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THE ISSUES OF THE NUMBER OF WESTERN ARMENIANS AND ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION OF WESTERN ARMENIA AT PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE (1919-1920)

Dr. Robert Tatoyan

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References to the issues of the number of Western Armenians and the ratio of Armenians to other ethnic groups in Western Armenia on the eve of the Armenian Genocide occupy a special place in the context of processes related to drafting a peace agreement with the Ottoman Empire and Armenia's delineation after WWI. These issues were tackled by diverse Armenian official and non-official organizations struggling for the formation of an integral Armenian state, as well as Turkish authorities manipulating, inter alia, also demographic arguments against the Armenian claim for Western Armenia¹ and the Entente Powers (particularly the United States of America and Great Britain) needing statistical data for deciding the fate of the Ottoman Empire. In the post-war processes the long-distance controversy of the Armenian and Turkish sides over the issues in question can be figuratively characterized as one of the stages -"battles" of the "statistical war" that emerged after 1878, i.e. following the entry of the Armenian Question into the international diplomatic agenda.

This article aims to present and analyse the statistics on the number of Western Armenians and the ratio of Armenians in Western Armenia to other ethnic groups on the eve of the Armenian Genocide presented by Armenian and Turkish delegations at Paris Peace Conference, as well as data circulated by the US and British diplomacy. It will try to explain the connection between the delineation of Armenia and the number of Western Armenians, the demographic composition of Western Armenia on the eve of the Armenian Genocide. The calculations of the number of Western Armenians have had a certain effect on deliberations around demarcation of the border between the Republic of Armenia and the Ottoman Empire in the context of post-war world regulation.

Keywords: statistics, Western Armenians' population figure, demography of the Ottoman Empire, Paris Peace Conference, Armenian question, Armenian Genocide.

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¹ Hereinafter, in the frameworks of this article, we generally refer the concept of "Western Armenia" to the territory of the Ottoman Empire, theoretically claimed by the Armenian diplomacy after WWI, namely the vilayets of Sivas (Sebastia), Erzeroum, Van, Bitlis (Baghesh), Diarbekir and Kharput (Kharberd, Mamuret-ul-Aziz), Cilicia (Adana, Djebel-Bereket and Kozan (Sis) sanjaks of Adana vilayet, Marash sanjak of Aleppo vilayet) and the eastern section of Trebizond vilayet.

Principles of Post-war World Regulations after WWI

On 30 October 1918, the armistice concluded between the Ottoman Empire and, on behalf of Entente, the Great Britain representatives in Mudros harbour on the Greek island of Lemnos put an end to the participation of the Ottoman Empire in WWI. The afterlife of the country was to be decided at the Peace Conference convened in Paris on 18 January 1919. In this regard, the Armenian Question reappeared on the active agenda of international diplomacy, in the given period specifically expressed in the form of inclusion of Western Armenian territories in the integral Armenian state and demarcation of Armenia's western borders correspondingly.

As far back as on 8 January 1918 the US president Woodrow Wilson addressing the joint session of the US Congress and the Senate presented the principles whereon the post-war regulation of the world should be based. They went down in history as “fourteen points.” Of those points the twelfth particularly referred to the Ottoman Empire: *“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 absolutely an unmolested opportunity of autonomous development...”*² As the guiding principle relating to the sovereignty over territories of the Ottoman Empire including those of Western Armenia was declared the right to “autonomous development” of the peoples living there, i.e. the right of nations to self-determination. This principle was highlighted and elaborated in Wilson's new speech delivered before the US Congress and Senate on 11 February 1918 the main provisions of which were: *“...peoples... are not to be bartered about from one sovereignty to another...,”* *“...every territorial settlement involved in this war must be made in the interest of and for the benefit of the populations concerned...,”* *“...all well-defined national aspirations shall be accorded the utmost satisfaction...without introducing new or perpetuating old elements of discord and antagonism...”*³

The US delegation to the Peace Conference managed to make the Entente allies see the above principles or “Wilson's doctrine” as a base for negotiations, including, also, with regard to the partition of the Ottoman Empire and demarcation of Armenia's western boundaries.⁴ This was specifically expressed in the joint statement adopted by the governments of France and Great Britain on 9 November 1918, which particularly read: *“The object aimed at by France and Great Britain in prosecuting in the East the War ...is the complete and definite emancipation of the peoples so long oppressed by the Turks and the establishment of national governments and administrations deriving their authority from the initiative and free choice of the indigenous populations.”*⁵

Based on this, the issues of the number of Armenians in Western Armenian districts and their ratio to Muslim – Turkish and Kurdish – population on the eve of the Armenian Geno-

2 Paul C. Helmreich, *From Paris to Sèvres: The Partition of the Ottoman Empire at the Peace Conference of 1919-1920* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1974), 8.

3 Ibid.

4 Levon Shirinyan, «Վիլսոնյան նախագիծը և Թուրքիան» [The Project of Wilson and Turkey], *21-st century* 4 (2008): 100.

5 United States Department of State, *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, The Paris Peace Conference, 1919*, Volume V (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1946), 3.

cide gained importance and were referred to in the context of negotiation of the conditions of peace with the Ottoman Empire.

At the same time, it should be noted that though important, the demographic factor was not key in deciding the fate of the Ottoman Empire. In tackling the issue of sovereignty over the territories of the Ottoman Empire, including those of Armenians, the Entente Powers adopted as a guiding principle not only the existing demographic situation in those territories and the right of “nations to self-determination,” but also malfeasances committed by Turkey against its subject peoples, and in case of Armenia, the “terrible massacres.” In particular, a memorandum prepared by the British Foreign Office (circulated on 21 November 1918) read:

It would be expedient to extend the area of Armenia as widely as possible, so as to include all territories north of the boundary in which there is mixed population of Turks, Armenians and Kurds... The principle of equality for all elements in the population is not disputed. On the other hand, in settling the proportional claims of these various elements to a voice in the government of the country, it should be laid down in Armenia that the dead and exiles should be taken into account, and Armenian immigrants from other parts of the world into Armenia should be given the same facilities as Jewish immigrants into Palestine for settling down in their ancestral home.⁶

The principle of substantiation of the right of the Armenians to the territory of Western Armenia with the fact of the crimes committed by the Turkish authorities was recapitulated in Clause 2 of the Resolution adopted during the 30 January 1919 session of the Council of Ten⁷ within the framework of the Paris Peace Conference: “...because of the historical misgovernment by the Turks of subject peoples and the terrible massacres of Armenians and others in recent years, the Allied and Associated Powers are agreed that Armenia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Palestine and Arabia must be completely severed from the Turkish Empire...”⁸

The Issue of the Number of Western Armenians on the Eve of the Armenian Genocide in the Post-war Memoranda of the Armenian Delegation

The Armenian Delegation to the Paris Peace Conference, putting forward territorial claims to Western Armenia, first of all substantiated them with the sacrifices made by the Arme-

6 Richard G. Hovannissian, *The Republic of Armenia, Vol. 1: The First Year, 1918-1919* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1971), 267.

7 The Council of Ten (known also as the Supreme Council) was composed of two representatives from the five victorious Allied Powers each (Great Britain, France, USA, Italy, Japan).

8 United States Department of State, *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, The Paris Peace Conference, 1919, Vol. III* (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943), 795. Here, it should be noted that other states, who fought within the Entente, also perceived the subordination of the Wilsonian principles relative to the Armenian Question. Thus, during the presentation of the Greek case before the Paris Peace Conference on 3 and 4 February 1919, the Prime Minister of Greece Eleutherios Venizelos, reaffirming his support for Armenians, stated that the Turkish Settlement must allow for a “broad and generous interpretation” of the Wilsonian principles, for it would otherwise be impossible to resolve the Armenian Question and “...so put a stop to the sufferings of those people who had lost through massacres over one million people during the course of the war.” Hovannissian, *Republic of Armenia*, 273.

nian people for the victory of the Entente Powers, the facts of Armenian moral and military support to the Allies.⁹ But concurrently, as the Wilsonian principle of “self-determination of nations” was at the heart of the conference work, the Armenian side could not but bring up the matter of the number of the Armenian population of Western Armenia and its ratio to other ethnic groups on the eve of the Armenian Genocide. This was particularly referred to in a large number of memoranda and reports brought to the attention of the Paris Peace Conference in defence of the idea of creation of an integral Armenian state by the Armenian representatives.¹⁰

The first and perhaps the most important of the mentioned documents is the memorandum entitled “The Armenian Question before the Peace Conference”¹¹ and presented by the leaders of the Armenian Delegation Poghos Nubar and Avetis Aharonian to the session of the Supreme Council of the Paris Peace Conference on 26 February 1919.¹²

The beginning of the memorandum reads as follows: “*On the fields of battle, through massacre and deportation, Armenia has proportionately paid in this war a heavier tribute to death than any other belligerent nation. ...her sufferings would have sufficed to justify her claim to independence, but...she has other meritorious claims of historical, ethnical, political and moral order...which are no less important.*”¹³

The “ethnical” rights of the Armenians are rendered in the section of the memorandum entitled “Integral Armenia” and particularly in the annexes entirely dedicated to the number of the Armenian population of Western and Eastern¹⁴ Armenia, their ratio to other ethnicities/nationalities before and after the Great War.

The authors of the memorandum stated that in examining the issue of the population of Armenia they would take into account the statistics before WWI or still earlier, before the Hamidian massacres in 1894-1896, as those killings not only took the life of 300,000 Arme-

9 Both during and after WWI the leaders of the Entente Powers were making many promises to the Armenians, assuring them that the Armenian Question will get a fair resolution. Samples of pro-Armenian statements, in particular, are collected in Vahan Cardashian, *The American Committee Opposed to the Lausanne Treaty, The Lausanne Treaty, Turkey and Armenia* (New York, 1926), 193-199; also *A Memorandum on the Armenian Question Presented to the Council of Foreign Ministers March 7, 1947* (New York: Armenian National Council of America, 1947), 11-14.

10 For the list of memoranda and records presented by the Armenian Delegation to the Peace Conference see *A Catalogue of Paris Peace Conference Delegation Propaganda in the Hoover War Library* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1926), 7, 19-22.

11 For the original in French see *La question arménienne devant la conférence de la paix* (Paris: Dupont, 1919). The memorandum was translated and published into Armenian (both Western and Eastern) and English: *The Armenian Question before the Peace Conference. A Memorandum Presented Officially by the Representatives of Armenia to the Peace Conference at Versailles on February 26th, 1919* (New York: Press Bureau, 1919). Armenian historiography focused on territorial claims contained in memorandum without detailed analysis of the statistical data (Samvel Poghosyan, «Փարիզի վեհաժողովի հայկական հուշագիրը և նրա հետագա ճակատագիրը» [Armenian Memorandum of the Paris Conference and its Afterlife], *The Issues of the History and Historiography of the Armenian Genocide* 6 (2002): 119-129; Hovannissian, *Republic of Armenia*, 277-283; Galust Galoyan, *Հայաստանը և մեծ տերությունները, 1917-1923* [Armenia and the Great Powers, 1917-1923] (Yerevan: Gitutyun, 1999), 102-103).

12 For the minutes of the session see: United States Department of State, *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, The Paris Peace Conference, 1919*, Vol. IV (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943), 138-157.

13 *The Armenian Question before the Peace Conference*, 4.

14 Historical Armenian territory under the rule of the former Russian Empire.

nians but also caused the migration of a considerable portion of the population. “*The Turks’ hideous deeds, which purposed to secure numerical superiority for the Moslem elements, must not be allowed to attain their end. **The voice of all the Armenians, dead or alive, must be heard*** (bold face in the original - R.T.).”¹⁵

The authors of the memorandum acknowledged that on the eve of the Armenian Genocide the Armenians did not constitute the absolute majority over the “plurality of population” in Western Armenia, but they had a number superior to each of the Muslim nationalities taken separately: “*Notwithstanding emigrations and massacres, before the outbreak of the Great War, the Armenians in the six vilayets, in the vilayet of Trebizond and Cilicia had a number superior to those of the Turks and the Kurds taken separately, and their number was equal to those of the Turks and Kurds combined. In 1914, there were in Armenia 1,403,000 Armenians, against 943,000 Turks and 482,000 Kurds,*” said the memorandum.¹⁶ It should be noted, that this statement of the authors of the memorandum should be accepted with some reservation: Armenian organizations pursuing the solution of the Armenian question themselves have repeatedly been stating that the Armenians constituted the minority in the vilayet of Trebizond, as well as some peripheral regions/districts of the six vilayets (southern regions of Hakkiari, Sgherd, Diarbekir and Malatya districts and western and north-western regions of Sivas (Sebastia) vilayet, adding that those regions were annexed to the core Armenian-populated territories by the Ottoman authorities artificially to reduce the share of the Armenians.¹⁷

In the section of memorandum, entitled “The Population of Armenia,” the authors put forward the following question: “*What was the number of the population of Armenia prior to the massacres [i.e. the Armenian Genocide - R.T.] and what were the proportions among the various elements?*” Immediately afterwards it was stated that one should never give “the slightest attention” to the Turkish data on these subjects, for the Ottoman Government had always falsified the statistics to prove that the Armenians constituted a mere insignificant minority.¹⁸ In justification of the above statement, the authors were bringing some interesting instances of “falsifications” as follows:

1. According to the Ottoman statistics, the number of the Armenian population in the vilayet of Van was around 80,000, while over 220,000 Armenians from Van had found refuge in Russia during the Great War.
2. In the entire sanjak of Marash, according to the Turkish Government’s data, lived 4,200 Armenians,¹⁹ whereas according to the French geographer and traveller Elisee

15 Ibid, 7.

16 Ibid.

17 See particularly the Armenian Reform plan with its justifications presented to the attention of the Great Powers by the Patriarchate of Constantinople on reopening of the Armenian question in 1912. National Archives of Armenia, fund 57, inventory 5, dossier 15, 110-118.

18 *The Armenian Question before the Peace Conference*, 21.

19 This figure is taken from the French statistician Vital Cuinet’s “Asiatic Turkey” book published in 1891, according to which the number of the Armenians in Marash province was 4,313 (Vital Cuinet, *La Turquie d’Asie*, V. 2 (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1891), 227). It should be noted, that presenting Cuinet’s data as those of the Ottoman Government by the authors of the memorandum cannot be viewed as a mistake, as Cuinet has taken the official Ottoman data as the basis for his statistics. Besides, there were no other official data on the number of the Western Armenians circulated by the Ottoman Government at the time of writing the memorandum (February 1919).

Reclus, there were over 20,000 Armenians in the city of Marash alone. And Zeitun included in the composition of the same sanjak of Marash had 27,640 Armenians as per the statistics of the year of 1880.

3. The Ottoman Government counted a total of 848,000 Armenians in the vilayets of Van, Bitlis, Diarbekir, Kharput, Erzeroum, Trebizond, Sivas, Adana and Aleppo,²⁰ whereas according to the data published by the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief operating in the USA in 1916 around 600,000-850,000 Armenians were killed in Armenia, the number of Armenians deported was 486,000, the number of Armenians deported to the interior of Asia Minor was 300,000, the number of those who have found refuge in the Caucasus was 200,000.²¹

Then the authors of the memorandum presented the two main elements of the system introduced by the Turkish Government to distort the statistics on the number of Western Armenians:

1. Reducing as much as possible the number of the Christians (including as well the Armenians) without materially modifying the number of total population and adding the difference to the number of the Muslims;
2. Avoiding to give the exact number of the nationalities, instead grouping them by religions offering separate figures for the Orthodox, Protestant and Catholic Armenians while uniting the Muslims under one figure (Turks, Tartars, Turkomans, various Kurdish tribes, Circassians, Zazas, Arabs, Persians, etc.), though “they are totally different from them [Turks] by race, their history, mode of living, degree of culture and particularly political bent.”²²

In support of the arguments of the Armenian side presented in the memorandum, there were five statistical tables inserted in the Annex. Purely related to the number of Western Armenians were the two of them: “Table №1: Index of the Population of the six [Western Armenian] vilayets in 1912” and “Table №2: Population of the seven vilayets and of Cilicia in 1914.” Analysis of the data contained in those tables shows that they are based on the data²³ of the Security Committee established affiliated to the Armenian Patriarchate already at the end of 1912 in connection with the reopening of the Armenian question: particularly the first table (see **Table 1**) was taken from the Reform plan prepared by the Security Committee without alteration.

The Ottoman Government released the official Ottoman statistical data for 1914 much later, on 14 April 1919 (Meir Zamir, “Population Statistics of the Ottoman Empire in 1914 and 1919,” *Middle Eastern Studies* 17, no. 1 (1981): 88). According to those data in 1914 the number of the Armenian population in the sanjak of Marash was 38,433 (again lower than the real figure) (Kemal Karpat, *Ottoman Population, 1830-1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics* (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 188; see also Zamir, “Population Statistics of the Ottoman Empire,” 100).

20 The source of these data is also Cuinet’s “Asiatic Turkey” book.

21 *The Armenian Question before the Peace Conference*, 21.

22 *Ibid.*

23 For Security Committee activity see in detail: Robert Tatoyan, *Արևմտահայությունը թվաքանակի հարցը 1878-1914 թվականներին* [The Question of the Number of the Western Armenians in 1878-1914] (Yerevan: AGMI, 2015), 92-94.

Table 1. Index of the Population of the Six Vilayets in 1912²⁴

	Erzer- oum	Van	Bitlis	Kharput	Diar- bekir	Sivas	Total	Per reli- gion
<i>Moslems</i>								
Turks	240,000	47,000	40,000	102,000	45,000	192,000	666,000	1,178,000
Circassians	7,000	-	10,000	-	-	45,000	62,000	
Persians	13,000	-	-	-	-	-	13,000	
Lazes	10,000	-	-	-	-	-	10,000	
Gypsies	-	3,000	-	-	-	-	3,000	
Kurds sedentary	35,000	32,000	35,000	75,000	30,000	35,000	242,000	
--- nomadic	40,000	40,000	42,000	20,000	25,000	15,000	182,000	
<i>Christians</i>								
Armenians	215,000	185,000	180,000	168,000	105,000	165,000	1,018,000	1,183,000
Nestorians								
Jacobites Chal- deans	-	18,000	15,000	5,000	60,000	25,000	123,000	
Greeks	12,000	-	-	-	-	30,000	42,000	
<i>Other religions</i>								
Kizilbashis	25,000	-	8,000	80,000	27,000	-	140,000	254,000
Zaza Tchareklis	30,000	-	47,000	-	-	-	77,000	
Yezidis	3,000	25,000	5,000	-	4,000	-	37,000	
	630,000	350,000	382,000	450,000	296,000	507,000	Grand total	2,615,000

Much interesting is the second table of the memorandum entitled “Population of the seven vilayets²⁵ and of Cilicia in 1914,” most probably prepared by the authors of the annexes to the memorandum themselves (see **Table 2**). For the first time the 2,026,000 figure standing for the total number of the Armenian population of the Ottoman Empire as of 1914 was put into circulation (see **Table 2**).²⁶ Previously the 1912 statistical data of the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople were used by the renowned Western Armenian figure Grigor Zohrap under the pseudonym Marcel Leart in his work “The Armenian Question in the Light of Documents” published in 1913 in French.²⁷ As calculated by Zohrap, there were 2,100,000 Armenians living in the entire Ottoman Empire in 1912.²⁸

24 Exclusive of the regions of Hakkari, those situate to the south of Seghert, of Diarbekir, of Malatia, to the west and north-west of Sivas.

