup>336</sup> *Jamanak*, 28 November 1918, No: 3368.

<sup>337</sup> *Jamanak*, 30 November 1918, No: 3370.



Besides criticizing the CUP government and the Armenian politics, Yervant Odyan also criticized the social issues. On 3 December 1918, he wrote that there were hundreds of opportunist tricksters who were collecting money from the wealthy Armenian families with the purpose of helping the Armenian orphans and widows. Nevertheless, mostly these Armenian tricksters were leaving the country after collecting great amounts from these families.<sup>338</sup> Furthermore, on 25 December 1918, Odyan again complained about a fraud issue, which occurred in Izmir. Armenian representative of Izmir, Onnik Ihsan Efendi, organized an aid campaign to help orphans and widows. The campaign collected more than 2,795 liras from wealthy Armenians who were living in Izmir. Yet, according to Odyan, there was an uncertainty what they did with this amount of money. He claimed that Onnik Ihsan Efendi took 950 liras to his personal account and he also gave 300 liras to Cevahirciyan who was a clergyman. Odyan defended that objective boards must examine these aid campaigns.<sup>339</sup> Therefore, it is clear that at that time there was a disorder in the Armenian community. Instead of helping the orphans and homeless some Armenian individuals tried to steal the money, which was collected from the wealthy families in order to help orphans and widows. Perhaps with the efforts of Yervant Odyan, the Armenian organizations made a decision to unite and to make their activities more transparent. On 8 February 1919, Odyan was pleased to announce that all Armenian aid organizations took a decision to unite their activities. Aid organization for

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<sup>338</sup> *Jamanak*, 3 December 1918, No: 3373.

<sup>339</sup> *Jamanak*, 25 December 1918, No: 3395.

orphans (*Vorpahnam*) and aid organization for homeless people (*Darakrelots*) were united in order to act efficiently.<sup>340</sup>

Yervant Odyan also played a crucial role in the Turkish media. He answered many claims, which were made by the Turkish press in order to conceal the consequences of the deportation. On 5 December 1918, Odyan responded to a claim, which was made by the *Sabah* daily. According to *Sabah* daily, the Armenian deportees of Trabzon and Samsun were coming back to their homes. Odyan stated that in Halep there was only one Armenian, Gaytzak Efendi Arabian, who came from Trabzon. All other deportees who started their odyssey from Trabzon had died on the road. Likewise, there were only ten women in Halep who came from Samsun. All of the male population of Samsun was disappeared after the deportation. After stating these facts, Odyan requested from the *Sabah* daily to give some names of the Armenian deportees who came back to Samsun or Trabzon. He concluded that they could not give names because there were no Armenians remaining at those cities.<sup>341</sup>

On 14 December 1918, Odyan touched upon a different issue. He stated that there was a great disorder in the public order in Istanbul. The Armenian and the Greek individuals were a target for the Muslim population. There were lynching attempts by the Muslim groups against the Armenians and Greeks, as according to Muslims the reason of the defeat in the Great War was the Armenians and Greeks. Odyan mentioned that the Christian population of the Pera district was in great danger of massacre during

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<sup>340</sup> *Jamanak*, 8 February 1919, No: 3443.

<sup>341</sup> *Jamanak*, 5 December 1918, No: 3375.

that period.<sup>342</sup> Furthermore, on 15 December, Odyan continued to write about the security problem of Istanbul. According to him, the police department must be reorganized to save the Christian citizens from the lynching danger.<sup>343</sup>

On 13 March 1919, Odyan responded to Süleyman Nazif who was a prominent Turkish author in *Hadisat* daily and who defended that the Ottoman Empire must change the name of Constantinople to a something like “Muslimpolis”. Odyan stated that after the great defeat of the Ottoman Empire in the Great War, the Turkish intellectuals were trying to Turkify cities and show them as Muslim-Turk cities to the Allied Powers. After strongly criticizing Suleyman Nazif, Odyan suggested that it was too late to convert the name of Constantinople because there were more than 350,000 Christians living in it, therefore the Turkish intellectuals should concentrate on Konia and other cities of Anatolia where the Christian population had mostly disappeared.<sup>344</sup>

On 24 April 1919, the Armenian Patriarchate and the public organizations organized commemoration for the Armenian intellectuals who lost their lives during the deportation, which started on 24 April 1915. Yervant Odyan wrote an emotional article about his friends, who were killed during the deportation. After mentioning in his memoirs the Armenian intellectuals, he concluded his article as follows:

Yet this tragic loss of the Armenian intelligentsia is recoverable. Tomorrow, in the independent Armenia, we will have a new Krikor Zohrab, a new Taniel Varujan, a new Siamanto, a new Zartaryan, a new Agnuni and a new

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<sup>342</sup> *Jamanak*, 14 December 1918, No: 3384.