25 The six vilayets of Western Armenia completely, plus the sanjak of Trebizond of the Trebizond vilayet.

26 The statistics in its complete form, including data for all administrative (vilayet) units of the Ottoman Empire, was published in Teodik’s Yearbook. Teodik, *Ամէնէն սարկըրը*, ԺՁ սարի, 1922 [Everyone’s Almanac] (Constantinople, 1921), 261-263.

27 See Leart Marcel, *La question Armenienne a la lumiere des documents* (Paris: Challamel, 1913).

28 Ibid, 62. In Zohrap’s book the figure for the Armenian population of the six vilayets of Western Armenia

Table 2. Population of the Seven Vilayets and of Cilicia in 1914

	<i>The 7 vilayets</i> Exclusive of the regions situated to the south of the Tigris and to the west of Yeshil-Irmak	<i>Cilicia</i> Sanjaks of Adana, of Marash, of Kozan and of Djebel-Bereket ²⁹	Total	
Armenians	1,198,000	205,000	1,403,000	1,850,000 Christians
Greeks	242,000	40,000	282,000	
Nestorians Jacobites, Chaldeans and Europeans	124,000	41,000	165,000	
Turks and Turkmens	865,000	78,000	943,000	1,635,000 Mussulmans
Kurds	424,000	58,000	482,000	
Lazez, Circassians, Arabs, Persians	190,000	20,000	210,000	
Kizilbashis, Yezidis, Fellahs, etc	255,000	48,000	303,000	303,000 diverse religions
	<i>3,298,000</i>	<i>490,000</i>	<i>3,788,000</i>	
<i>Total Armenian Population in Turkey in 1914</i>				
In Turkish Armenia ³⁰		1,403,000	
In other parts of Asiatic Turkey		440,000	
In Constantinople and European Turkey		183,000	
Total			2,026,000 Armenians	

is the same 1,163,000 people, then for the rest of the Ottoman Empire it says 937,000 Armenians, of which 407,000 in Cilicia, 530,000 in other regions of the Ottoman Empire and European Turkey. For comparison: the version of 1912 statistics of the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople published in Teodik's Almanac for the same regions gives the figure of 863,700 Armenians, including 304,000 Armenians in Cilicia (Adana and Aleppo vilayets). Apparently, the decrease in the number of the Armenian population from 2,100,000 to 2,026,000 in 1914 compared to the year of 1912 is explained by the territorial losses of the Ottoman Empire due to the Balkan wars in 1912-1913, while in case of Cilicia, by the divergence of the Ottoman administrative and Armenian diocesan division (under the jurisdiction of the Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia were territories outside the core historical and geographic areas of Cilicia in the territories of the vilayets of Angora, Sebastia and Kharput the number of the Armenian population of which Zohrap had calculated in the total number of the population of Cilicia).

²⁹ The authors of the memorandum included in Cilicia the following Ottoman administrative units: entire Adana vilayet, the sanjak of Marash (Marash, Zeitun, Furnuz) and the district of Alexandrette of the sanjak of Aleppo of the Aleppo vilayet.

³⁰ Six Armenian vilayets, the province of Trebizond and the sanjaks of Cilicia, Adana, Marash, Kozan and Djebel-Bereket.

In other memoranda and reports published by the Armenian Delegation on various occasions later the statistical data and tables on the number of the Western Armenians on the eve of the Armenian Genocide were essentially the reprints of the data of the memorandum of 12 February 1919.³¹

The Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople was also engaged in the collection and recapitulation of various evidence including statistical data on the status of the Western Armenians on the eve of the Armenian Genocide concurrently and collaboratively with Armenian National Delegation. In November-December of 1918, the National League and then National Consultative Council organizations were created with participation of the Armenian intellectuals and former members of the National Assembly of Armenians in Constantinople, counting among their members Yeghishe Archbishop Durian, Professor Abraham Ter-Hakobian, Dr. Vahram Torgomian and others.³² The Documents Committee of the National Consultative Council was also performing efforts to collect data on the number of the Western Armenians on the eve of the Armenian Genocide. A portion of the materials collected was published in 1919 by Constantinople Armenian intellectual figures Chituni (Tigran Chitchian)³³ and Gevorg Mesrop (Gevorg Ter-Mesropian).³⁴

In August 1919 the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople established an Information

31 See particularly *Tableau approximatif des réparations et indemnités pour les dommages subis par la nation arménienne en Arménie de Turquie et dans la République Arménienne du Caucase* (Paris, 1919) (presented to the Paris Peace Conference on 6 April 1919), *Population Arménienne de la Turquie avant la guerre. Statistiques établies par le Patriarcat Arménien de Constantinople* (Paris: Turabian, 1920), Poghos Nubar, *The Pre-War Population of Cilicia* (Paris, 1920), records prepared by the Armenian Delegation for the London Conference on 12-24 February 1920 (National Archives of Armenia, fund 430, inventory 1, dossier 1325, 1-56), *L'Arménie et La Question Arménienne avant, pendant et depuis la guerre* (Paris, 1922), the memorandum presented by the Armenian Delegation to the Lausanne Conference in 1923 (National Archives of Armenia, fund 430, inventory 1, dossier 1358, 3-32). Along with the abovementioned memoranda and reports/statements, the Armenian Delegation in 1918-19 published and presented to the delegations of the Entente Powers 23 fascicles of Armenian and foreign authors relating to various aspects of the Armenian Question, in some of which there was a reference to the number of the Western Armenians (for the list of the fascicles see National Archives of Armenia, fund 430, inventory 1, dossier 167, 9-10). It is noteworthy that a statesman of the first Republic of Armenia Alexander Khatisian in his book reported that in one of the writings presented by the All Armenian Delegation to the delegates of the Lausanne Conference in 1923 the number of the Armenian population of the Ottoman Empire on the eve of the Armenian Genocide was given 2,250,000. Alexander Khatisian, «Հայաստանի Հանրապետության ծագումն ու զարգացումը», [Emergence and Development of the Republic of Armenia] (Beirut: Hamazgayin, 1968), 365. We believe that this figure is closer to reality, however, unfortunately Khatisian did not mention any other detail in connection with it (the source of the figure, distribution by provinces, etc.). Also, this figure has not been quoted in the memoranda presented to the Lausanne Conference by the Armenian Delegation. During our searches in the fund of the All Armenian Delegation of the National Archives of Armenia (National Archives of Armenia, fund 430) we could not find any document relating to the figure mentioned by Khatisian.

32 Hacob Siruni, *Ինքնակենսագրական նոթեր* [Autobiographical Notes] (Yerevan: Sargis Khachents, 2006), 206-207:

33 Chituni, *Հուշիկք Հայաստանի* [Memories of Armenia] (Constantinople, 1919); Chituni, *Աս ու իս Հայաստանի* [Conversation about Armenia] (Constantinople, 1920). Chituni, comparing several statistical sources, was probably the first among Armenian researchers to come to the conclusion that prior to 1915 the number of the Armenian population of the Ottoman Empire comprised around 2,500,000, of which 200,000 – in European Turkey, 800,000 – in Asia Minor and Palestinian and Mesopotamian vilayets, and 1,500,000 – in the six Armenian-populated vilayets and Cilicia.

34 Gevorg Mesrop, *Հայաստան: Աշխարհագրական, պատմական, ցեղագրական, սիհնակագրական եւ մշակութային տեսակետներով: Իրագրում ազգ. խորհրդակց. ժողովի «Փաստաթուղթերու յանձնախումբ»* Հն [Armenia. From the Point of View of Geography, History, Ethnology, Statistics, and Culture] (Constantinople, 1919).

Bureau, the coordination of the work of which was entrusted to well-known Armenian intellectual figure Arshak Alpoyachian.³⁵ According to the Charter of the Information Bureau, it was to host “old and new, all types of statistics on Armenia and the Armenian Cause... all episodes and stories about Armenian persecutions, massacres, deportation, statistical images of stolen national and individual movable and immovable property...”³⁶ The report prepared by the Information Bureau on 29 June 1920 stated that the agency “has initiated preparation of a collection, which will illustrate the real state of the dioceses of the Patriarchate at the dawn of the [First World] War, that is the number of churches, monasteries, schools, national properties and population of each primacy.”³⁷ The Documentation Collection and Repository section of the report said that the Bureau “...collects and arranges... all beneficial documents about Armenian social and political life. Hence, over 600 reports, statistics, etc. published by Armenian societies or official bodies.”

In the same year of 1919, Teodik, a Western Armenian intellectual, while collecting materials about the clergy killed during the Armenian Genocide was searching the archives of the Patriarchate and came across sacks of papers in the basements. Those were the statistical questionnaires the Armenian dioceses of the Ottoman Empire completed and sent to the Patriarchate, as instructed, on the eve of the Great War, hidden in the basement immediately after the 24 April 1915 arrests along with other documents related to the Armenian Question.³⁸ The data extracted from those questionnaires were partially put into circulation by Teodik in his book “The Calvary of Armenian Clergy and its Flock in Catastrophic Year of 1915” published in 1921. These statistics were passed on to the Information Bureau and forwarded to the Armenian National Delegation in Paris later.³⁹

Meanwhile the present and former Ottoman officials were trying to contradict the memorandum presented by the Armenian National Delegation and particularly the statistical data contained therein. Thus, to “prove” the invalidity of the statistical data presented by the Armenian Delegation and allege that the Armenians were a minority in Western Armenia, Reşit Safvet Atabinen, a former Young Turk state official who took refuge in Switzerland, in his booklet entitled “*Turks and Armenians in the face of history. New Russian and Turkish testimonies about Armenian Atrocities. Refutation of Armenian Delegation’s Memorandum*” published in May 1919 (under the pen name Kara Schemsi)⁴⁰ resorted to a device that later was used by the official Turkish historiography multiple times, i.e. to show that

35 Zaven Patriarch, *Պատրիարքական յուշերու վիպերագրեր եւ վկայություններ* [Patriarchal Memoirs. Documents and Testimonies] (Cairo, 2014), 367.

36 Ibid., 368.

37 Ibid., 369.

38 Teodik, *Գողգոթաւ հայ հոգևորականութեան եւ իր հօտին 1915 տղտույի տարին* [The Calvary of Armenian Clergy and its Flock in Catastrophic Year of 1915] (New York, 1985), III.

39 Currently the Armenian Patriarchate’s 1913-14 census questionnaires are kept in Nubarian Library in Paris. They were widely used also by the Diaspora researcher Raymond H. Kevorkian, who in the expansive work co-authored with Paul Paboudjian gives the picture of the number of Armenian population in the Ottoman Empire based on the census data locality by locality. See Raymond H. Kévorkian and Paul B. Paboudjian, *Les Arméniens dans l’Empire ottoman à la veille du génocide* (Paris: ARHIS, 1992). For the Armenian Patriarchate 1913-14 census see also Tatoyan, *The Question of the Number of the Western Armenians in 1878-1914*, 92-115.

40 Kara Schemsi, *Turcs et Arméniens devant l’histoire. Nouveaux témoignages russes et turcs sur les atrocités arméniennes de 1914 à 1918* (Geneve: Impr. Nat., 1919).

the statistics of the Armenian sources are refuted not only by Turkish but also by different Western sources supposedly independent of the Turkish ones.

The author refers to two French sources containing information about the number of the Western Armenians – the Yellow Book⁴¹ statistics⁴² published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of France in 1897 and the data in the Asiatic Turkey book of the French statistician Vital Cuinet.⁴³ The comparison of the data available in the two sources shows that Cuinet's book has served as a source for the Yellow Book data⁴⁴ of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs: to conceal this fact Schemsi employs the following trick – he cites only the figure for the percentage of the Armenians in the six Western Armenia vilayets from the Yellow Book and then takes the numbers of the Armenians and the Muslims of the six vilayets from Vital Cuinet. The author in any way does not mention the well-known fact that Vital Cuinet's data do not possess a value of their own – they are based on the Ottoman data mostly taken from the salnames (Ottoman yearbooks, published by central and provincial authorities) and other official sources.⁴⁵

Noteworthy is Schemsi's selective attitude towards the data extracted from the Yellow Book and generally from Western sources. Thus, he circumvents the figure in the Yellow Book 1,475,011 standing for the number of Armenians living in Anatolia (Asia Minor and Western Armenia without Constantinople and European Turkey) at the end of the XIX century.⁴⁶ It would be understandable, if we take into account that as per the Ottoman data relating to the year of 1914 the number of the Armenian population of the entire Empire did not exceed 1,300,000.

The next source referred to by Schemsi were the figures standing for the number of the population of Van and Bitlis vilayets reported by Vladimir Mayevski, who was the Russian Vice-Consul in Van in 1890. These were also presented by the author selectively – only the percentage of Armenians vs. Muslims: 26% for Armenians in Van, 46% for Kurds and Turks, likewise 39% for Armenians in Bitlis, 55%⁴⁷ for Kurds and Turks. The purpose of the Turk official becomes clear when we read through V. Mayevski's numbers, according to which there were 13,735 and 23,326 Armenian households⁴⁸ in Van vilayet and Bitlis vilayet respectively. Mayevski assumed an average number of 8 members of families, which in

41 Yellow Books (*livres jaunes*) were called the fascicles of the collections of diplomatic documents, which the minister of foreign affairs of France presented to the country's Parliament for discussion.

42 *Documents diplomatiques: affaires arméniennes; projets de reforme dans l'Empire ottoman 1893-1897* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1897).

43 Here the author uses data contained in Ottoman government's official documents published earlier in 1919, which we will examine in the following section of the article.

44 More details about this to follow.

45 For substantial examination of Vital Cuinet's data see Haykazun Galstyan, «Արևմտյան Հայաստանի բնակչության ազգային կազմը՝ ըստ Վիթալ Բինեի վիճակագրության» [National Composition of the Population in Western Armenia according to Vital Cuinet's Statistics], *Countries and Peoples of the Near and Middle East*, XII, Turkey (1985): 59-79; Sarkis Y. Karayan, "Vital Cuinet's La Turquie d'Asie: A Critical Evaluation of Cuinet's Information about Armenians," *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies*, 11 (2000): 53-63.

46 See *Documents diplomatiques: affaires arméniennes; projets de reforme dans l'Empire ottoman 1893-1897*, 8.

47 Schemsi, *Turcs et Arméniens*, 119.

48 *Сборникъ дипломатическихъ документовъ. Реформы въ Арменіи (26 ноября 1912 г. – 10 мая 1914 г.)* [Collection of Diplomatic Documents. Reforms in Armenia (1912, November 26 – 1914, May 10)] (Petrograd, 1915), 284, 288.

case of Van vilayet would amount to 109,880 Armenians and for Bitlis – 186,608. For the Armenian population of the same vilayets the official Ottoman data for the year of 1914 were 67,792 and 119,132 persons respectively.⁴⁹ That is to say, for the number of the Armenian population Mayevski's data, which he, like Cuinet, had taken from local Ottoman yearbooks, were about 40% higher compared to the statistics of the Ottoman Government.⁵⁰

The Issue of the Number of Western Armenians in the Post-war Memoranda of the Ottoman Government

After the defeat in WWI the new Ottoman government continued to advance and develop the traditional line of the regimes of Abdul Hamid and Young Turks in the Armenian Question, i.e. to declare that the Armenians were an insignificant minority in “Eastern Anatolia” even before WWI and that the Muslims had been the predominant ethnic and religious element there for centuries.⁵¹ In 1919–1920 both official and non-official Turkish circles published a host of memoranda and reports/pamphlets addressed to the participants in the Paris Peace Conference promoting the idea of preserving the integrity of the Turkish Empire.⁵² The first and perhaps the most important of such documents on the stand of the Ottoman government on the Armenian Question was the memorandum dated 12 February 1919 and addressed to the High Commissioners Representing the Entente Powers in the Constantinople.⁵³

About the quarter of the text of the memorandum (12 pages) was dedicated to the substantiation of the notion of the Greeks and Armenians being an insignificant minority in Asia Minor and Western Armenia. Dividing the territory of the Ottoman Empire into two parts as per the “Wilsonian principles” – “Turkish” and “Arabic” provinces and declaring as Turkish the vilayets of Eastern Thrace, Asia Minor (Anatolia) and Western Armenia, the authors of the memorandum were detaching “Eastern” or “Armenian” vilayets from them in order to examine them separately.⁵⁴

Introducing the names of the territorial administrative units of Eastern Thrace and Asia Minor, the authors of the memorandum claimed that the Turkish element was enjoying an overwhelming predominance in all those vilayets as stated by official statistics, as well as

49 Karpal, *Ottoman Population*, 188.

50 In fact, Mayevski, while examining Cuinet's data about Van vilayet, noted that they contained significant inaccuracies. Particularly, finding that the number of the Armenian population of Van district reported by Cuinet is lower than in reality the author supposed, that it concerned only the village population of the district, while together with the city of Van (13,500, according to Cuinet) the number of the Armenians should be 26,000. See Vladimir Mayevski, *Ванский вилайетъ. Военно-статистическое описание* [Van Vilayet. Military-Statistical Description] (Tiflis, 1901), 89-90. Going on with the examination of Cuinet's data, the researcher also questioned the statistics of Van (13,500 Armenians). Based on his own observations, which according to him were confirmed even by Turkish official data, Mayevski believed that the number of the Armenian population of the city comprised 20-25 thousand (Mayevski, *Van Vilayet*, 100-101).

51 Hovanissian, *The Republic of Armenia*, 421.

52 Besides Kara Schemsi's book already referred to, see also *Les Turcs Et Les Revendications Arméniennes* (Paris: L'Hoir, 1919), *The National Congress of Turkey, The Turco-Armenian Question. The Turkish Point of View* (Societe Anonyme de Papeterie et d'Imprimerie, 1919).

53 *Memorandum of the Sublime Porte Communicated to the American, British, French and Italian High Commissioners on the 12th February 1919* (Constantinople: Zellig Bros., 1919).

54 *Ibid.*, 4.

data of foreign researchers of Turkey before the War.⁵⁵ This was blatant misinformation as the Kurds had a bigger number among the Muslim population compared to the Turks particularly in Van, Bitlis, Diarbekir and Kharput vilayets of Western Armenia.

In confirmation of the above statement, three sources were presented: official Ottoman data reflecting the 1914 situation, those of French statistician Vital Cuinet (early 1890-s) and data extracted from the Yellow Book (1897). The data of the last two sources almost did not vary from each other, because when compiling the Yellow Book the French Government had taken and placed Cuinet's data there without any material changes, however, the authors of the Turkish memorandum did not mention it by any means. As we already said, Cuinet's information in its turn was based on the same official Ottoman statistics, so the authors of the memorandum essentially were confirming the authenticity of the Ottoman information through the same Ottoman data offered under a different name.

The same trick was used also in case of the six Western Armenian vilayets (Van, Bitlis, Kharput, Diarbekir, Erzeroum, Sivas): at first the official Ottoman data was presented and then the statistical data taken from the Yellow book (see below)⁵⁶:

Official Ottoman Statistics of the Six Vilayets

	Number of population	Proportion
Muslims	3,040,891	79%
Armenians	636,306	16.5%
Other	162,352	4.5%

Yellow Book Statistics

	Number of population	Proportion
Muslims	2,669,386	73.5%
Armenians	666,435	18.5%
Other	272,581	7.5%

To fight back the Armenian claims, the authors of the memorandum felt the need of involving another Western source – Britannica Encyclopaedia (1910 edition), inserting data extracted from it. According to the Encyclopaedia, “the Armenians, even if we take the most favourable assessments, comprise the majority only in 9 (7 near Van, 2 near Mush) out of the [Western Armenian 6 vilayets’ – R.T.] 159 districts (kaza).” It said that in 1896 the population of the nine Turkish vilayets – Erzeroum, Van, Bitlis, Kharput, Diarbekir, Sivas, Aleppo, Adana and Trebizond amounted to approximately 6,000,000 of which:

55 Ibid., 5.

56 Ibid., 7.

Armenians	919,875	or 15%
Other Christians	632,875	or 11%
Muslims	4,453,250	or 74%

According to the Britannica Encyclopaedia, the number of the population in the first five vilayets (Erzeroum, Van, Bitlis, Kharput (Mamuret-ul-Aziz), Diarbekir) counting the biggest part of the Armenians was 2,642,000, of which:

Armenians	633,250	or 24%
Other Christians	179,875	or 7%
Muslims	1,828,870	or 69%

*“The above figures do not leave room for doubt, – concluded the authors of the Turkish memorandum, – that the overwhelming majority of the population of the abovementioned vilayets is made up of the Muslims, and the Armenians are an insignificant minority everywhere.”*⁵⁷

The comparison of the data in the Turkish memorandum with the original text of the Britannica Encyclopaedia revealed interesting circumstances. Thus, the authors of the memorandum used the source selectively leaving out formulations non-favourable for the Turkish official stand. For instance, omitted were the statement at the very beginning of the subsection of the article that “accurate statistics cannot be obtained” about the Ottoman Turkey, as well as the original source which Britannica Encyclopaedia was referring to – the Russian General Zelyoni’s data.⁵⁸ The examination of Zelyoni’s data proved that the Russian researcher, in his turn, had used the data of the very same Vital Cuinet, when preparing the map of distribution of the Armenian population in Turkish Armenia and Kurdistan in 1895 on the basis of the data of the latter’s book “Asiatic Turkey” (1890-1894).⁵⁹ In other words, the authors of the Turkish memorandum were trying to prove the validity of official Ottoman statistical data on the number of Western Armenians by means of Vital Cuinet’s data which was based on the same official Ottoman data, then by the Yellow Book of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which was based on Cuinet’s data and finally by the statistics contained in the Britannica Encyclopaedia, which again was based on Vital Cuinet’s data. By such statistical trickery an illusion was created that the official Ottoman statistical data was corroborated by Western sources.

Thus, the statistical data of the Turkish Government was intended to prove that “five million” Muslim population should not be ruled by “several hundred thousand” Armenians,

⁵⁷ Ibid., 8.

⁵⁸ *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 11th edition, vol. 2, (New York, 1910), 564.

⁵⁹ Пояснительная записка генер. штаба Генераль-Лейтенанта Зеленого (съ приложениями) к картѣ распредѣленія армянскаго населенія въ Турецкой Армении и Курдистанѣ по казамъ и данныя сочиненія V. Cuinet “la Turquie d’Asie” 1890-94 г., составленной ген. штаба Ген.-Лейт. Зеленымъ и Подполк. Сысоевымъ, 1895 [Explanatory Report Lieutenant General Zeliony (with Attachments) on Map of Distribution of the Armenian Population in Turkish Armenia and Kurdistan According to Data from V. Cuinet’s “la Turquie d’Asie”], «Записки Кавказскаго отдѣла Императорскаго Русскаго географическаго общества» [Notes of the Caucasus Department of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, vol. XVIII] (Tiflis, 1896), 1-40.

which, according to the authors of the memorandum, would inevitably lead to internal atrocities and bloody clashes.⁶⁰ As a better solution, the Ottoman Government proposed to leave the territories of “Eastern Anatolia” under Turkish rule somewhat expanding the territory of the Republic of Armenia to resettle the survivors of “deported to Der Zor sanjak” Armenians there.⁶¹ Regarding the latest proposal, Turkey theoretically did not face big territorial losses as only about 250,000-300,000 of the deported Armenians managed to survive the end of the World War I in Syrian deserts.⁶²

In addition to the memorandum of 12 February 1919, the Ottoman authorities brought to the attention of the Paris Peace Conference also a fascicle in French entitled *Tables Representing the Number of Different Elements of Population in the Ottoman Empire as of 1 March 1330*⁶³ (14 March 1914) recapitulating the data of 1914 official Ottoman Statistics, according to which 1,294,851 Armenians were living in the Ottoman Empire prior to WWI.⁶⁴

The reaction of the Armenian circles to the Turkish memorandum did not delay. In the same 1919 in Constantinople the *Answer to the 12 February 1919 Memorandum of the Sublime Porte* fascicle was published in French. Around a quarter of the 40-page writing was dedicated to the refuting of statistical data and demographic arguments contained in the Turkish memorandum, while the annexes – five in number, offered various statistics.⁶⁵

The Armenian response elaborated on the main elements of the 1878-1914 administrative and demographic policy of the Ottoman Government intended to make the Muslims a majority, namely:

1. Re-delineation of the administrative borders of vilayets in Western Armenia and Cilicia, when mostly Muslim-populated regions were appended to Armenian-populated vilayets (for instance Hakkiari to Van vilayet, Mesopotamian regions to Diarbekir vilayet, the annexation of the Armenian-populated province of Marash, which was a natural part of Cilicia, to Aleppo province, the annexation of the Muslim-populated Ichil region to Armenian-populated Adana vilayet, etc.),
2. Placing Muslim settlers (known as “Muhajirs”) migrated from the Caucasus and the Balkans in Armenian-populated regions, intimidation and ruthless exploitation of the Armenians by the newcomers (presented was data also from the official Turkish sources that 854,000 Muhajirs were moved to and resettled in the Turkish Empire during 1878-1908,

60 Ibid.

61 Ibid.

62 According to Turkish researcher Fuat Dundar’s calculations – 300,000. Fuat Dundar, *Crime of Numbers, The Role of Statistics in the Armenian Question* (The State University of New Jersey-Rutgers: Transactions Publishers, 2010), 150-151.

63 According to Rumi calendar officially used in the Ottoman Empire in 1839-1926 along with the Islamic calendar.

64 The tables of 1919 French fascicle included the numbers of Muslims, Greeks, Armenians (aggregate number of Apostolic, Catholic and Protestant Armenians) and other elements. The data is distributed by the districts (kaza) of the Ottoman Empire (see *Tableaux indiquant le nombre des divers éléments de la population dans l’Empire Ottoman au 1er mars 1330 (14 mars 1914)* (Constantinople, 1919). See also Zamir, “Population Statistics of the Ottoman Empire,” 89-101, Shaw Stanford J., “The Ottoman Census System and Population, 1831-1914,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 9 (1978): 336. For more details on 1914 Ottoman statistics see Tatoyan, *The Question of the Number of the Western Armenians in 1878-1914*, 38-39.

65 *Reponse au Memoire de la Sublime-Porte en date du 12 fevrier 1919* (Constantinople, 1919).

noting that the flow of Muhajirs gained even a greater momentum during the Balkan Wars in 1912-14),

3. Even more preposterous publication of already falsified statistics, when the data of not only Turkic-speaking, but also of all Islamic tribes, even those neither professing Islam, not Christianity were being united under one – Muslims section, while the Armenians were divided into three groups – Apostolic Christians, Catholics and Protestants.⁶⁶

Upon the presentment of the above theoretical statements a reference was made to certain statistical data in the Turkish memorandum. As one of the sources of the memorandum was Vital Cuinet, the Armenian response showed through references to his Asiatic Turkey book that the French statistician himself was openly critical of the Ottoman statistics. In particular, Vital Cuinet wrote: “*There is absolutely no proper official statistics in Turkey, ... the [Turkish] authorities not only have not embraced such an interesting and useful statistical science in the country’s practices, but on the contrary, as an interested party they refuse to authorize even simple studies.*”⁶⁷

The authors of the fascicle also offered some illustrations of inaccuracies and inconsistencies in Cuinet’s data, concluding that they reflect the general “deplorable state of affairs” in Ottoman official data.⁶⁸

US Experts and post-War Missions on the Issue of the Number of Western Armenians

To decide the fate of the territories of the Ottoman Empire the Allied Powers – victorious in the Great War, needed varied information and first of all demographic data relating to the territories in question. The issue was complicated by the fact that the data received from the Armenian and Ottoman circles were contradictory forcing the representatives of Western countries dealing with them to take a specific stance on the issue – reject or accept the arguments and data of one of the sides, or do own reckoning.

The issue of Armenia boundaries coupled with the number of the Western Armenians on the eve of the Armenian Genocide has particularly been in the sphere of interests of the United States of America, as it was in direct correlation with the question whether it was expedient or possible for the state to assume Armenia’s mandate. Still in September of 1917, the US President Woodrow Wilson commissioned to establish a study group – The Inquiry, with an aim to collect data for the peace negotiations to follow WWI. The task of collecting information about Armenia and the Armenians was assigned to the Western Asia section of the group consisting of 10 experts.⁶⁹ Upon the end of the Great War the members of the study group, including Western Asia section, integrated into the composition of the American Delegation to the Paris Peace Conference.⁷⁰

66 Ibid., 14-17.

67 Ibid., 40.

68 Ibid., 18.

69 Lawrence Gelfand, *The Inquiry; American Preparations for Peace, 1917-1919* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), 60.

70 Richard G. Hovhannisian, “The Armenian Genocide and US post-war commissions,” in Jay Winter, ed., *America and the Armenian Genocide of 1915* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 259.

The archive of The Inquiry study group contains 98 documents relating to the Armenian Question, mostly reports of the members of the study group, as well as records of American missionaries. Some 13 of those documents deal with the partition of Ottoman Turkey and 11 relate to national and religious minorities. Many of the above documents deal with the issue of the number of Western Armenians in one way or another.⁷¹ The Inquiry study group has also prepared extensive reports about various, including Western Armenian, vilayets of the Ottoman Empire, containing statistical data as well.⁷²

Of the documents prepared by The Inquiry study group dealing with the number of Western Armenians on the eve of the Armenian Genocide noteworthy is the *Population of Asiatic Turkey at the Outbreak of the War* report dated 15 November 1918, authored by the member of the Western Asia section professors David Magie and William Linn Westermann, circulated during the Paris Peace Conference and, in its turn, used for preparation of various reports and bulletins relating to the Armenian Question.⁷³

To study the situation in the territories of the Ottoman Empire for the purpose of determining the US policy towards the country, in 1919 the US Government sent two commissions or missions to the region known by the names of their leaders King-Crane⁷⁴ and Harbord.⁷⁵ The King-Crane mission was composed of civilians with an aim of studying the territories of the entire Ottoman Empire; Harbord mission was composed mainly of the military and its primary goal was to examine the situation in the region particularly in terms of the possibility of assuming a mandate for Armenia. These commissions compiled reports resulting from their work in which a certain place was given to the issues of the number of the Armenian population of Western Armenia and the proportion of the Armenians to the Muslims on the eve of the Armenian Genocide.

The authors of the *King-Crane Mission Report*⁷⁶ were interested in the number of West-

71 According to the data of Diaspora Armenian researcher Armen Hovannissian: “The United States Inquiry and the Armenian Question, 1917-1919: the Archival Papers,” *Armenian Review* 37, no. 1 (1984):148.

72 For the complete list of the documents on Turkey of The Inquiry study group see *National Archives Inventory 9: Records of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace, Inventory of Record Group 256*, compiled by Sandra K. Rangel, National Archives and Records Service Administration (Washington, 1974), 81-92, available online at <http://www.archives.gov/research/foreign-policy/related-records/inventory9.pdf>, accessed 02.06.2020.

73 For Magie’s records see *National Archives Inventory 9: Records of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace, Inventory of Record Group 256*, 83.

74 The commission is named after its two members – theologian Henri King and US democrat figure Charles Crane. It started its work in June 1919 and prepared its report on 28 August 1919. For more details about the King-Crane commission, see James B. Gidney, *A Mandate for Armenia* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1967), 136-167.

75 The Harbord military mission consisting of over 50 people was led by General James Harbord of the US Army. He was tasked to “explore and report about the political, military, geographical, administrative, economic and other conditions of the regions that could be of interest to the USA...” The mission visited Turkey (the provinces of Cilicia, Diarbekir, Sebastia, Kharput, Erzeroum), the first Republic of Armenia, as well as Tiflis, Baku, Batum. The outcomes of the mission were summed up in the Middle East Situation report presented to the US President on 23 October 1919 and submitted to the US Congress for discussion in April of 1920 (see Hovhannissian, “The Armenian Genocide,” 265. For the references of Armenian historiography to the activity of the mission see A. J. Soghomonian, «Հարբորդի զինվորական առաքելությունը և Հայաստանի մանդատը» [Harbord’s military Mission and the Armenian Mandate], *The Herald of Social Sciences* 9 (1985): 13-23).

76 For the complete King-Crane Report see United States Department of State, *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, The Paris Peace Conference, 1919*, Vol. XII (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1947), 751- 863.

ern Armenians on the eve of the Armenian Genocide with a view to create a “separate Armenia.” Upon outlining the grounds for creation of an Armenian state on some of the territories cut off from the Ottoman Empire the authors moved on to the issue of the boundaries of future Armenia. The idea of establishing a “Larger Armenia” (six Western Armenian vilayets, except for the southern and western provinces, Cilicia, Trebizond) was rejected the first with justification that in 1914 and even before 1894 Armenians were a minority in the specified area, never exceeding the 25%.⁷⁷ “Even if we take into account the one million Armenians who were killed⁷⁸ and assuming that it would be possible to gather all of them in this area, still the Armenians would make up only about the third of the population,” added the authors of the report.⁷⁹

The report maintained the creation of a so called “Smaller Armenia” to which only a portion of the territories geographically belonging to the Armenian Plateau would be appended from the Ottoman Empire with an outlet to the Black Sea, roughly equal to the area occupied by Russian troops during the Great War. In justification of their viewpoint, again demography was referred to as the first argument: “*The Turks and Kurds would not be able to justifiably complain about such an area, as this is historical Armenia, and also because, if it were possible to recover the one million dead Armenians and bring them to that area, the Armenians would make up half of the population.*”⁸⁰

In the *Estimates of the Population of an Armenian State* subsection of the report there were several tables on the number of the population of the supposed territory of the future Armenian state. The first of them reflected the 1914 situation. The statistics were given for three contingent regions “Larger Turkish Armenia,” approximately covering the six vilayets, except for the southern and western provinces, the eastern portion of Trebizond vilayet and Cilicia (Adana vilayet and Marash sanjak), “Smaller Turkish Armenia,” approximately corresponding to the area occupied by the Russian troops in 1917, which is the eastern portion of Trebizond vilayet, Van vilayet without Hakkiari, the whole of Erzeroum vilayet and Bitlis vilayet without Sgherd, and “differential area”, the area left after separation/subtraction of the “Smaller Armenia” from the “Larger Armenia” – Kharput vilayet, eastern regions of Sivas vilayet and Cilicia (Adana vilayet and Marash sanjak) (see **Table 3**).

Table 3. Population of Western Armenia according to King-Crane Mission Report

	%	Muslims	%	Armenians	%	Greeks	%	Other	Total
Larger Turkish Armenia	71	3,073,000	21 ^{1/2}	933,000	6 ^{1/2}	289,000	1	34,000	4,329,000

⁷⁷ Ibid., 821.

⁷⁸ The authors of the report mean the number of Armenians who feel victim to 1894-1896 Hamidian massacres and the Armenian Genocide.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 822.

Differential area	73	1,697,000	20	461,000	6	136,000	1	18,000	2,312,000
Smaller Turkish Armenia	68	1,376,000	23 ^{1/2}	472,000	7 ^{1/2}	153,000	1	16,000	2,017,000

The authors mentioned in the annotations on the report that the above table was estimated from the statistics prepared by Drs Magie and Westermann. Of importance is also the observation of the authors of the report that Magie's figures may underestimate the Armenians in some regions.⁸¹ They also found that it would not be possible to be definite about the number of various ethnic elements in Turkey until a scientific ethnological survey had been carried out under disinterested control.⁸² It should be noted that similar statements regarding Western Armenia demographics were being made by Western diplomats and researchers since 1878 in the earlier stages of the Armenian Question as well.⁸³

The *Harbord Military Mission Report* stated that "conservative" estimates place the number of Armenians over 1,500,000 in Asiatic Turkey in 1914 (without Constantinople and Adrianople vilayet), "though some make it higher."⁸⁴ It was noted that official reports of the Turkish Government showed that in 1915 around 1,100,000 Armenians were deported. Upon describing briefly the progression of the anti-Armenian actions of the Turkish authorities, the report stated that the dead from this "wholesale attempt" on the race are variously estimated from 500,000 to over one million, "the usual figure being about 800,000."⁸⁵

In the opinion of the authors of the report, "...even before the war the Armenians were far from being a majority in the region claimed as Turkish Armenia, excepting in a few places." "To-day we doubt if they would be in majority in a single community even when the last survivors of the massacres and deportations have returned to the soil, though, – the report went on, – the great losses of Turkish population to some extent offset the difference brought about by slaughter."⁸⁶

Of certain interest is the authors' estimate, as of 1919, of Armenians living in Turkish Armenia (western regions of Sivas vilayet, including the province of Shabin-Karahisar, Cilicia (Adana vilayet, Marash sanjak and Aintab district), Kharput vilayet, the northern portion of Diarbekir vilayet, the vilayet of Bitlis without Sgherd province, Van vilayet (without Hakkari province), Erzeroum and Trebizond vilayets) and the number of Western Armenian refugees in Transcaucasus: "We estimate that there are probably 270,000 Armenians today in Turkish Armenia. Some 75,000 have been repatriated from the Syrian and Mesopotamian side, others are slowly returning from other regions, and some from one cause or

81 Ibid., 825.

82 Ibid.

83 See about that in detail Tatoyan, *The Question of the Number of the Western Armenians in 1878-1914*, 121-165.

84 Conditions in the Near East. Report of the American military mission to Armenia, by Maj. Gen. James G. Harbord, U.S. Army. (Appendix only) (Washington: Govt. printing office, 1920), 7.

85 Ibid.

86 Ibid.

another remained in the country (the last group includes the Islamized Armenians - R.T.). There are in the Transcaucasus probably 300,000 refugees from Turkish Armenia, and some thousands more in other lands, for they have drifted to all parts of Near East.”⁸⁷

At the end of the report statistical data was presented on the population and resources of “European Turkey, Asia Minor and Transcaucasus” in the form of tables; of interest are, from the viewpoint of the above issue, the data on the total number of the pre- and post-war population of “Turkish Armenia,”⁸⁸ which we insert in Table 4.