<sup>343</sup> *Jamanak*, 15 December 1918, No: 3385.

<sup>344</sup> *Jamanak*, 13 March 1919, No: 3468.

Dagavaryan. Individuals have disappeared, but the race is still alive. They broke off the most beautiful fruits of the tree, yet the tree is still alive.<sup>345</sup>

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<sup>345</sup> *Jamanak*, 25 April 1919, No: 3504.

## CHAPTER IV

### CONCLUSION

Artin Arslanyan, who was a prominent member of the Armenian community in Adana, wrote following sentences in his dairy in 1909 after the Adana massacres:

... There is no idea of independence or liberty among the Ottoman Armenians, nor among the Armenians who are living in Adana. I have been living in Adana for four years. I have contacted Armenians from every social class. I have never heard a liberation idea neither from a sane nor from an insane. The only thing that we want is to strengthen the Constitution and gain the guaranty to save our lives, families and properties. Because we know very well that if there is a disintegration of the Ottoman Empire, Arabs, Albanians and Bulgarians will use it. After every nation declares independence, we will remain with Turks. We are friends to the grave.<sup>346</sup>

The Armenian political circles, Tashnaks, Hnchaks, liberals and nonpartisans, were all supporting the Constitution and the unity of the Ottoman Empire especially in the years between 1908-1914. Like many political circles, Armenians also believed that Young Turks could create a modern constitution including a great concentration of minority rights, freedom of speech and democracy. However, dreams of “Fraternity, Equality and Justice” only remained at public demonstrations. But even in 1914, at the beginning of the Great War, Tashnaksutyun organized a congress in Erzurum and declared that Ottoman Armenians will serve in Ottoman army as Ottoman citizens. Thus they declared that Ottoman Armenians were to fight for the victory of the Ottoman Empire.

Nevertheless, the Turkish historiography on the Armenian issue generally asserts that

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<sup>346</sup> Artin Arslanyan, *Adana'da Adalet Nasıl Mahkûm Oldu*, (Kahire: 1909), p. 4.

the Armenians were betrayers and the deportation process was a military necessity. On the other hand, the Armenian historians generally focus on giving a response to the Turkish historiography, thus only concentrates on the Armenian deportation –trying to prove the deportation as genocide. The departure of this study was to shed some light on the other dimensions of the Armenian issue such as the situation of the Armenian community after the wartime, orphans, widows and the survivors. First of all, the fact that there are very few academic studies on this topic, it was hard to find academic sources in order to organize the structure of the study. The *Jamanak* daily, which was published in Istanbul continuously during those years, became a crucial part of this study as a primary source. *Jamanak* became an absolute mirror of the Armenian community during those months. That is why, it became a great trove for this thesis.

In the first chapter, I maintained that in order to understand the general mood of the Armenian community after the war, one should focus firstly on the prewar situations and the events happened during wartime. The “Armenian eliticide” for instance was a key fact that affected the psychology of the community drastically. The majority of the Armenian elites who were arrested on the 24<sup>th</sup> of April was involving the conservative Armenians who were merchants and wealthy people and who were loyal to the Ottoman Empire during wartime. They made huge donations to the Red Crescent and military aid organizations and organized aid campaigns for the disabled soldiers. Yet, most of them died and never returned to Istanbul. Disappearance of the Armenian intellectuals condemned the Armenian community to a voiceless condition during the Armistice period. Secondly, the population issue was a key point to analyze the postwar Armenian community. In the first chapter, I tried to figure out the population statistics of the

Armenians living in the Ottoman Empire. Because it was a highly speculative issue, all population censuses and statistics which were done by Armenian, Ottoman and European authorities were provided in this section. To illustrate the extent of speculation it is possible to give following example: according to the Turkish sources there were 7,519 Armenians living in Harput before 1914, on the other hand Armenian sources claimed that there were 39,788 Armenians. This complexity reflects one possible solution: both Armenian and Turkish authorities were exaggerating the numbers in their favor. Perhaps, the real number was between somewhere of these assumed numbers.