Table 4. Population of Western Armenia according to Harbord Military Mission Report

Turkish Armenia					
Vilayet Province Sanjak/district	Area, square km	Present		Pre-war	
		Population in thousands	Density per square kilo- metre		Densi- ty per square kilo- metre
Eastern Sivas (including Shabin-Karahisar province)	38.6	319	8	507	14
Adana vilayet	25.1	193	8	320	13
Marash province and Aintab Sanjak	16.0	102	6	170	11
Kharput vilayet	32.9	282	9	450	14
Diarbekir vilayet (Northern portion)	16.1	186	12	296	18
Bitlis vilayet (without Sgherd province)	19.7	229	12	382	19
Van vilayet (without Hakkiari province)	21.0	204	10	350	17
Erzeroum vilayet	49.7	398	8	630	13
Trebizond vilayet	32.5	685	21	1,000	31
<i>Total</i>	<i>249.8</i>	<i>2,598</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>4,105</i>	<i>16.4</i>

⁸⁷ Ibid., 8.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 41-42.

A summary document in the sense of taking in the US official standpoint on the number of Western Armenians, could be considered the report attached to the US president Woodrow Wilson’s arbitral award on Armenia-Turkey border (22 November 1920) prepared by a special commission set up for that purpose (see *Full Report of the Committee upon the Arbitration of the Boundary between Turkey and Armenia*).⁸⁹ According to the authors of the report, for them, underlying the determination of the boundary between Armenia and Turkey, were three guiding considerations, one of which was ethnography (the other two being geography and economy).⁹⁰ The report said that the study of ethnic elements that constituted the population of Western Armenia was rather a shady business (“greatly beclouded”) conditioned by lack of reliable pre-war statistics on Western Armenian vilayets, the deportations and massacres of Armenians, the losses of the Turkish and Kurdish population.⁹¹

In their estimations of the number of the population of Western Armenia on the eve of the Armenian Genocide the authors of the report also relied on the data of the above *The Population of Asiatic Turkey* study of Professor Magie circulated during the Paris Peace Conference by the American delegation. Based on the very data extracted from the above-mentioned report justified was the exclusion of Hakkiari province of Van vilayet and Sgherd sanjak of Bitlis vilayet from the boundaries of the future Armenia (it should be noted that the Armenian side never claimed the mentioned regions). Noteworthy is the statistics for the mentioned provinces in the report, which in terms of the number of the Armenians came close to or even exceeded the figures of the Armenian Patriarchate⁹² (see **Table 5**).

Table 5. Population of Hakkiari and Sgherd according to Magie

	Turks	Kurds	Armenians	Nestorians (Assyrians)
Hakkiari	10,000 (4.15%)	130,000 (54.4%)	10,000 (4.15%) ⁹³	85,000 (35.9%)
Sgherd	66,000 (65.3%)		26,000 (25.7%) ⁹⁴	-

If leaving Sgherd and Hakkiari provinces outside the boundaries of Armenia the authors explained with ethnographic considerations, appending a portion of the vilayet of Trebizond to Armenia was conditioned by “absolute and decisive” economic considerations, i.e. the imperative of Armenia having an outlet to the sea.⁹⁵

89 *Arbitral Award of the President of the United States of America Woodrow Wilson: Full Report of the Committee upon the Arbitration of the Boundary Between Turkey and Armenia*. Washington, November 22nd, 1920, prepared with an Introduction by Ara Papian (Yerevan: Asoghik, 2011).

90 *Ibid.*, 15.

91 *Ibid.*, 16.

92 *Ibid.*, 18.

93 According to the Armenian Patriarchate 1912 data – 12,000 (see Teodik, *Almanac*, 262).

94 According to the Armenian Patriarchate 1912 data 18,000 (see Teodik, *Almanac*, 262).

95 *Ibid.*

Great Britain Experts on the Issue of the Number of Western Armenians

In the spring of 1917 the British Foreign Office, in preparations for the Peace Conference, set up a special section which was supposed to provide information to the British delegates to the Conference about geography, economy, history, social, religious and political aspects of various countries in question. One of the numerous reports prepared by the section under the title of *Armenia and Kurdistan* related to Western Armenia.⁹⁶ The *Population* subsection of the report contained statistical data on the number of the population of Western Armenia on the eve of the Armenian Genocide.

The authors of the report first noted that the data of interest had been extracted from various pre-war statistics and should be perceived as approximate, regardless of the source. Then the report gave the total number of the population of Armenia and “Kurdistan” vilayets, according to the Turkish statistics, followed by the 1912 statistics of the Armenian Patriarchate on the six Armenian vilayets of Turkey (see **Table 1**). Separately it presented the statistics on the Armenian population of Cilicia by dioceses compiled and published by the Armenian Catholicosate of Sis in 1913, according to which there were 318,416 Armenians living on the territory of Cilicia at that time.⁹⁷

Quite noteworthy is the following observation of the authors of the report: “*It is probable that the figures for the Armenians are too low rather than too high, since the existence of a capitation tax tended to make the Armenians conceal rather than exaggerate their own numbers.*”⁹⁸ This argument was repeatedly stated in the past by all unbiased researchers familiar with the issue.

The British Foreign Office did not confine itself only to collecting statistical data on the population of Western Armenia and other territories of the Ottoman Empire on the eve of the Great War from various sources, but also made an attempt to compile its own statistics based on them. A sample of such statistics is the statistical table prepared by the Geographical Department of the British Foreign Office. As data sources for the table served the 1914 official Ottoman statistics, data provided by Greek and Armenian church sources and particularly the *Population of Asiatic Turkey at the Outbreak of the War* report prepared by Professor D. Magie, the expert of the Western Asia section of the American expert group already mentioned.⁹⁹ According to the data in the document, there were 1,604,000 Armenians (for the distribution of Armenians and Muslims by Western Armenian vilayets see Tables 6 and 7) living in the territory of the Ottoman Empire in 1914, except for the capital Constantinople.¹⁰⁰

96 *Armenia and Kurdistan* (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1920).

97 *Ibid.*, 7.

98 *Ibid.*, 6.

99 Zamir, “*Population Statistics of the Ottoman Empire*,” 87.

100 *Ibid.*, 106.

Comparison and Analysis of the Ottoman, Armenian and Western (Anglo-American) Statistical Data

The collation and comparison of the Ottoman, Armenian and Western (Anglo-American) statistical data for the Western Armenian territory presented to the Paris Peace Conference (see **Table 6**) showed that in case of the Armenian population in the area in question, the Armenian data was by about 83% higher than the Ottoman and 18% higher than the Anglo-American experts' data. In their turn, the Anglo-American expert data on the Western Armenians were by about 50% higher than the Ottoman and about 18% lower than the Armenian data; in case of the Muslim population of Western Armenia (see **Table 7**) the Ottoman data was higher by about 188% than the Armenian and about 18% than the Anglo-American experts' data. This came to prove that the diplomats and experts of the US and Great Britain, within the framework of post-war regulation, in their statements about and appraisals of the demographic composition of Western Armenia were either relying on the Armenian data, or making their own calculations. In case of the number of the Western Armenians, the authenticity of the Ottoman official statistics was rejected and preference was given to the Armenian sources. In case of the Muslim population, the Anglo-American experts were making their calculations based on the data of the Ottoman government, as well as those of Vital Cuinet and from Western sources. The Anglo-American experts' statistics for Western Armenia also contained separate data for major Muslim ethnic groups, particularly, Turks and Kurds, living there, which Ottoman official statistics never provided.

At the same time, the United States and Great Britain, while acknowledging the falsehood of the Ottoman statistics on the Western Armenians and the reliability of figures of Armenian origin, frequently were accentuating the argument of the Western Armenians yielding to the Muslims in percentage even on the eve of the Armenian Genocide in order to curb Armenian claims in the context of making peace with a defeated Turkish state.¹⁰¹

In conclusion, we believe that the figures standing for the number of the Ottoman Armenians from the Ottoman government, Western authors, and even the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople are undercountings to a lesser or greater extent. This is evidenced by available Armenian sources referring to the eve of the Armenian Genocide (data on the registration and survey of the Armenian refugees, information provided by survivors of the Armenian Genocide about their native localities, etc.) in many cases independently providing much higher numbers for the Armenian population of a given locality and administrative unit than those of the three abovementioned sources.¹⁰² At the same time, when critically ap-

¹⁰¹ Interestingly, later, after the victories of the Kemalists, during the Lausanne Conference of 1922 November convened to review the treaty of Sevres and make peace with a new, Kemalist Turkey, the British diplomacy was employing the opposite tactic, this time to extort concessions from the Turks. Thus, during one of the sessions, the Head of the British delegation foreign secretary Lord Curzon addressed a series of rhetorical questions to the Head of the Turkish delegation Ismet Inonu, "How did it happen that the number of Armenians previously inhabiting in Asia Minor decreased from 3,000,000 to 130,000? Did they commit suicide or did they leave on their own? Why have hundreds of thousand Armenians become refugees taking refuge in all countries of the world? Why is the Armenian Question one of the biggest shames in the world?" Akaby Nassibian, *Britain and the Armenian Question, 1915-1923* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1984), 145.

¹⁰² For more details about it see Tatoyan, *The Question of the Number of the Western Armenians in 1878-1914*, 100-114.

proached and collated with the materials of other sources, the quite rich, though contradictory, statistical material made known due to the raising of the Armenian question in 1919-1920 could be used to study the complicated issue of the number of Western Armenians on the eve of the Armenian Genocide and particularly, verify the number of the Armenians by the separate administrative units of the Ottoman Empire.

Table 6. Armenian Population of Western Armenia, Trebizond and Cilicia (Adana and Marash) Vilayets and the Other Parts of the Ottoman Empire on the Eve of the Armenian Genocide according to Different Statistical Data Presented to the Paris Peace Conference

<i>Administrative unit</i>	<i>Ottoman data</i>	<i>Armenian Delegation</i>	<i>Inquiry expert group (USA) Geographical Department of the Foreign Office of Great Britain</i>
<i>Western Armenia</i>			
Van vilayet	67,792 197,000		190,000
Bitlis vilayet	119,132	198,000	185,000
Erzeroum vilayet	136,618	215,000	205,000
Diarbekir vilayet	73,226	124,000	82,000
Kharput vilayet	87,864	204,000	130,000
Sivas vilayet	151,674	225,000	200,000
<i>Total six vilayets</i>	<i>636,306</i>	<i>1,163,000</i>	<i>992,000</i>
Trebizond vilayet	40,237	65,000	33,000
<i>Total (including Trebizond vilayet)</i>	<i>676,543</i>	<i>1,228,000</i>	<i>1,025,000</i>
<i>Cilicia</i>			
Adana vilayet	57,686	118,000	75,000
Marash province	38,433	69,000 ¹⁰³	55,000
<i>Total</i>	<i>96,119</i>	<i>187,000</i>	<i>130,000</i>
<i>Total (including Cilicia)</i>	<i>772,662</i>	<i>1,415,000</i>	<i>1,155,000</i>
<i>Other parts of the Ottoman Empire</i>	<i>522,189</i>	<i>611,000</i>	<i>449,000</i>
<i>Grand total</i>	<i>1,294,851</i>	<i>2,026,000</i>	<i>1,604,000</i>

¹⁰³ Marash, Zeitun, Furnuz.

Table 7. “Muslim” Population of Western Armenia and Cilicia (Adana and Marash) Vilayets on the Eve of the Armenian Genocide according to Different Statistical Data Presented to the Paris Peace Conference

<i>Administrative unit</i>	<i>Ottoman Government</i>	<i>Armenian Delegation</i> ¹⁰⁴	<i>Inquiry expert group (USA) -Geographical Department of the Foreign Office of Great Britain</i>
Western Armenia			
Van vilayet	179,380	122,000 ¹⁰⁵	259,000 ¹⁰⁶
Bitlis vilayet	309,999	127,000 ¹⁰⁷	261,000 ¹⁰⁸
Erzeroum vilayet	673,297	345,000	540,000 ¹⁰⁹
Diarbekir vilayet	492,101	100,000 ¹¹⁰	400,000 ¹¹¹
Kharput vilayet	446,379	197,000 ¹¹²	280,000 ¹¹³
Sivas vilayet	939,735	287,000 ¹¹⁴	977,000
<i>Total six vilayets</i>	<i>3,040,891</i>	<i>1,178,000</i>	<i>2,717,000</i>
Trebizond vilayet	1,187,078	301,000 ¹¹⁵	848,000
<i>Total six vilayets and Trebizond vilayet</i>	<i>4,227,969</i>	<i>1,479,000</i>	<i>3,565,000</i>
<i>Cilicia</i>			
Adana vilayet	341,903	–	290,000
Marash province	152,645	–	146,000 ¹¹⁶
<i>Total Cilicia</i>	<i>494,548</i>	<i>156,000</i> ¹¹⁷	<i>436,000</i>
<i>Grand total</i>	<i>4,722,517</i>	<i>1,635,000</i> ¹¹⁸	<i>4,001,000</i>

104 Except for Kizilbashis, Zazas, Chariklies and Yezidies.

105 Without Hakkari sanjak.

106 Including 57,000 Turks and 202,000 Kurds.

107 Without Sgherd sanjak.

108 Including 60,000 Turks and 201,000 Kurds.

109 Including 335,000 Turks and 205,000 Kurds.

110 Without Mardin sanjak, Bsharik kaza and Severek.

111 Including 100,000 Turks, 230,000 Kurds and 70,000 Muslim Arabs.

112 Without Malatya province.

113 Including 250,000 Turks and 230,000 Kurds.

114 Only Sebastia and Shabin-Karahisar provinces.

115 Except for Samsun sanjak.

116 Including 82,000 Turks, 56,000 Kurds and 8,000 Muslim Arabs.

117 Marash, Kozan and Djebel Bereket sanjaks.

118 The grand total number according to the data in the memorandum submitted to the Paris Peace Conference by Armenian Delegation (see *The Armenian Question before the Peace Conference*, 32).

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DIANA APCAR'S SEARCH FOR AN ARMENIAN PROTECTORATE: HOPE AND DISAPPOINTMENT

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This article studies Diana Agabeg Apar's (1859-1937) perspective regarding the proposed American mandate over genocide-ravaged Armenia. It touches on aspects of historical empathy that are important in assessing the true nature of historical events. Through examining Diana Apar's correspondence with different individuals such as David Starr Jordan, Thomas J. Edmonds, Charles Albert Gobat as well as her articles related to this topic, this article aims to reveal the attitudes, opinions and mindset of this Armenian historical figure regarding the mandate issue.

Keywords: Armenian Genocide, American mandate, protectorate for Armenia, Paris Peace Conference, League of Nations, historical empathy.

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Introduction

Diana Apcar (1859-1937) was an Indian-raised Armenian and a descendant of Jugha¹ Armenians, who lived in Japan from 1890 until the end of her life. She played an important role as an activist for her people through her writing endeavors, which began in 1909, and in her later humanitarian work for many Armenian refugees, as well as for some Assyrian and Greek refugees who reached Japan between 1915 and 1930.

Diana was passionate about anything connected to the welfare of the Armenian people and did her utmost to contribute towards Armenia obtaining peace. As a prolific writer she was constantly writing books, articles, letters and stories aimed at promoting her cause. She published more than one hundred articles in various Armenian, American, Japanese and European newspapers and magazines, especially in those supporting the Armenian Question. There are probably dozens more of these articles still waiting to be discovered in Japanese, American and European archives. Most of her writing was done in English. Her main tool, her pen, was to give her people a voice, to relieve the oppression of the Ottoman Armenians and to gain support for her country from the Western Powers, especially the United States of America.

The international peace movement had been reaching the peak of its influence leading up to WWI and Diana had been actively trying to bring the Armenian Question to the attention of various peace conferences. Her view was that there could not be peace in Europe until smaller nations (within larger empires) had their heritage and freedom restored.² In other words, Diana supported self-determination for small countries striving for independence. Diana's greatest hope was to see smaller nations living in a peaceful world. The geo-political situation just after WWI was such that, in order to create peace in Armenia, a protecting country was needed. Diana was sure that if Armenia did not have a major country supporting it, Ottoman Armenians would not be safe and their survival was unlikely. Consequently, her belief was that procuring an American mandate for Armenia meant guaranteed peace of her countrymen.

This paper adopts a historical empathetic perspective.³ In the area of historical research, there is a tendency not to focus on the beliefs, attitudes and emotions of those individuals who were tied to historical events. This is an opinion shared by several historical researchers. In the words of Andrew J. Huebner *"As historians, we write about the most dramatic and poignant human experiences, yet too often we drain those subjects of emotion. Our admirable quest for detachment, our devotion to provable assertions, our reliance on often*

1 Jugha was an Armenian town in Nakhichevan, an exclave of the present-day Republic of Azerbaijan. About the history of Jugha see Sebouh David Aslanian, *From the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean: The Global Trade Networks of Armenian Merchants from New Julfa* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 23-43.

2 D.A.A., "Correspondence: The Outlook for Turkey," *The Japan Advertiser* (Tokyo), October 3, 1911. Before 1911, Diana signed her articles as "Diana Apcar" or "Diana A. Apcar". Most of her 1911 articles are signed as "D. A. A." Starting from 1912, her articles were signed with her full name "Diana Agabeg Apcar."

3 "Historical empathy involves understanding how people from the past thought, felt, made decisions, acted, and faced consequences within a specific historical and social context." See Jason Endacott, Sarah Brooks, "An Updated Theoretical and Practical Model for Promoting Historical Empathy," *Social Studies Research and Practice* 8, no. 1 (2013): 41, at http://www.socstrpr.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/MS_06482_no3.pdf, accessed 14.09.2020.

dry archival sources, perhaps even our desire to be taken seriously in the academy — all inhibit more evocative writing.”⁴

He then suggests cultivating empathy and sympathy “as a way of truly excavating the character of the past.”⁵

In a similar vein Hallie Rubenhold writes that, “Too much emotional detachment from the people and events of the past presents a problem for wider society. The mistaken but prevalent concept that history is something distant, that it has no bearing on the present, is a dangerous one.”⁶

According to Katherine Jewell, in order to enhance the critical thinking of students of history, it is important for historians to allow the scholarly and the personal to meet.⁷ Jewell feels that historians have a responsibility to apply not only their skepticism and their skills, but also their ability to imagine, to enter into the worldview of someone else, and to do so with understanding and compassion. Subsequently this paper will try to show Diana Aparcar's hope and disappointment regarding the issue of the proposed American mandate. As will be discussed below, Diana was knowledgeable of and deeply invested in every aspect of Armenia's welfare and the proposed mandate. Consequently, an analysis of her mindset and reactions to the event will be highly instructive in providing a historical empathetic lens to experiencing what was a key turning point in Armenian history.

The article's research objective is to flesh out the specifics of Diana's story based on newly uncovered archival documents. This article serves the dual purpose of detailing a particular chapter from Diana's life, while also adding a new perspective to an important chapter in Armenian history: the question of an American mandate over Armenia. This will be accomplished by examining Diana's correspondence with certain individuals such as American peace activist and first president of Stanford University David Starr Jordan, the director of civil affairs of the American Red Cross in eastern Siberia, Thomas J. Edmonds and finally the honorary secretary of the Permanent International Peace Bureau (as well as a 1902 Nobel Peace Prize laureate) Charles Albert Gobat. Diana's articles on the topic of the mandate will also be analyzed

Diana's Favored Candidate for an Armenian Protectorate

Referring to the provinces in the Ottoman Empire inhabited by Armenians (mainly Erzeroum, Van, Bitlis, Sebastia, Diarbekir, Kharberd) in 1910, Diana stated that “The appointment of Christian governors over the provinces inhabited by them [Armenians] might ameliorate some of the evils.”⁸ Ever since the 1909 Adana massacres had galvanized her into taking up

4 Andrew J. Huebner, “Writing History with Emotion,” Organization of American Historians, at <https://www.oah.org/tah/issues/2014/august/writing-history-with-emotion/>, accessed 14.09.2020.

5 Huebner, “Writing History.”

6 “The concept that history is something distant is a dangerous one.” See Hallie Rubenhold, “Is Empathy an Aid or a Hindrance to Historians?” *History Today* 69, no. 5 (2019), at <https://www.historytoday.com/archive/head-head/empathy-aid-or-hindrance-historians>, accessed 14.09.2020.

7 Katherine R. Jewell, “Worlds Collide: The Boston Marathon Bombing, Historical Thinking and Empathy,” *The American Historian* 5 (2017): 15.

8 D. A. Aparcar, “The Turkish Constitution and Armenia,” *The New Armenia* (New York), May 1910.

writing as a form of protest and a call for justice, Diana had been primarily appealing for American support. This was due to Diana's belief that, unlike the European Powers, the US did not have any imperialistic goals.

The protectorate she preferred for Armenia had to be both non-Islamic and be implemented by a Christian country without any "sphere of influence" and imperialistic objectives. In 1910, when she appealed to the US Department of State for the American protection over Armenia, they replied to her with the US President's (Grover Cleveland, term of office: 1885-1889 and 1893-1897) answer⁹ that, as the US was not a signatory to the Treaty of Berlin it could not interfere with European politics.¹⁰ In her correspondence (1912-1913) with Gobat, in response to his question of "...who could undertake this protection without danger for the liberty of the people?"¹¹ Diana suggested that joint American and British protection with the appointment of Swiss governors would be ideal.¹² This suggestion was given despite her negative attitude towards British imperialistic policy. There is the question of why she preferred Swiss governors to British or American governors. In the case of an American governor, Diana did not think it was likely that after the American financial adviser (Morgan Shuster)¹³ to the Persian government had been exiled from Persia in 1911, that the US government would care to send American officials to the Near East. Regarding a British governor, she simply felt that would not be acceptable as it would lead to giving the British government too much authority. Diana thought that there could be no danger from the Swiss people, as they had been Armenians' best friends,¹⁴ and the Swiss governors would be the best. It can be speculated that due to Switzerland's approximately hundred-year-old (at the time) internationally recognized policy of neutrality¹⁵ and non-imperialistic goals, Diana felt that Armenia would be safe, governed by a citizen of such a country. Additionally, equal protection by US and Swiss governors would have kept the British "sphere of influence" at bay.¹⁶

Regarding European protection, Diana thought of it as a "chimera," that wouldn't be

9 According to Article 61 of 1878 Berlin treaty, the Ottoman Government undertakes to carry out the ameliorations and reforms in the provinces inhabited by the Armenians, and to guarantee their security against the Circassians and the Kurds. It will periodically inform about the taken steps to the Great Powers, who will supervise their application. In 1886 the American Senate and the House of Representatives passed a resolution concerning Article 61, calling upon the Powers to enforce the statement in the article which allow them to forcibly intervene in the case of Turkish cruelty, to protect Armenia. However, President Cleveland was reluctant to communicate the resolution to the Powers fearing his act would be seen as interference in European affairs. ("America and the Berlin Treaty. President Cleveland Hesitates," *The Age* (Melbourne), January 31, 1896.)

10 D. A. Apar to D. S. Jordan, January 17, 1912 (must be 1913), Diana Agabeg Apar (hereafter DAA) 1910-1924, David Starr Jordan Papers (hereafter DSJP) 1794-1950, Collection 240, Box 13, Folder 1-5, Hoover Institution Archives (hereafter: HIA), Stanford, CA. D. A. Apar to Albert Gobat, January 12, 1913, International Peace Movements, International Peace Bureau (hereinafter: IPM/IPB) 275/6, UN Archives, Geneva.

11 A. Gobat to D. A. Apar, December 20, 1912, IPM/IPB.

12 D. A. Apar to Albert Gobat, January 12, 1913, IPM/IPB.

13 W. Morgan Shuster, *The Strangling of Persia* (New York: The Century Co., 1912).

14 "The United States does not want our country nor are we in any danger from the Swiss people, who have been in reality our best friends ...". D. A. Apar to A. Gobat, January 12, 1913, IPM/IPB.

15 Lassa Oppenheim, *International Law: A Treatise. Vol. I. - Peace*, third edition, ed. by Ronald F. Roxburgh (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1920), 176.

16 D. A. Apar to A. Gobat, January 12, 1913, IPM/IPB.

realized.¹⁷ Consequently, the next candidate-country she suggested was Russia. However, Diana had a deep distrust of Russia which can be seen in the following statement by her: “*The Armenian Question would have found its solution years ago if we did not have, behind our country, the government of the Czar, which since 1881 has wanted an Armenia without Armenians.*”¹⁸

Despite this distrust, she started, in 1912, to consider the “*Russian occupation*” in a more favorable light, stating that “*Russian occupation of Armenia would have been the only door of escape out of the Turkish hell.*”¹⁹ Of course, she still had a dread of Russia’s “*sphere of influence,*” which was unavoidable due to Armenia’s geographical position. As Diana describes it, “*a geographical position [...] is a rock that cannot be hewn.*” She described Armenia’s location as “*...luckless geographical position at the mercy of three evils, — Turkish Reforms, to be controlled or superintended by ‘The Powers’; German Interests in Asia Minor; ...and Russian occupation of Armenia.*”²⁰

Because it was a requirement to escape from the “*Turkish hell,*” she considered Russian occupation to be a “*modified evil*” compared with the other two, calling it a “*stern necessity*” or an “*inexorable fate.*”²¹

Additionally, Diana had been appealing for America’s support for more than ten years. Aside from her articles on the subject, Diana had also published a poem, where she was calling for America’s help on behalf of Armenia. Below [Figure 1] is a copy of the poem that was published in at least six American newspaper in 1916.²²

17 D. A. Apcar to D. S. Jordan, August 29, 1913, IPM/IPB.

18 D. A. Apcar to D. S. Jordan, January 17, 1912 (must be 1913), DAA 1910-1924, DSJP 1794-1950, Collection 240, Box 13, Folder 1-5, HIA, Stanford, CA.

19 D. A. Apcar to D. S. Jordan, December 30, 1913, Ibid. D. A. Apcar “Correspondence: the Situation in Armenia and the case of the Armenians,” *The Far East*, Oct 4, 1913.

20 D. A. Apcar, “Correspondence: Russia and Armenia,” *The Far East* (Yokohama), January 24, 1914, 648, 658.

21 D. A. Apcar, “Russian Occupation of Armenia,” *Armenia* (New York), August, 1913, 8-9. D. A. Apcar to D. S. Jordan, December 30, 1913, DAA 1910-1924, DSJP 1794-1950, Collection 240, Box 13, Folder 1-5, HIA, Stanford, CA. *Armenia* was a semimonthly English magazine (editor Arshag D. Mahdesian) issued in Boston, later in New York between 1904-1929. In 1910s the name of the magazine changed from “*Armenia*” to “*The New Armenia*.”

22 D. A. Apcar, “America, Armenia Calls to Thee,” *Binghamton Press* (New York), July 11, 1916; “Table Talk: America, Armenia Calls to Thee,” *The Buffalo Commercial* (New York), July 13, 1916; “Armenian and Syrian Belief,” *The Kenosha Evening News* (Wisconsin), Oct 17, 1916; “America! Armenia Calls to Thee,” *The Hartford Daily Courant* (Connecticut), Oct 18, 1916, “Bryce Makes Appeal for the Armenians,” *Appleton Evening Crescent* (Wisconsin), Oct 21, 1916. “America! Armenia Calls to Thee”, *The Scranton Republican* (Pennsylvania), October 24, 1916.

Figure 1: Diana's Poem Calling for America's Help

America! Armenia Calls to Thee.

Between the mighty and one of strength bereft,
God stands for succour and for help ;
From East to West God rules.
Oh! Land of the West, where the people rule,
Perchance God bids thee haste to help
That Land of the East where horrors rule.
Oh! Land of the West ; Oh! land of the free,
America ! Armenia calls to thee.

Kaiser, and King, and Tsar : my children slain :
My rivers red with blood ;
My plains and hillsides desolate.
Oh! Land of the West, where the people rule,
God will, thy flag shall carry peace
To Land of the East where horrors rule.
Oh! Land of the West, Oh! land of the free,
America ! Armenia calls to thee.

DIANA AGABEG APCAR.

The poem is clearly a call for help from “The Land of the West, where people rule” to aid Armenians who reside in “Land of the East where horrors rule” and demonstrates Diana’s regard for the democratic West. In this poem it is clear that she desired and hoped that as a free country America would bring peace to Armenia.

Remembering the historical background of the unattained American mandate

In order to comprehend Diana's views better, it is necessary to look back at the historical development of the Armenian mandate.

In 1918 Eastern Armenia, also known as Russian Armenia, regained its independence after several centuries. The Paris Peace Conference (1919-1920) which was convened at the conclusion of WWI, was the location where the peace terms for the defeated powers of Germany, Austria, the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Ottoman Empire were set. A number of issues were discussed such as the creation of the League of Nations, mandated territories and other territorial problems. Petitions made by nations that had autonomy or had already become independent were also being heard at the conference. The Republic of Armenia (that had already declared its independence by that time) sent a delegation to the Peace Conference to urge Armenia's claim to six provinces in western or Ottoman Armenia, and that a connection to the Black Sea be granted to the republic. In addition to the delegation from the Armenian Republic, the Armenian National Delegation representing western Armenians petitioned for Cilicia to have a connection to the Mediterranean Sea, which was a larger claim in comparison to the demands of the eastern Armenians. Initially, there were disagreements between the two delegations; however, they eventually united and petitioned for Armenia to be expanded from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean, an area that had been viewed as a historical homeland of the Armenian people. Additionally, a mandate was needed to put a United Armenia back on its feet.²³

In 1920 Diana wrote: "*Cilicia has been called "the lungs of Armenia." Armenians know that the loss of Cilicia, with its outlet to the Mediterranean, means economic strangulation, and it also means weakening the self-defenses of the Armenian State.*"²⁴

Here we can see that Diana's views on the matter were in line with those of the Armenian National Delegation, which eventually reached agreement with the Armenian Republic Delegation, that Cilicia should be included in the Armenian State.²⁵

There were many factors that made these demands impossible to be realized. In the first place, half of the territory of Cilicia and western Armenia had been under French control since 1916 (the Sykes-Picot Agreement). Secondly, Ottoman Kurdish demands overlapped those of the Armenians. Finally, there were many other territorial issues such as the Ottoman Armenian territories being occupied by Russian troops. Consequently, there were many obstacles interfering with the Armenian claim. Furthermore, the Allies prioritized the treaty with Germany over the partitioning of the Ottoman Empire, which included dealing with

23 Samvel Poghosyan, «Փարիզի վեհաժողովի հայկական հուշագիրը և նրա հետագա նակատագիրը» [The Armenian Memorandum of the Paris Conference and its Further Fate"], *Hayots' ts'eghaspanut'yan patmut'yan ev patmagrutyan harts'er* 6 (2002): 123-124.

24 D. A. Apcar, "Correspondence: The American Mandate for Armenia," *The Japan Gazette* (Yokohama), June 1, 1920.

25 Poghosyan, *The Armenian Memorandum*, 125.

the Armenian Question.²⁶ Thus the Armenian Question was left to be discussed in future conferences.

Under Article 22 of Part I of the Treaty of Versailles signed on June 28, 1919 by Germany and the Powers during the Paris Peace Conference, the mandate system was established. The mandate system dictated that, the nations that were under the Ottoman and German rule were to be put under the control and protection of more experienced and better geographically positioned countries and to develop the territories until they could become stable and self-sufficient. The mandate over Armenia, however, had not yet been decided.²⁷ A 1920 article from an American newspaper *Fort Wayne News and Sentinel* stated the following:

In the splitting up of Turkey various Allies took various slices, but no one took Armenia. It lacked the natural riches that made Syria and Mesopotamia, for instance, attractive. The mandate was offered to the League of Nations, but the League replied that it could not assume the task, because it had neither an army nor money with which to administer Armenia. The Allies then engaged in a search for someone [sic] who wished to put up the \$50,000,000 and supply the 40,000 men needed to put Armenia on its feet.²⁸

In another American newspaper article discussing American President Woodrow Wilson's request to Congress to accept the mandate over Armenia it was stated:

Provision for mandates is made in the peace treaty and it is set forth that such mandates shall be executed under the League of Nations, but since the United States is not a member, administration officials said if Congress decided that the United States should act for Armenia, the treaty provisions would be waived in this case.²⁹

Consequently the possibility of America taking on the mandate was being discussed, which gave Armenians hope. During the Paris Peace Conference, Diana wished that one day in the near future all Armenian refugees could return to their freed fatherland. She and those refugees who reached her were "anxiously watching developments at the Peace Conference."³⁰ From the time that the discussion over the mandate started in the US, Diana was filled with great hope, which can be seen in the following passages from her letters:

I am at last seeing the realization of my hopes and I think I can say that the whole Armenian nation has received this news with great joy and thankfulness; many like me have worked hard for this realization and everyone is thankful that at last

26 George A. Bournoutian, *A Concise History of the Armenian People: From Ancient Times to the Present* (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers, 2003), 300-302.

27 Oppenheim, *International Law*, 288n.

28 "Armenia First! America Last!" *The Fort Wayne News and Sentinel* (Indiana), June 7, 1920.

29 "President Sends Note Urging Action," *The Ogden Standard-Examiner* (Utah), May 25, 1920.

30 D. A. Aparcar to Thomas. J. Edmonds, 14 March, 1919, Folder 6-7, Box 165, Collection 482, ANRC, HIA, Stanford, CA.

Armenians can live on the soil of Armenia and enter into their own heritage.³¹

... I hope President Wilson will hold out for Armenia which must have an outlet to the Mediterranean and Mersine, [sic] which will be our port on the Mediterranean, is connected with Adana.³²

We are now sure of a free and independent Armenia which will comprise of what used to be Russian Armenia and the whole of what used to be Turkish Armenia including Cilicia with Mersine as the Mediterranean port, and we are hoping, believing, praying and expecting that the United States will become the Mandatory Power during the period of reorganization: all the Armenians wish it, but we do not know as yet what the American people are going to do because there has been no official declaration made as yet, but if the United States (America whom we all love) fails us, then England will become the Mandatory Power during the period of organization and reconstruction.³³

In August 1919, President Wilson dispatched a delegation led by a major general of the US Army, James G. Harbord, to investigate and report on America's interest and responsibility regarding the Middle East and to probe the possibility of the US assuming the mandate over Armenia. After 6 weeks of investigation, Harbord reported on the situation in the Middle East, Armenian history and the current political situation in Armenia with suggestions to rearrange it. At the end of the report, he concluded with the following statement and suggested 14 reasons for and 13 against accepting the mandate.

Accepting this difficult task without previously securing the assurance of conditions would be fatal to success. ... Every possible precaution against international complications should be taken in advance. In our opinion there should be specific pledges in terms of formal agreements with France and England and definite approval from Germany and Russia of the dispositions made of Turkey and Transcaucasia, and a pledge to respect them.³⁴

President Wilson presented the case of the American mandate over Armenia to the American Congress on May 24, 1920 saying:

I am conscious that I am urging upon the congress a very critical choice, but I make the suggestion in the confidence that I am speaking in the spirit and in accordance with the wishes of the greatest of the Christian peoples. The sympathy for Armenia

31 D. A. Apcar to Mr. Hall, March 20, 1919, Folder 6-7, Box 165, Collection 482, ANRC, HIA, Stanford, CA.
32 D. A. Apcar to Thomas J. Edmonds, May 28, 1919, Folder 6-7, Box 165, Collection 482, ANRC, HIA, Stanford, CA.

33 D. A. Apcar to Edmonds, August 11, 1919, Folder 6-7, Box 165, Collection 482, ANRC, HIA, Stanford, CA.

34 Maj. Gen. James G. Harbord, *Conditions in the Near East. Report of the American Military Mission to Armenia*, 66th Cong., 2d sess., S. Doc. 266, Washington Government Printing Office, 1920, 24-28, at <http://armenianhouse.org/harbord/conditions-near-east.htm>, accessed 21.06.2018.

among our people has sprung from untainted conscience, pure Christian faith, and the earnest desire to see Christian people succored in their time of suffering and lifted from their abject subjection and distress and enabled to stand upon their feet and take their place among the free nations in the world. Our recognition of the independence of Armenia will mean genuine liberty and assured happiness for her people if we fearlessly undertake the duties of guidance and assistance involved in the function of a mandatory.³⁵

However, Congress adopted a resolution, on May 29th, to decline an American mandate over Armenia. The reason for the decline was not clarified, but it was based on the above-mentioned report that “did not have a clear proposal.”³⁶

Diana and the American mandate

To comprehend Diana’s disappointment in having the mandate rejected, one must appreciate that the hope and tension invested in the decision of American Congress had been building up for years. Eleven years before the question of the American mandate over Armenia had even arisen (1909), when Diana started her appeal for America’s support, her ideas were not welcomed by the Armenian people, who thought Diana was “indulging in foolish fancies and in Chimera.”³⁷ Despite this setback, the hope that Diana held onto gave her the strength to “fight” for another 10 years. Again in 1916 she described how she could envision her country being wiped clear of her countrymen and thought that “the final decision of ‘Armenia emptied of Armenians’ lay in the hands of the God of Abel” and that “*President Wilson as the Chief Magistrate of a great neutral state and the representative of a great neutral nation, must go over the side of the God of Abel in order to work for a Stable Peace.*”³⁸

Thus, one can only imagine the immensity of her disappointment after fighting for so long while simultaneously dealing directly with the refugees whose hopes were added to her thoughts. In this time of disappointment, her only comfort was her faith and Diana declared that the only “power” that she would never be disappointed in was God. “*But God stands above all principalities, and powers and nations, therefore I who began this work of desiring American political interference in Armenia, now am hoping that God will take up the mandate, and there is no doubt that nothing would be better.*”³⁹

Diana continued writing, strongly arguing why Armenia needed the American mandate, even after it was rejected by the US Congress. On May 31, 1920, two days after the resolution was announced, Diana wrote an article which was published in *The Japan Gazette*. In it she praised President Wilson for his efforts and stated that he “has placed himself at the head of

35 “President Sends Note Urging Action,” *Ogden Standard-Examiner* (Utah), May 25, 1920.

36 Philip Marshall Brown, “The Mandate over Armenia,” *The American Journal of International Law* 13, no. 3, (1920): 396.