In the second chapter, I reflected on the postwar political scene of the Ottoman Empire and the Armenians. After facing defeat, the Muslim population of the Empire was hopeless; the Ottoman authorities were searching for a solution to save the Empire and its territories. As Harry Stuermer indicated in his crucial work, the Great War was a game of “to be or not to be” for the Ottoman Empire.<sup>347</sup> After the heavy defeat at the Balkan Wars, the CUP government did her best for the victory of the German Empire during the Great War in order to recapture the lands that the Ottoman Empire had lost during the Balkan Wars. After the Armistice of Mudros, it is possible to argue that there was a certain change in the perception of the Ottoman authorities toward the Armenians. The critic issues that were not possible to argue in the Ottoman media or in the assembly during the wartime started to be discussed. On the other hand, Christians, particularly Greeks were celebrating the Ottoman defeat hoping that Greece will capture Istanbul and Western Anatolia. The Armenian community was trying to heal its wounds after

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<sup>347</sup> Dr. Harry Stuermer, *Two War Years In Constantinople: Sketches of German And Young Turkish Ethics And Politics*, (New York: George H. Doran Company: 1917), p. 219.

long war years. Besides relief activities, on the political scene, Armenian political leaders were searching for an opportunity to create a “Western Armenia” with a connection to the newly established Caucasian Armenia.

In the third chapter, I analyzed the articles and news published in the *Jamanak* daily. Firstly, I focused on Armenian orphans who were homeless, familyless and sometimes were being kept at Muslim houses by force. With the assistance of the Armenian Patriarchate at İstanbul, the Armenian community established a special body, *Vorpahnam* (Orphan Commission), in order to organize and cover the special needs of the Armenian orphans and *darakryals* (migrants who lost their property during the deportation) after the Great War. The fact that the Armistice of Mudros was perceived as an end of the never-ending nightmare for the Ottoman Armenians, they started to search for their relatives and families hoping to reestablish their lives again. Secondly, I analyzed reports regarding the situation of the remaining Armenians in Anatolia. After the deportation, it is possible to maintain that the Armenian presence in Anatolia was entirely disappeared. Thirdly, I tried to trace the news about the CUP leaders and the political developments of that time. Because the Armenian community blamed the CUP leaders who fled the Empire following the defeat as responsible for the massacres, *Jamanak* daily provided hundreds of news about these leaders during that period. Almost every day, the daily published a report or announced breaking news about the CUP.

And lastly, in the fourth section, I analyzed thoughts of Yervant Odian who was an Armenian intellectual and who was expelled to Syria during the deportation. Yervant Odian survived the deportation by chance, returned to İstanbul and continued writing in



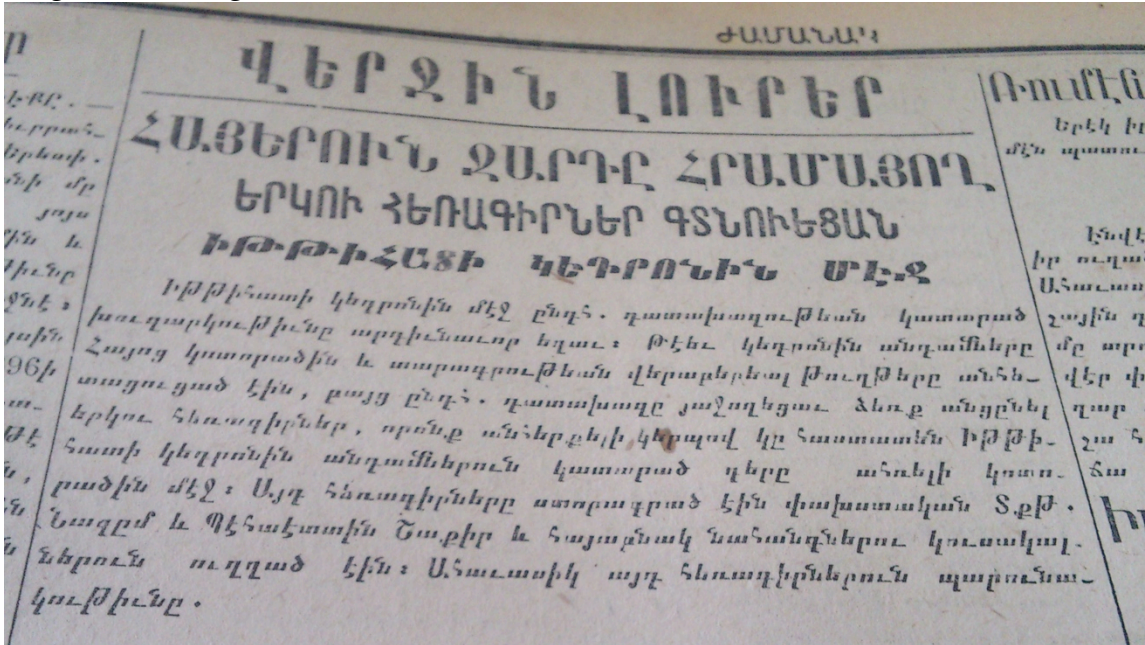
*Jamanak* daily. The fact that his insights on the Armenian deportation were very crucial, I put this section into this chapter in order to reflect the situation in all its parts.

The main aim of this thesis was to present the mood of the Ottoman Armenians just after the Armistice period. The general historiography on the Ottoman Armenians generally focused on the Armenian deportation and the “genocide” conflict between the historians. It can be understood from this thesis that, after the Great War the Armenian community of the Ottoman Empire was in a great chaos. The Armenian deportation of 1915 left a deep trace on the destiny of the community. Yet, the end of the war became the symbol of rebirth for the community. Under the administration of the Patriarchate, leading members of the community organized many aid campaigns for the orphans, widows and homeless. Prominent politicians who survived the deportation traced the CUP leaders and called new government to account for the deportation. Particularly, Armenians of Istanbul start a huge campaign to save remaining Armenians who were returning from the deportation to their native villages and towns in Anatolia. Many articles and reports, as emphasized in this thesis, published in the columns of *Jamanak* regarding the Armenian situation in the Anatolian cities and villages in order to shape the public opinion also the Entente powers’ opinion to save these Armenians and to bring them to Istanbul. I believe that this thesis will make a modest contribution to the already established historiography and will shed light upon the postwar atmosphere of the Ottoman Armenians.

## APPENDIX

APPENDIX: Some photos of the articles and news published in the Jamanak Daily

1. A report published in the Jamanak Daily. The title is: “Fresh News: Two cipher telegrams ordering the annihilation of the Armenians were found at the CUP’s center.”



2. Ahmed Nesim who was the former foreign secretary of the CUP government.



3. Arrested CUP members: Halil Bey and Kemal Bey.

ՌԻՐԱԲ 4 ՊԻԼԻՍ 1831 ՅՆԼ. 1919

**ԲԱՏԱՆՈՒԿԱԿՆԵՐԻՆ**

Յարկան (300 րիս) 400 դրուս  
Վարձանակ (450 րիս) 300 »  
Յառմանակ (75 րիս) 100 »  
Յնասարակրամ ձեռագրիները  
և չին սուլի

ՊԱՁԸ ԱԼԻ, ՔԸՂԱԼ ՕՂԼՈՒ ԵՅԳՈՒՔԸ  
Ք Ի Ի Զ

Journal JAMANAK Stamboul

### Ձերբակալուած Իրքիհատականները



Իսաիլ Մարս 31ի դեպիմն  
նանասակ Զօհրայիմն սուներ ա-  
պասանամ Էս բաւական ժա-  
մանակ այնեղ պահուած էր :  
Ներ Խալի Զօհրայի նանասա-  
կուրիներ իմացեր է, կերծ ար-  
ցունմենեղ բսեր է. «Ներ էս  
նոս ըլլայի, Զօհրայը ստա-  
րի Էս մեռցնի չի սար»:



Երեսփ. Ժողովի նախնոց նախագահ  
և Իրքիհատի գործօն անդամներէն  
**Խ Ա Լ Ի Լ**

Պարենաւորման նախկին նախարար  
և Իրքիհատի Պոլսոյ ներկայացուցիչ  
**Ք Է Մ Ա Լ**

Ճունկութեան գեանին վրայ կա-  
տարեայ կողմակերպութիւն, ահա՛  
այսորուան մեր գերագոյն շահին  
պահանջը :

Պէտք է ննարաւոր դարձնել այս  
ըպարը, փոխանցումի ներկայ  
ըջանին էն արժեքաւոր ուժերը  
նմեան յանձն ժառանգ և չուն-

Մենք կարողալով այդ առա-  
ջարկը, անոր վրայ քանի մը յա-  
ւելուածներ ալ ըրած էինք մեր  
կողմէ, իբր գրական ֆանթէզի մը :  
Բիւր ներողութիւն : Մարդիկը  
չատ բան դիտեն եղեր և անոնց  
առաջարկը ո՛չ միայն գրական  
ֆանթէզի մը չէ, այլ կատարեայ