37 D. A. Apcar, “America and the Armenian Mandate,” *The Japan Advertiser* (Tokyo), June 23, 1920.

38 D. A. Apcar, “Correspondence - The Coming Peace,” *The Far East* (Yokohama), December 23, 1916.

39 Apcar, “The Coming Peace.”

the list of Armenia's friends." She furthermore expressed hope that American advocacy for the mandate might still develop into meaningful action. Her primary focus however was on the isolated nature of Armenia's position. She wrote: "*The Turk wishes to join his brothers (sons of the same father) the Tartars [sic], and thus create one big Turkish Empire from the Bosphorus to Turkestan. [...] Armenia stands as the barrier to the success of this Pan-Turanian scheme, and Armenia will continue so to stand if Christendom wishes.*" And so she posed a question: "*Is it right to let one small Christian nation be "the barrier of living flesh" for ever and ever and to stand fighting as the lone outpost of Christianity, absolutely unaided, for all time?*"⁴⁰

It was completely beyond Diana's imagination that fellow Christian countries and even non-religious humanitarians could ignore the injustice perpetrated against her people. Diana, who longed for America's help for years, continued writing with strength of purpose even after the US Senate made the resolution to decline the mandate.

With regards to the declaration made by the Senate stating: "*The acceptance of such a Mandate would throw the US into the very maelstrom of European quarrels,*"⁴¹ Diana wrote, "*European intrigues created the "maelstrom" in Armenia, but those who advocate the American Mandate know that when the United States enters into the arena, European intrigues will withdraw from the scene, and then the 'maelstrom' will no longer be dangerous.*"⁴²

She stated three essential needs, critical for the New Armenia: first – free and easy access to the sea, essential to the prosperity and security of the new Armenian state; second – a political guarantee secured by the protection of the League of Nations so that it could be protected from a union between Turk and Tatar (present day Azerbaijanis) and third – financial aid that would be obtainable from the United States, which "[...] will stabilise the new Armenian state and thereby stabilise the Peace of the Near East."⁴³

What follows are a response to Diana's strongly written articles on this matter. Five articles have been found that reveal the argument between Betty Graeme,⁴⁴ who criticized Diana and a Japanese Methodist Episcopal Church missionary Arthur D. Berry,⁴⁵ who supported Armenia and Diana herself.

In response to Diana's above-mentioned article in *The Japan Gazette*, Graeme indirectly called Diana an "amateur world fixer" and continued by writing that "... *Statements like*

40 D. A. Apcar, "Correspondence: The American Mandate for Armenia," *The Japan Gazette* (Yokohama), June 1, 1920.

41 D. A. Apcar, "Readers in Council: America and the Armenian Mandate," *The Japan Advertiser* (Tokyo), June 19, 1920.

42 Apcar, "America and the Armenian Mandate."

43 D. A. Apcar, "Armenia's Needs," *Japan Times and Mail* (Tokyo), November 5, 1920.

44 Elizabeth Boschke, the so-called Betty Graeme was famous in the city of Spokane in Washington state. She was active as a journalist for the daily newspaper *The Spokesman-Review* with "Betty Graeme" pen name. It seems like she was also corresponding with Oriental newspapers. See *Sunday Oregonian* (Oregon), October 22, 1916.

45 *The Directory & Chronicle for China, Japan, Corea, Indo-China, Straits Settlements, Malay States, Siam, Netherlands India, Borneo, the Philippines, &c: With which are Incorporated "The China Directory" and "The Hongkong List for the Far East"* (Hongkong: The Hongkong Daily Press office, 1910), 693.

that of Diana Agabeg Apcar show commendable humanitarianism but small knowledge of world politics.”⁴⁶ In response to Graeme’s critical comments saying that “world fixers” like Diana “somewhat officiously, point out their duty to them [Americans] and, all unsolicited, attempt to direct the foreign policy of their country,”⁴⁷ Diana stated that

Discussing [a] subject is not officiously pointing out their duty to Americans, neither attempting to direct the foreign policy of their country, and no one can deny that every subject needs to be discussed before a solution can be reached. [...] and in asking for an American Mandate we did not dictate to the American nation the foreign policy of their country, but we only asked them to stand as our friend. We asked for various reasons, but asking is not dictating.⁴⁸

In his article Arthur Berry hoped that the Japanese and other non-American readers would not think that Betty Graeme represents the attitude of all Americans toward the mandate for Armenia and in support of Diana’s call he continued: “*There are many Americans who feel that the acceptance of the Armenian mandate is the plain international duty and privilege of America. We do not feel so because “amateur world fixers of other nationalities” tell us so. Our own national conscience, our own American idealism, our own humanitarianism make us feel that the Armenian mandate is a big world task that America ought to undertake.*”⁴⁹

Diana’s articles about the American mandate over Armenia continued to be a discussion topic until 1922. An American missionary residing in Tokyo, Rev. Charles F. Sweet,⁵⁰ referring to America’s rejection of the mandate wrote: “*The people of the United States might have saved Armenia, had we been willing to accept a mandate for the Armenian portion of the Turkish Empire. The mandate was offered us, and we refused to accept its obligations and the troubles which acceptance would have involved. We feared foreign entanglements.*”⁵¹

Referring to Diana he stated:

The letters of Mrs. Apcar which from time to time have appeared in your columns reveal in their burning intensity how deep is her sense of the misfortunes and the wrongs of her race. Not, exactly, however as narrating the dreadful story — she seems to take for granted that the whole world knows it well enough — but as implying both her suffering and her despair. The agony of an outraged ancient people that has outlived its hope echoes in her lines. Who can read them without sympathy, who can even think of it all without deep stirrings of the heart?⁵²

46 Betty Graeme, “Americans and the Armenian Mandate,” *The Japan Advertiser* (Tokyo), June 22, 1920.

47 Graeme, “Americans and the Armenian Mandate.”

48 D. A. Apcar, “America and the Armenian Mandate,” *Japan Advertiser* (Tokyo), June 23, 1920.

49 Arthur D. Berry, “Readers in Council: Another American Viewpoint,” *Japan Advertiser* (Tokyo), June 23, 1920.

50 Robert Cornell Armstrong (ed.), *The Christian Movement in Japan Korea and Formosa: A Year Book of Christian Work: Nineteenth Annual Issue*, (Japan: Federation of Cristian Missions, 1921), 94, 101, 131.

51 Charles F. Sweet, “Readers in Council: The Wrongs of Armenia,” *Japan Advertiser* (Tokyo), August 1, 1922.

52 Sweet, “The Wrongs of Armenia.”

One can only imagine Diana's despair and disappointment. In a letter to President Wilson on the eve of the decision by the US Congress, she seemed to want to underline the seriousness of what was at stake with the decision. In this letter Diana accuses the French of being behind the 1920 Turkish attack on the Republic of Armenia by Turkish nationalists. She furthermore stated that, "Every Turkish massacre of Armenians has invariably had some powerful European government or governments behind it."⁵³ The entire letter alluded to the fact that without sufficient protection, Armenia would continue to suffer at the hands of European political intrigue.

Her disappointment can also be read in two of her letters sent to Jordan after a long period of no correspondence: "*It is a long time since we corresponded, and the reason has been that all the heart has been taken out of me: these three and a half years since the armistice have been bitter indeed.*"⁵⁴

It can be assumed that the rejection of the mandate, coupled with the new massacres in Cilicia were indeed devastating for Diana. Especially considering the fact that she had repatriated about 80-100 Armenians from Japan in 1919.⁵⁵ The repatriation of those Armenians to Port Said was a source of bitter regret to Diana.⁵⁶ After 1920 even when the situation in Cilicia was deteriorating and despite the fact that America refused to help Armenia by accepting the mandate, Diana was still a little hopeful that America would do something.⁵⁷ Naturally, the mandate was important for Armenia to become a stable state, but it was also essential and urgent for the people's safety, as there was the constant danger of more massacres.

Despite everything, Diana's faith was so strong that she trusted that God would be "taking the mandate over Armenia," which would place Armenia in the most trustworthy hands of all. Diana was not a political thinker, but her strong will to help her own people and country to escape the "hell" in which they were drowning, made her one of the most active female political activists of her time, whose approach to politics was not based on calculation and compromise but on a desperate hope for the welfare of her people.

Epilogue

By examining Diana's correspondence with different people and her articles and books, the author has endeavoured to reveal a portion of Diana's enormous and untiring dedication to her people and her country. This can be seen in the high hopes she had for finding a

53 D. A. Apar to Woodrow Wilson, December 20, 1920. Records of the Department of State Relating to Internal Affairs of Armenia, 1910-1929, of United States. National Archives and Records Administration, Atlanta, GA, http://search.alexanderstreet.com/preview/work/bibliographic_entity%7Cbibliographic_details%7C2725621, accessed 13.11.2018.

54 D. A. Apar to D. S. Jordan, February 13, 1922, Folder 1-5, Box 13, Collection 240, DAA 1910-1924, DSJP 1794-1950, HIA, Stanford, CA.

55 See Meline Mesropyan, 「ディアナ・アプカーと来日アルメニア人難民」 [Diana Apar and the Armenian Refugees in Japan], PhD thesis, 174-175, <http://hdl.handle.net/10097/00125709>.

56 D. A. Apar to Alfred Davies, Folder 6-7, Box 165, Collection 482, ANRC, HIA, Stanford, CA.

57 D. A. Apar to D. S. Jordan, February 13, 1922, Folder 1-5, Box 13, Collection 240, DAA 1910-1924, DSJP 1794-1950, HIA, Stanford, CA.

guardian-country for Armenia and the despair and disappointment during the last stage of her 10-year effort.

What Diana's hope and disappointment on the loss of an American mandate revealed was how much of Armenia's welfare was dependent on the support of a powerful state and how close Armenia came to actually achieving this through the vocal support of President Wilson and the democratic processes of the US Congress. Diana's hope and disappointment show us a state in need of powerful allies which did not have sufficient geopolitical incentives to intervene. Indeed, the US's great unconditional humanitarian and diplomatic assistance to the Armenian refugees after WWI and President Wilson's compassionate approach seemed to heighten Diana's hope and faith in its realization. She was seeing America as a potential protecting country for Armenia without any designs on increasing their "sphere of influence." In fact, Armenia's not being a focus of America's geopolitical interests might have been the very reason America did not take the mandate.

The Armenian Genocide and the Holocaust are the most compared genocides of the 20th century by various researchers.⁵⁸ Given the topic of this paper it is hard to avoid parallels with the support the state of Israel received from the US after WWII. Notwithstanding the many geopolitical differences between the two circumstances as well as between Armenia and Israel themselves, there are striking similarities. Both of these ancient nations had been living without their own states for centuries, creating vast diasporas all around the world. Both of these nations were granted internationally recognized small states after world wars hemmed in by hostile Muslim neighbors and both states belong to a cultural heritage that has endured genocide. The similarities highlight the necessity of a powerful ally that was essential for their survival and development. However, despite the fact that, unlike Israel, Armenia's direct neighbor was the Genocide perpetrator thus increasing the danger to the Armenian state, the re-formed state in the Caucasus, surrounded by enemies, was abandoned first by the European Powers that had no political interests in Armenia and then by the US, which did not consider Armenia as being in its "sphere of influence." It is also unnecessary to mention the complete absence of reparations for the Armenian genocide, loss of homeland territories, an unpunished Turkish government and the constant denial of the Armenian genocide until the present day. It is also obvious that unlike with Armenia, the Western Powers, especially the US had geopolitical interests in Israel. Given these parallels it is hard not to wonder what could have been, had the American mandate over Armenia been approved. As harsh as it sounds, no matter how compassionate a state or state leader may wish to be, fundamental aspects of geopolitics are spheres of influence and political interests. When Armenia's situation is viewed in this light, Diana's hopes, despite being well-reasoned could also be called naive.

Ultimately, what we can see in Diana's hope and disappointment is the realization that

⁵⁸ See, for example, Robert Melson, *Revolution and Genocide: on the Origins of the Armenian Genocide and the Holocaust* (Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1996); Yair Auron, *The Banality of Indifference: Zionism and the Armenian genocide*, trans. by Maggie Bar-Tura (New York: Routledge, 2017); Dlpak Jabar Ali Dawood, "The Aftermath of the Armenian Genocide and the Holocaust: A Comparative Study," *Journal of University of Garmian* 6, no. 3 (2019), at http://jgu.garmian.edu.krd/article_99472_9907367600af94e744a71585900c1037.pdf, accessed 02.01.2021.

the “rock” of Armenia’s geographical position truly could not be hewn. 100 years have passed but Armenia is still hemmed in by hostility. As Diana put it, Armenia’s “inexorable fate” is that the only ally that it can turn to is Russia with its own geopolitical interests.

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HALIDÉ EDIP AND THE TURKIFICATION OF ARMENIAN CHILDREN: ENIGMAS, PROBLEMS AND QUESTIONS

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It is a well-known fact that the Islamisation of Christian children in the Ottoman Empire has a long history. In the great majority of cases Islamisation was carried out forcibly, accompanied by the erasure of a child's ethnic-religious identity for those who remembered it and totally hiding their ethnic roots and religious affiliation from those who didn't. The whole process of cultivating a new identity and character was a matter of time and of contested methods.

This article identifies a problem area, raising questions and analyzing the role of Turkish intellectual Halidé Edip in the state policy of Turkification of Armenian children at the Antoura orphanage during the Armenian Genocide. It draws comparisons between the three memoirs of Armenian orphans from that orphanage that are known to date, those of Garnik Banean (Karnig Panian as written in his English language memoir), Harutyun Alboyajyan, and Melgon Petrosean and that written by Halidé Edip. As a result, certain essential differences, ploys, as well as facts disguised by Edip have been collected and presented in this article. Therefore, the research carried out identifies the problems areas relating to various aspects of the Antoura orphanage by raising new questions, offering explanations and new approaches as well as highlighting issues that need to be researched further.

Keywords: Armenian Genocide, Djemal Pasha, Halidé Edip, Adnan Adivar, Antoura orphanage, Armenian orphans, Islamisation, eugenics.

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Introduction

“I saw Halidé Edip Adivar, the woman who had stayed behind after Jemal Pasha’s visit. She would often lean against the sundial and watch us play. She seemed carefree. Sometimes she journeyed to Beirut and returned a few days later with stacks of books under her arms. Some said that she was writing a book about the orphans; others claimed that at night, she sucked the blood out of the necks of the older boys. We didn’t know what to believe.”¹

The imperial institution instrumental in the Islamisation of Christian children was known as *devshirme* – the blood tax imposed on Christians, consequently producing janissary soldiers to serve the Sultan, who were notorious for their exceptional cruelty and bloodthirsty reputation. Interestingly, although the Janissary corps had already ceased functioning officially (albeit perhaps not yet culturally) since the early 18th century,² the forced conversion of Christian children did not end. The social significance of the conversion institution was enhanced and, during the Armenian Genocide, the forced Islamisation and Turkification of Armenian children was carried out both in a sporadic, commonplace fashion and by the state elite and officials, through intentional selection and usage of them as slaves. Forced conversions and forced marriages to Armenian girls were characteristic in both cases.

Additionally, particular attention was focused on Turkish state orphanages, where Armenian children were collected during the Armenian Genocide. Generally being the majority of the Christian children, they went through a forced erasure of their Armenian identity and the cultivation of a Muslim one. One such place where this happened was the Antoura orphanage, the history and diverse ideological aspects of which will be scrutinised in this article.

The Young Turk government opened orphanages in Aleppo, Beirut, Antoura, Mardin, Urfa, Diyarbakir, Kayseri, Malatya, Armash and in some other places with the aim of assimilating a part of Armenian orphans. There are also references to Turkish orphanages or conversion and Turkification centres in Ankara, Arabkir, Adana, Marash, Kastamuni, Kharni, Kharberd, Dort Yol, Boghazlyan, Mezre, Sebastia, Samsun and other locations. Armenian children were often transported from place to place, being kept in one place for only a short time so that their relatives would not be able to find them.³ They were distrib-

1 Karnig Panian, *Goodbye, Antoura: A Memoir of the Armenian Genocide* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015), 94-95.

2 Artak Shakaryan, «Արյան հարկը» Օսմանյան կայսրությանում. ղեշիրնե [“Blood Tax” in the Ottoman Empire: Devshirme] (Yerevan: Author’s edition, 2006), 128.

3 Comparing the stories of No. 1778 and 1779 in the list of inmates of the Aleppo rescue home and about the Turkish orphanage in Arabkir, it may be seen that the orphans were not left in the same orphanage for very long, staying there for a month, then being transferred to different villages. See United Nations Archives in Geneva (UNOG), Refugees Mixed Archival Group (Nansen Collection) 496 (1919–1947), Armenian Orphanage in Aleppo, admission files.

uted among Turkish families and Ottoman officials who would choose them and take them away in person.⁴

There are very few studies on the activities of the structures engaged in Islamisation and Turkification under the direct supervision of the Young Turk Party elite, central figures and supporters of the Party during the Armenian Genocide. One or two researchers are carrying out targeted studies on the activities of these orphanages, particularly of Antoura.⁵ One is Narine Margaryan⁶ with her first Armenian-language scientific article dedicated to the topic. Another is the Turkish historian Selim Deringil.⁷

Narine Margaryan provides rich material about official decrees that served as the basis for the Islamisation of Armenian children at state level, the specifics of the state policy, historical events and the pedagogical methods employed, using the Antoura orphanage as an example. She also uses the orphans' stories, details of the punishments administered in the orphanages, as well as describing the activities aimed at the return of the orphans to their Armenian identity.

The object of Selim Deringil's research, as in our case, was Halidé Edip.⁸ In his article

4 Hovakim Hovakimian (Arshakuni), *Պատմություն հայկական Պոնտոսի* [History of Armenian Pontus] (Beirut: Mshak, 1967), 524.

5 Collège Saint Joseph, Antoura – a school founded by French Jesuit clergy in 1834 in the Antoura Valley of Lebanon within their mission building (constructed in 1773). It is considered to be the oldest preserved school in the Middle East. During the Great War, the Turks banished the Lazarist monks and turned the college into a Turkish orphanage under Djemal Pasha's and Halidé Edip's management. The real owners of the school returned after the end of WWI, in the spring of 1919, when the children that were formerly Turkified and then put in care of the Red Cross were being moved to different orphanages – Jebeil, Ghazir, Antelias and Marzvan (Merzifon). The school was reopened and operates to this day as a French Catholic school with preschool (“Maternelle”) and 1-12 school grades. See the school's website at <http://www.college-antoura.edu.lb/>, accessed 19.06.2021.

6 Narine Margaryan, «Հայ երեխաների թրքացման գործընթացն Օսմանյան կայսրության պետական որսանցներում (1915 – 1918 թթ.)» [The Turkification of Armenian Children in the Ottoman Empire's State Orphanages (1915-1918)], *Ts'eghaspanagitakan handes* 4, no. 1 (2016): 25-43.

7 Selim Deringil, “Your Religion is Worn and Outdated,” at <https://journals.openedition.org/eac/2090>, accessed 20.06.2021.