**ԱՌՏՈՒՆ ՏՈՄԱԿ**

**ՆՈՅՆ ԹՄԲՈՒԿ**

Յամանան շահերու պաշտպանութիւն  
Քրտաներն օգտանք ըլլալ փութեւն առ ի  
քիս իր երկուսն թիւնն մէջ իմ

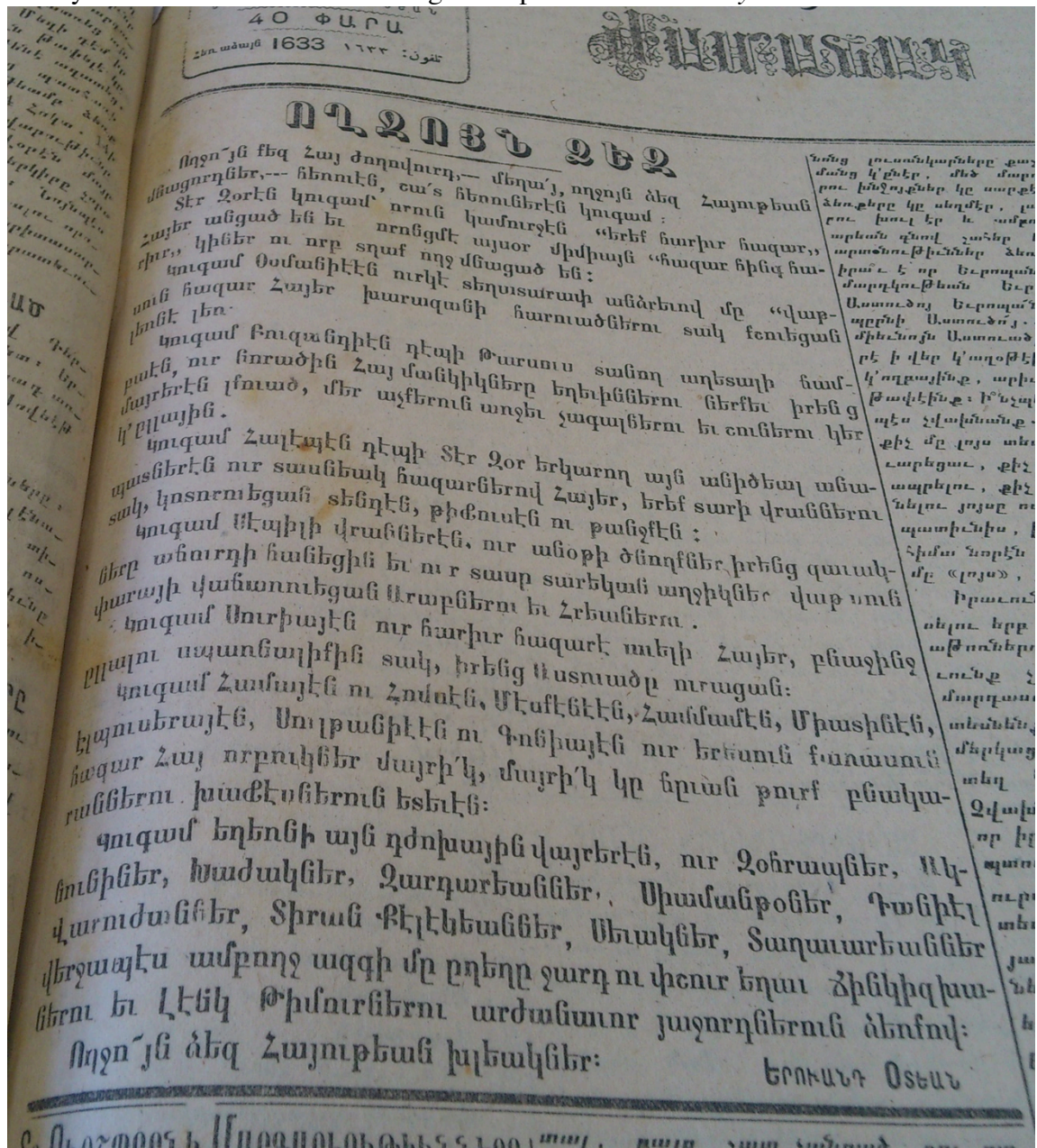
4. Boghos Nubar Pasha whose portraits published many times during that period.



5. The Triumvirate: Talat, Cemal and Enver.



6. Odyan's first article after surviving the deportation. "Vohcouyn Tsez".



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