8 *Halidé Edip (Edib) Adivar* (1884-1964), Turkish novelist, political figure; an ideologist of pan-Turanianism – creation of Turan - nationalist and fighter for women's rights. The “Mother of the Turks,” as they often call her in Turkey, was born in Istanbul. Her father, Mehmed Edip was Abdul Hamid II's secretary. Her mother, Fatma Bedirfem Hanim, died when she was very young (see Halidé Edip's only grandson Omer Sayar's (Hikmatullah Zeki Sayar's son) interview, where he says that Halidé came from a Jewish family exiled from Spain that adopted Islam. Her father Mehmed Edip was a manager under Ceyb-i Hümayun, who was in charge of the Treasury at the Sultan's palace, “Bu dünyadan Halidé Edip Adivar Geçti-1,” at <http://www.24saatgazetesi.com/bu-dunyadan-halide-edip-adivar-gecti-1/>, accessed 02.07.2021. She obtained her education, with interruptions, between 1893-1901 – attending one of the Greek schools in Constantinople, learning Greek, as well as at her father's house through private tutors, then by attending the American College for Girls in Istanbul, where she particularly deepened her knowledge of different languages. She was the first unmarried Turkish girl to graduate from this College. Halidé Edip's father was an anti-monarchist and an advocate of Ittihadism and their house was a gathering place for the intellectuals of the time; Halidé Edip later revived this tradition. For her ideas, opinions and approaches in March 1909 when anti-Ittihadist outbursts began, Halidé Edip had to flee for some time and hide in Egypt with her two children. During this time she travelled to England where she was the guest of a British woman named Isabel Fry. It was there that she became acquainted with individuals who had certain social and political influence. She and her sister Nakiye Hanım were appointed superintendents of government schools and orphanages in Damascus, Beirut and Antoura under Djemal Pasha's supervision in 1916-1917. She married her first husband, the teacher-mathematician Salih Zeki Bey (from 1901-1910). Her second marriage was to Doctor Adnan Adivar (from 1917-1964). She joined Atatürk's nationalist movement with her second husband, but assumed an oppositional stance after the proclamation of the Republic and had to live outside Turkey

he wrote about the forced transfer of Armenian children from one group to another, collected studies carried out by genocide scholars around this issue and presented the story of the transformation of Antoura into a Turkish orphanage by Djemal Pasha. He dealt, individually, with the memoirs of the three Antoura orphans and Halidé Edip's frequently contradictory words, as well as the testimonies of contemporaries.

Greatly valuing and appreciating the research efforts made by Narine Margaryan and Selim Deringil, this study aims to contribute to the study of the institutions engaged in Turkification. This article will try, through "micro-queries," to invite the attention of scholars to some of the contextual-ideological aspects of the activities which took place within the Antoura orphanage and to identify issues for further research.

Special attention has been paid here to two figures in the Young Turk hierarchy - the erudite pan-Turkist, feminist and writer Halidé Edip who enjoys the reputation of being a heroic woman and an ideological fighter in contemporary Turkey and her second husband, the positivist physician, ideological champion of the philosophy of science, editor-in-chief of the Encyclopedia of Islam, author of publications in various European journals, the modernist Abdülhak Adnan Adıvar.⁹

A point of view has occasionally appeared, saying that these two historical figures did not advocate the policy of genocide carried out against the Armenians, nor participated in violence and persecutions but, on the contrary, even saved Armenian children from death.

until Atatürk's death. She was a member of the National Assembly of Turkey from 1950 to 1954, having been elected by the city of Izmir. She is buried in Merkezefendi Cemetery in Istanbul. Halidé Edip was an influential figure of her time, whose opinion and work were important for the Ottoman Empire and later for the Turkish Republic. Her intellectual world embraced literature, various branches of science (philosophy, sociology and history) and religion, as well as various artistic trends – music and theatre. The outline of Halidé Edip's biography was extracted from her biographical and ideological works: *Memoirs of Halidé Edib* (New York, London: Century & Co, 1926), *The Turkish Ordeal* (London, 1928), *Conflict of East and West in Turkey* (Delhi: Maktaba Jamia Millia Islamia, 1935), *Turkey Faces West* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930).

⁹ *Abdülhak Adnan Adıvar* (1882-1955), Turkish medical doctor, political figure, writer and theoretician, he was engaged in philosophy of science and history. He was an adherent of the Young Turk Party and one of the first supporters of feminist movements in the Ottoman Empire. He was Halidé Edip's second husband (they married on 17 April 1917). He was born in Gallipoli but moved to Istanbul with his father at a very early age, when his father was appointed deputy minister to the Bab-ı Meşihat, [Sheikh ul-Islam's office]. He came from a notable Ottoman scholarly family with its roots going back to Aziz Mahmud Hudayi Efendi, founder of the 17th-century Sufi order called Jelveti Tarikat. He studied at Istanbul medical university, then at the Friedrich Wilhelm University (Berlin's Humboldt University). He left his studies unfinished and returned to Istanbul immediately after the Young Turk revolution took place. He took a leading role in *Hilal-i Ahmer* [Red Crescent] activities, becoming its chief manager; he was awarded the military rank of Major during the Great War and elected Chairman of the *Hilal-i Ahmer* Association after the war. In the last period of Young Turk rule, he was elected a deputy to the Ottoman Parliament and, when the Kemalists came to power in Istanbul in 1919, he and his wife joined the Turkish nationalist movement. He was health minister, interior minister and deputy speaker of the National Assembly of Turkey successively in Ankara before Mustafa Kemal occupied all of Turkey and established his centre of power there. Accused of complicity, with his wife, in plotting to assassinate Kemal Atatürk in 1926, the couple fled Turkey and moved to Europe. They returned to Turkey after Atatürk's death, during İsmet İnönü's presidency. Abdülhak Adnan Adıvar is buried in Merkezefendi Cemetery in Istanbul. He wrote scientific articles and monographs and was the Chief Editor of the Encyclopedia of Islam. His works, including those on philosophy and history of science, oriental mysticism and anthropology (for instance: *Yeni Adam*, *Belphegor*, *Isis*, *Oriente*, *Oriente Moderno*, etc.) were published in Turkish and European journals. See Hakan Arslanbenzer, "Adnan Adıvar: Science historian and liberal politician," *Daily Sabah*, at <https://www.dailysabah.com/arts/portrait/adnan-adivar-science-historian-and-liberal-politician>, accessed 20.06.2020; M. Cavid Buysun, "Doktor Abdülhak Adnan Adıvar," at <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/38327218.pdf>, accessed 20.06.2021.

Science does not tolerate uncertainty, especially in issues concerning genocide studies, and especially when it comes to the problem of saving or not saving people. In this case, at the heart of the “saved or not saved” argument, are Armenian children taken to orphanages opened under the state auspices which were instrumental in Turkification, and that – the practice of moving children from one group to another - also fits into the definition of genocide as formulated by Raphael Lemkin.¹⁰

Attempts were made, during the preparation of this article, because of the paucity of material, to find clues to events linked to one another. This was done by taking contemporary intellectual pivotal trends of thought, the spirit of the age and the philosophy of history which bordered on the veneration of science, into account. In addition, the peculiarities of European-style salons and clubs frequented by the Ottoman elite were considered, as were the concepts and culture that dominated them. Attention was even focused on the image of Halidé Edip presented in the cinema and the overall attitude shown towards her in the West.¹¹

Choosing the content path of this article was a rather complicated problem due to the lack of sources. There are more or less accurate sources and memoirs that may be used for only one of the orphanages engaged in Turkification – the Antoura orphanage in Lebanon. The memoirs of three inmates of the orphanage are well known. One is possibly unpublished, existing as a memoir as a computer file, while the other two have been published.

There are, in addition, Halidé Edip’s English-language memoirs and several other supporting text sources and photographs. However, relying on Halidé Edip’s memoirs would have been at the very least unscientific, as by studying them a subjective, one-sided, negative attitude to events and figures was discovered. In fact, this attitude was not just aimed at Armenians and was imbued with one-sided, subjective, manipulative thoughts and obser-

¹⁰ Edita Gzoyan, «Երեխաների բռնի տեղափոխումը որպես ցեղասպանական գործողություն. ձևավորումից դեպի քրեականացում» [Forcible Child Transfer as a Genocidal Act: from Conceptualization to Criminalization] *Ts'eghaspanagitakan handes* 8, no. 1 (2020): 99-118.

¹¹ See, for instance, the following artistic serial – “The Adventures of Young Indiana Jones” (USA, 1991-1992, directed by George Lukas), part 17, titled “The Masks of Evil.” The general plotline of the serial revolves around Indiana Jones, the son of a family representing the American elite, depicting his encounters with famous people and figures in various countries, thus presenting social, political and cultural aspects, revolutionary characters and events of a given country that distinctly deviated from the usual historical line. Further instances are Lev Tolstoy, Pablo Picasso, the Suffragette movement, the Great War, the birth of jazz and blues in the USA, the Paris Peace Conference in 1919-1920, etc. In this serial, particularly, a reference was made to Halidé Edip as a philanthropist, pedagogue and intellectual saving and taking care of children, including those of Armenian descent, orphaned because of the war. In those 6-8 minutes, Edip’s character has the following role: she hugs and kisses a girl and then tells Jones and his fiancé: “Such a strong little creature! And yet what she needs most – simply to know that she is loved. I brought her with me from Syria. I don’t know whether she’s Turkish, Armenian or Kurdish. At first, she was too shocked even to speak. I believe she saw her parents butchered before her eyes. Now it seems you understand why this terrible war must end.” at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7SoSEgrRyNM>, accessed 25.06.2021. These words uttered in the movie encompassed Halidé Edip’s approaches reflected in her memoirs, particularly about the issue of the Armenian Genocide. She performed extraordinary efforts to present or interpret everything, starting from the massacres at Adana, in a different light, as though the Adana events were carried out by the supporters of the old Ottoman regime and Armenian parties’ ‘efforts’ to martyr their own people and attract attention (see *Memoirs of Halidé Edib*, 283-284). The Armenian Genocide is also called mutual slaughter, an equal massacre directed by foreign forces (ibid., 266, 428, 447). In this context, Halidé Edip may be considered to be one of the first denialists of state-planned genocidal intent; moreover, her model of denial may be classified as typical of the later period of Armenian Genocide denial.

vations. Hence more and more basic questions began to emerge which particularly focused on the problem that the erudite Halidé Edip, who possessed a unique way of thinking and intellect, also had a well-coordinated work style which used half-truths and concealed events. This took account of her time, future audiences and possible developments into consideration. Therefore, her memoirs, containing multiple inaccuracies and secrets, give rise to a host of “whys” and “hows” and compel the researcher to focus on one key question: what is the truth, what are half-truths and what is fiction in her writing? In addition, Edip’s memoirs have engendered doubts concerning her honesty and impartiality, after the portrayal of the director of Antoura in a less than positive light, to put it mildly, in the memoirs of two former Armenian orphans.

The authenticity and credibility of the memoirs of the former Armenian orphans, written independently of one another, may be used without any doubts, as they completely complement each other; there is no question concerning the level of accuracy of the description of events either. Those memoirs were also compared, based on scholarly objectivity, without provoking any general questions, except for some minor inconsistencies in the descriptions of some events and a discrepancy related to the Armenian names of the head boys (*chavush*)¹² of classes at Antoura.¹³

In this context, certain questions emerged about the specifics of Dr. Adnan Adıvar’s activities, as a darwinist, positivist physician. It is well known that there were two doctors in the Young Turk core leadership raising intellectual and policy questions and making and implementing decisions, who also stood behind medical experiments performed on Armenians. They were Dr. Nazim and Dr. Behaeddin. This was touched upon in Vahagn Dadrian’s article.¹⁴

Behaeddin Shakir, with his medical education, was in charge of the *Hilal-i Ahmer* [Red Crescent] organisation¹⁵ and was provably one of the masterminds behind the Armenian Genocide plan, as well being as the leader of the *Teskilat-i Mahsusa* secret organisation. He could not but have contact with Dr. Adnan Adıvar, who also worked in *Hilal-i Ahmer* and was a notable and honoured figure in Atatürk’s Turkey during that period too. At the same

12 *Chavush*, Turkish. “Headman/corporal” the title corporals of Turkish troops were historically called. The head boys of the classes in Antoura orphanage were referred to by that title too.

13 Panian, *Goodbye, Antoura*, 84, 149, and *Միզոն Պետրոսյանի յուշերը Եղեռնի օրերին*, ամփոփում և Վարդիվար Յովհաննիսյանի կողմէ [The Memoirs of Melgon Petrosian from the Days of Yeghern, compiled by Vardivar Hovhannissian]. AGMI Collection, s-8, folder 148, no. 231, p. 15.

14 Vahagn Dadrian, “The Role of Turkish Physicians in the World War I Genocide of Ottoman Armenians,” *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 1, no. 2 (1986): 169-192.

15 *Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti* or *Red Crescent Committee*, was founded on 11 June 1868, as a humanitarian charity organization bearing the symbol of the Ottoman Red Crescent, which was used for the first time during the Russo-Turkish war of 1876-78. It was renamed the *Ottoman Red Crescent Society* in 1877, then the *Turkish Red Crescent Community* in 1923 and Mustafa Kemal renamed it *Turkish Red Crescent Society* in 1935. It was given the name of *Turkish Red Crescent Association [Kızılay Derneği]* later, in 1947. Its current name is *Turkish Red Crescent* [Türk Kızılayı or simply Kızılay]. It is a part of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent movement, with a goal, like the general organisation, to provide medical aid to war prisoners, injured and sick military men and humanitarian aid to vulnerable groups affected by disasters, wars and infectious diseases, both in the past and in the present. Halidé Edip was an active volunteer in the Red Crescent (Chris Gratien, Seçil Yılmaz “Red Crescent Archives (Turkey),” at <http://hazine.info/turkish-red-crescent-kizilay-archives-ankara/>, accessed 20.06.2021, “150 Years – From Hilal-i Ahmer to Kızılay (Red Crescent),” at <https://www.skylife.com/en/2019-06/150-years-from-hilal-i-ahmer-to-kizilay-red-crescent>, accessed 20.06.2021).

time, the Young Turk elite, during the years of the realisation of the Armenian Genocide, never showed a negative attitude towards the Adivar couple: if the latter really were saving Armenian children, then that should have been enough for their alienation and the creating of a negative attitude towards them by the elite circle of the ruling party.

If nothing else, it is proper to find out how and whether they were loyal adherents carrying out orders who enjoyed their leadership's trust. Because to claim otherwise, that they were insignificant figures, is just out of the question. Interestingly, Halidé Edip, in her memoirs published for the first time in English in 1923, in which she devoted 43 pages to the Antoura orphanage (pp. 428-471), generally never spoke of her husband's role, whereas in Harutyun Alboyajyan's memoir, Adnan Adivar was not only present, but also had a very clear role. Using psychology, it was he who persuaded the orphans to move to Antoura and accompanied them from their temporary shelter in one of the Damascus mosques to Jounieh and finally to Antoura in the company of two military officers and several women, probably teachers.¹⁶

The reason behind a more in-depth view of the problem were these very persons, with their roles and specialisms, who had to be concerned with Turkification, whose activities were perhaps broader than just that. However, Adnan Adivar, his activities and his position in the criminal hierarchy of the Young Turks and therefore his participation in genocidal acts against the Armenians and association with the Antoura orphanage, will be dealt with in a separate article.

To clarify the details of the roles specific people had, it is advantageous to raise questions first. This is what this article aspires to do as a minimum when broaching the subject. No attempt will be made in this article to provide answers to all the questions put forward here, only addressing several of them. The work of searching for answers to further derivative questions will be left until later.

Concerning One Peculiarity of the Islamisation of Armenian Children at the Antoura Orphanage: Were They Cultivating “New Janissaries”?

Reading the memoirs of the inmates of the Antoura orphanage reveals the fact that it was organised on military lines and that the children were being prepared for military service. Harutyun Alboyajyan who, apart from relating his memoirs also gave Verjiné Svazlian his biography with some very interesting differences and characteristics. For instance, he called their orphanage in Antoura a “military orphanage”¹⁷ with special rules. This definition is essential for this research. It is therefore expedient to also draw the readers' attention to the conscription activities that took place before the children were moved to Antoura.

According to Garnik Banean's memoirs, the group of children witnessed the honorary reception of a military man at Hama station, the point of departure for Antoura: the name “

¹⁶ Harutyun Alboyajyan, *Իրաչկրոյթյան ճանիխաներով* [Through the Roads of Crucifixion] (Yerevan: VMV-Print Publishing House, 2005), 36-37.

¹⁷ Verjiné Svazlian, *The Armenian Genocide: Testimonies of the Eyewitness Survivors* (Yerevan: Gitutyun, 2011), Harutyun Alboyajyan's Testimony (no. 247), 427.

“‘ Mahmud Shevket Pasha’¹⁸ was heard from various directions. The pasha, with a smiling face, passed in front of the orphans, then had a word or two with the high-ranking military officers and the Protestant pastor who were present. The orphans, witnessing all this, stood stock-still.”¹⁹ Judging from this, at first glance it could be thought that the pasha, whose name they were calling, was the same military man who passed in front of the orphans, but Mahmud Shevket Pasha was already dead by that time. Calling his name out could indicate something else. It could be, for instance, that the orphans were taken to be prepared for a military education, particularly in military aviation, the founder of which, Mahmud Shevket Pasha, was the Ittihadists’ guardian but had been assassinated in the Ottoman Empire by then. He was a great military authority and uttering his name would have been a sign of remembrance and a sign of belonging. Perhaps it was that being a child, the name had been stamped on Banian’s memory, i.e. a name to be voiced while another was remembered, as Mahmud Shevket’s name was also chanted in glorifying songs sung by the Antoura orphans.²⁰

Harutyun Alboyajyan relates that the very first and only lesson in the orphanage was military marching drill. Other lessons were added later, when the number of children increased; they started to have lessons facilitating Turkification, such as the Turkish language and literature, Islam and its history.²¹

Melgon Petrosean conveys a detail which is important for the inference that boys in the Antoura Turkish orphanage were being specially prepared for military service; this, at any rate, applied to healthy children. He wrote that they “... were doing military exercises so that we all could be soldiers to go to Harbiye Mekteb-i,²² the military school.”²³

That this result had been partially achieved was shown by the following reflection by the same inmate:

In spring 1918 they tightened up much more; they separated 50 boys from the rebellious and those more or less big than us and one or two teachers and took them to

18 *Mahmud Shevket Pasha* (Mahmud Şevket Paşa, 1858-1913), was of Chechen origin. He was a graduate of the *Mekteb-i Harbiye* [Military Academy] and was an Ittihadist figure and considered to be the founder of Ottoman military aviation (1911). He was the commander of the Third Army stationed in Thessaloniki after the 1908 revolution and suppressed the counterrevolution. He banished Abdulhamid II from Constantinople on 31 March 1909, holding him in Thessaloniki. He was appointed Ottoman Grand Vizier from January 1913 but was killed by a relative of the assassinated Nazim Pasha as a revenge for the assassination of the latter six months later: “Mahmud Şevket Paşa” at <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Mahmud-Sevket-Pasa>, accessed 15.06.2021.

19 Garnik Banean, *Յուշերն մանկությունն և որբությունն* [Memoirs of Childhood and Orphanity] (Antelias-Lebanon: Armenian Catholicosate of the Great House of Cilicia, 1992), 129. It is noteworthy that a number of very important passages were omitted from the English edition of Garnik Banean’s memoirs, one of which was this one, where the memoirist mentions Mahmud Shevket’s name. Considering this fact, this and several other passages will be quoted from the Armenian edition in translation.

20 *Ibid.*, 155. “Mahmud Şevket paşa, Sen binlerde yaşa,” which can be translated in English as follows: “Mahmud Shevket pasha, Live forever and ever!”

21 Alboyajyan, *Through the Roads of Crucifixion*, 40, 44. Along with those mentioned, the children also had lessons in geography, arithmetic, etiquette, medicine, biology and zoology, music and singing and physical education. *The Memoirs of Melgon Petrosean*, 14, also, Panian, *Goodbye, Antoura*, 89, 92.

22 *Harbiye Mektebi* (Ottoman: *Mekteb-i Erkân-ı Harbiyye-i Şâhâne* or *Erkân-ı Harbiye Mektebi* or, shorter: *Harbiye Mektebi*), the Ottoman Empire’s military academy. Its foundation date is considered to be 1834. It was an educational institution preparing career officers for the army of the Ottoman Empire. At present, officially it is called *Kara Harp Okulu*, but it is colloquially known as *Harbiye Mektebi*, preserving its historical name.

23 *The Memoirs of Melgon Petrosean*, 14.

Polis [Armenian abbreviation for Constantinople-Sh.Kh.]. We learned that they were kept in confinement in one of the districts in Polis under strict control. We learned this news from an escapee from there, a boy from Ainteb who was called Mehmet.²⁴

Harutyun Alboyajyan also maintained that Antoura inmates had been moved to Constantinople, mentioning a lesser number, 20-30 boys; but it is hard to say whether the two orphans speak of the same transfer or those transfers to Constantinople were regular practice. The text clearly indicates that the transfer took place before the autumn of 1918: *“In those days a Turkish naval officer visited our orphanage with his bodyguard Rejab Onbashi [corporal], who was a very resourceful man. They came to take 20-30 orphan boys from the orphanage to study at maritime school. After making their choice and staying for 10-15 days, they went away. As the political situation was unstable, several of the leaders of the orphanage left. Among them was Reshad Bey.”*²⁵

In any case, it is clear that at least some of the children, who were fit for the task, were being prepared for military service, perceived as them being “new janissaries”. This was because, among other things, of the roles and titles given to the children: chavush, oghlu/oghlan, etc., which were also common in the janissary corps, which in their time, besides being the core of the military system, also possessed the fundamental attributes of an order (“bektashi” order of dervishes).²⁶

In other words, a group of Antoura orphans had, nevertheless, been used in the Turkification process undertaken by the Turkish government to achieve a certain goal. It is important to know what happened to them: did the Armenian rescue services or individuals searching for orphans returned them to their Armenian identity after the war, or were they permanently lost to the Armenian nation; perhaps it was both, which is also probable.

Narine Margaryan provides a quotation from such a testimony in her article: an Armenian child, Khoren Glchyan, not an Antoura inmate, reported that he was taken to the *Harbiye Mekteb-i*: *“Khoren Glchian was taken from Aleppo to the Harbiye central military school in Constantinople. Here they were all given copper seals with their new Turkish names on them. He got a seal bearing the name “Ali Oghlu Islam,” which he had to wear around his neck as instructed by the management.”*²⁷

The Turkish military authorities forcibly transferred the Armenian children of one of the Aleppo Armenian orphanages, among whom was Khoren Glchyan, to the *Ingliz bahche*. They gave Khoren’s mother the same answer as they did to the Protestant pastor who was the principal of Banean’s Hama orphanage: *“...go home, mother, take care of yourself, your son will go to Istanbul to become a man.”*²⁸

Feeding and entertaining the children on the way, they took them to Haydarpasha station

24 Ibid., 16.

25 Alboyajyan, *Through the Roads of Crucifixion*, 49.

26 Georgii Vvedenskii, *Янычары: история, символика, оружие* [Yanissari: History, Symbols, Weapons] (St. Petersburg: “Atlant” publishing house, 2003), 21.

27 Margaryan, “Turkification of Armenian Children,” 33. In this passage, the word “seal” is most probably used to mean a badge, which was used both in the military and police system, as well as in prisons.

28 Khoren Glchian, *Վերապրող որբի մը յուշերը* [Memoirs of an Orphan Who Survived], (handwritten memoir), AGMI collection, s-8, no. 44, p. 21:

in Constantinople, then to the *Harbiye Mektebi*, where thousands of orphans had already been gathered.²⁹ Therefore, one of the above-mentioned questions has been answered by Khoren Glchyan: the selection and transfer of Armenian children was a regular occurrence as shown by the number of children collected there. It is a fact worthy of special note that, according to Khoren Glchyan, both Talaat and Enver Pashas visited the *Harbiye Mektebi* in 1917, when he was seven years old.³⁰

However, the writer of this memoir testifies that afterwards the children did not stay long in the *Harbiye Mektebi*, the whole orphanage being moved to *Buyuk Ada* [Big Island] on the Sea of Marmara, with the children being housed in a building previously owned by Greeks. Here the lessons and discipline were raised to a higher level; they even started giving money to the children.

According to the memoir, an Armenian Catholic priest named Father Hovhannes Nalbandyan came to their orphanage after the end of the war with a special document-order issued by the British mandatory authorities, to separate the Armenian children and return them to their nation. This was done with some difficulty, because the Armenian children who remembered their nationality were afraid to confess they were Armenians.

Glchyan reports that about 200 Armenian children, with the signatures and mutual consent of the Turkish and Armenian representatives, were released from Turkish orphanage and placed for a time in the school attached to the Convent of the Immaculate Conception in Constantinople.³¹

Garnik Banean, already more mature, provided just such a description in a single paragraph:

Antoura with its regime, its understanding of pedagogy, its cruelty of giving the orphans nothing to eat for a long time was forcing us to become thieves, raiders and street swindlers. Only whatever was happening, was not in our hands. It was the state of things in life severing us from humanity and maiming our souls. So, if it were not for our conscious or instinctive opposition and if we were Turkified one day, we would have added over a thousand of thieves, rogues and unspeakable people to the Turkish nation, very convenient for forming new janissary regiments.³²

We believe that Turkification was only an intermediate, though important phase and that the ultimate goal was to turn the orphans into servants of the state by erasing their Armenian and Christian identities which, in case of some of the children, as we saw above, was most likely achieved. The prospect of making military men of the boys stemmed, initially, from a lack of manpower. Men were needed who would be capable of mastering the use of military machinery that was being developed and updated during the war. Hence the remnants of the exterminated Christian nations of the Ottoman Empire – those children with their intellectual abilities– could be guided in that direction.

²⁹ Ibid., 22-23.

³⁰ Ibid., 24-25.

³¹ Ibid., 30-31.

³² Banean, *Memoirs*, 215.

By an interesting coincidence, one of Halidé Edip's books, published over a decade later, titled *Turkey Faces West* could be singled out for the ideas expressed in it about the janissary tradition being quite democratic. One of these ideas ran as follows: "To combine love of order and discipline with democratic principles demanded the association of every race of the empire in this important class [the military class - Sh.Kh.]. They [the Turks - Sh.Kh.] accomplished this by conscripting a certain number of children from all the subject races... though the Christian historians have spoken of the system as the 'Blood Tribute.'"³³

Edip was against calling the system "blood tribute" following the words used by Christian historians and added that it should not be viewed from the ethical standpoint, but from the perspective of whether it was worthwhile for the state or not. She had one answer: it was worthwhile before the institution of bourgeois favouritism had it pushed into the background and it was dissolved.³⁴ These ideas naturally show the attitude and approach that Halidé Edip, the erudite writer had when she cooperated with the Young Turk elite when participating in the Turkification of the Armenian Genocide orphans. At least the sacrificing of ethics for the sake of expediency, which the Young Turks practiced with respect to the Armenians by carrying out the Genocide from 1915 to 1923, may be seen. Moreover, we believed that if, at the time of publication of the book, the transfer of children from one group to another was criminally punishable under the international law, Edip positioning herself as an advocate of the values of the Western Enlightenment and deeply concerned about her image and reputation, would have passed over and avoided expressing these ideas. We think that she was indeed taking care of her reputation by leaving out, from her memoirs, many undesirable episodes related to the Turkification of Armenian children in which she and her husband had both been involved. This was because their international reputation also was needed to pursue the important goal of them appearing to be enlightened and progressive to the West.

It would not be surprising, if one day it turned out that, for instance, the Armenian woman called Sabiha Gökçen-Khatun Sebiljian had also been in Antoura or in an orphanage like it, where all those instruments of Islamisation and Turkification were used. By an interesting coincidence, she had been prepared for a military career, and Turkologist Ruben Melkonyan even characterized her as a "janissary."

... if we put aside unnecessary sentimentality, we could say that Sabiha Gökçen or Khatun Sebiljian with her biography and career as a combat pilot, no matter how rude it sounds, qualifies as a 'janissary'. She was Turkified and Islamised in early childhood; given a military education and was brought up with a mentality of being the daughter of the "Father of the Turks." The supposed flashes of national self-consciousness that various sources testify about have always been subordinated to the image of the first Turkish pilot, in other words "janissary."³⁵

This notion of being the "daughter of the Father of the Turks" also has its counterpart in the concept of the Janissary corps. That is, the janissaries being the property of the Sul-

33 Edip, *Turkey Faces West*, 20.

34 Ibid., 21.

35 Ruben Melkonyan. *Բարանցիկած հայերի խնդիրների շուրջ* [On the Issues of Islamized Armenians] (Yere-

tan, acting to protect him and his power and being directly subordinate to him, perceived themselves as the “Sultan’s children” and the Sultan as their father; they were ready to die for him.³⁶ It was an elite military corps made up of children of Christian origin specifically trained since childhood, converted to another religion and at the same time brought up with ruthlessness and inhumanity.

Thus, in this context, it is believed that the negative traits listed in the last passage quoted from Garnik Banean’s memoirs (“thieves, raiders and street swindlers...”) were being nurtured on purpose: they may be called both new Janissarism or psychological experiments and torture. The Antoura management was inciting the children to develop resilience and fight for survival through starvation and thirst, being provoked into stealing and banditry, using physical torture (*falakha*; beating, mostly on the head) as well as psychological impact, changing their psychology, outlook and mentality by means of images, for instance by using the theatre.³⁷

By starving the children, for example, the issue of Islamisation was addressed in the following context:

We ate flour soup the next morning; before we left [the dining room-Sh. Kh.] they announced that those who chose to adopt the “*hakk din*” (the Turkish faith) had to choose a name and be registered. They would then have a meat meal privately in the afternoon, with as much bread as they wanted, etc... We were like skeletons eating the soup made of flour mixed with water, and when we smelled the meat, some registered while we, with our fellow-villagers, waited in a corner for the flour soup.³⁸

The purpose of feeding children with flour mixed with water was obvious: offering good food instead of physical exhaustion and recurring unpleasant fare on condition that children agree to convert to Islam. Here too are the direct signs of efforts to break their will, urging them to satisfy their instincts and physical needs.

Aram Antonyan also testified in his book that Armenian children were really made into new Janissaries:

van: Noravank, 2009), 26-27:

36 Vvedenskii, *Yanissari*, 12, 13.

37 See Alboyajyan, *Through the Roads of Crucifixion*, 46, where the author referred to a performance of a play titled “Joseph the Handsome,” put on in pure Turkish at a girls’ orphanage in Beirut (the name of the orphanage was written as “Nkhatkhana” in the text, possibly being the result of misreading the handwriting, because an orphanage with such a name could not be found) that the orphans playing in the orchestra watched regularly on their visits to Beirut. Alboyajyan said that it was strange that a biblical episode was performed by the Turks. As it turned out, the actresses were Armenian girls who had been Turkified and “adopted” by Halidé Edip in Constantinople and had moved to Beirut with her (*ibid.*, 48). We believe that this biblical plot was not chosen at random, as the story was about a youth who achieved certain success after being betrayed and abandoned by his brothers, after deprivation, captivity and slavery, which could fit into the general logic of Turkification – exciting the orphans with parallels of their possible future in their minds. At the same time, it is thought that the author of the play the orphans watched was Halidé Edip herself and that Alboyajyan watched Edip’s play “Shepherds of Canaan”: see Halide Edib, *Kenan Cobanları* (Istanbul: Orhaniye Matbaası, 1918). It touched upon concepts of feminism as well as the lives of the Jewish patriarchs, thus Turkish society was quite astonished by this new theatrical fashion – and not necessarily in a positive way: see Selahattin Çitçi, “Halide Edip Adivar’ın feminist ve semitik bir operası: Kenan Çobanları,” *Turkish Studies International Periodical for the Languages, Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic* 4/3 (2009):655-668.

38 *The Memoirs of Melgoun Petrosian*, 13.

... The later instructions specified that only children under five were only to be spared. They would be converted to become Turks and raised as Turks in private orphanages. They would then one day serve to make up for the human losses the Turks suffered that were caused by the war, and *graft a race so endowed with high qualities, the Armenian race, onto the Turkish race. Just like in the past with the Janissaries*³⁹ [The italics used in this and other quotations have been inserted by the author – Sh.Kh.].

This section is closed with this remark by Aram Antonyan, highlighted by us, is materially significant. First, the revival of the idea of the “new Janissaries” (seconded by Antoura orphan Garnik Banean in the abovementioned passage), which seemed to have gone down in history, and second, “...*graft a race so endowed with high qualities, the Armenian race, onto the Turkish race ...*,” which shall be dealt with next in this article.

The “New Man” (*Yeni Adam*) of Pan-Turkism and Eugenics⁴⁰

Conflicting with Banean’s foregoing question-provoking report is a corresponding episode from Halidé Edip’s memoirs. Banean reported that before being moved to Antoura, their group of Armenian children had found refuge in a Protestant pastor’s orphanage in Hama. However, their happy life in the orphanage, which was apparently a private one, in other words outside the supervision of major humanitarian organisations, quickly came to an end, as military officials dispatched by Djemal Pasha arrived and demanded that the pastor hand the orphans over to them to be transported to Antoura. This was grave news and there were no possibilities for refusal for the Armenians; it became clear to them that the orphans were going to be Turkified. An interesting detail particularly attracted attention: “*Djemal Pasha is the military commander in this area. The visiting military officers said that Djemal Pasha would like to collect all the Armenian children into his care, to educate them, bring them up and make them worthy human beings and eventually give them back to their people at the end of the war.*”⁴¹

Banean’s testimony is at odds with the words attributed to Djemal Pasha in Halidé Edip’s memoirs, the dialogue taking place between the two of them. It is deemed necessary to quote the passage completely, as each sentence is relevant to this study:

You have been as good to Armenians as it is possible to be in these hard days. *Why do you allow Armenian children to be called by Moslem names? It looks like turning the Armenians into Moslems, and history some day will revenge it on the coming generation of Turks.*

39 Aram Antonian, Մեծ ոճիւրը [The Great Crime] (Yerevan: Arevik, 1990), 178-179.

40 *Eugenics* – a doctrine concerning the improvement of the hereditary traits of the human race with the objective of actively influencing human evolution, perfecting human nature, enhancing the inheritance of talent and restricting the transmission of hereditary diseases to future generations. The term “*eugenics*” was first used by Francis Galton, a cousin of Charles Darwin, in 1883. This teaching especially enjoyed popularity in social and political circles during the first few decades of the 20th century. It subsequently developed a negative connotation resulting from its use by Nazi Germany and identification with the latter among other ones. Nevertheless, the term *eugenics* has its modern substitutes and further developments.

41 Banean, *Memoirs*, 122.

You are an idealist, he [Djemal Pasha - Sh.Kh.] answered gravely, and like all idealists you lack a sense of reality. *Do you believe that by turning a few hundred Armenian boys and girls Moslem I think I benefit my race?* You have seen the Armenian orphanages in Damascus run by Armenians. There is no more room in those and there is no more money to open another Armenian orphanage. This is a Moslem orphanage, and only Moslem orphans are allowed. *I send to this institution any wandering waif who passes into Syria from the regions where the tragedy took place. The Turks and the Kurds have that orphanage. When I hear of wandering and starving children, I send them to Aintoura. I have to keep them alive. I do not care how. I cannot bear to see them die in the streets.*⁴²

Edip replied, as written in her memoirs, that she did not want anything to do with such an orphanage. Djemal Pasha then said that she would want everything to do with it if she saw their misery and suffering...

A question: in that case why, according to Banian's testimony, did they move hundreds of orphans to Antoura from the Protestant pastor's orphanage, where they already had found refuge, instead of the thousands of homeless orphans wandering about under the walls of the orphanage, if the reason was the purely philanthropic urge to collect wandering children?

This passage naturally raises a few more questions in connection with the following point attributed to Djemal Pasha by Halidé Edip: "Do you believe that by turning a few hundred Armenian boys and girls Moslem I think I benefit my race?" Why would the Islamisation and Turkification of just the Armenians be referred to as beneficial in such a defensive question? This therefore alluded to eugenics, echoing what Aram Antonyan said: "...graft a race so endowed with high qualities, the Armenian race, onto the Turkish race. Just like it once was with the Janissaries."⁴³

The subject had at least been discussed in those days as well; it could, however, have been Edip's attempt at self-justification.

This begs another question: who was such philanthropy for, as it was definitely not for the Armenian race? Beatings and torture and other forms of abuse were used, as testified by the orphans, at the Antoura orphanage to ensure the erasure of Christianity and the forced forgetting of the Armenian language. It is believed, therefore, that the human beings they wanted to shape the Armenian children into were intended to fulfil the ideas of Ottoman Turkey and for the future. "*Djemal pasha had ordered that we should be given proper care and attention, since he appreciated the Armenians' brains and talents and hoped that, in case of victory, thousands of Turkified Armenian children would, in the coming years, ennoble his nation and we would become his future support.*"⁴⁴

It was this vision, this idea conveyed by the military personnel who came to the pastor's orphanage to fetch the orphans: "... Djemal Pasha will run [it] as a school, not an orphanage and educate and prepare decent people for the homeland."⁴⁵

42 *Memoirs of Halidé Edib*, 428-429.

43 Antonian, *The Great Crime*, 178-179.

44 Svazlian, *The Armenian Genocide*, 426.

45 Banian, *Memoirs*, 127.

This quite neatly fits in with the idea of a new Pan-Turkic country, Halidé Edip's New Turan [Yeni Turan], a new homeland [Yeni Yurdu], a new nation, the new man [Adnan Adivar played quite an active role in the *Yeni Adam* [New Man] magazine of this genre published in Republican Turkey] and the close links with the new culture, the realisation of which was one of the ideological aims of the Young Turks and related circles.⁴⁶

It is a well-known fact that during WWI the warring parties, including Germany and Austria-Hungary, carried out medical experiments, as did Ottoman medical establishments and various international relief organizations operating within the Ottoman Empire. In this regard, Harutyun Alboyajyan conveyed the following:

The next day all the orphan boys were given a piece of bread, and we again hit the road. We reached the station shortly after. There was this most sumptuously dressed officer at the station, whose name was Adnan Bey... Adnan Bey said that we should now go to an orphanage, where we would be very well taken care of; we would have whistles at the end of our spoons to express our wishes. Adnan Bey was a doctor, the husband of one of the progressive Turkish women, Halidé Khanum. Apparently, he was telling very good things about the orphanage, so that we would not put our minds to running away, but we had no place to escape.⁴⁷

A whistle has always been an interesting children's' toy: it is convincing that, in this episode doctor Adnan Adivar has been using a psychological mechanism for the children to go with him or them, as it was very important for the children to follow them for some reason. At the same time, we cannot forget that, for example in Nazi Germany, doctor Josef Mengele⁴⁸ used to bribe children with sweets then subject them to medical experiments. What attracts attention at this point is Adnan Adivar's profession, his presence and role, combining all this with another fact: the presence of the second Antoura director, Lutfi Bey who succeeded Naid or Nahid Bey⁴⁹. The second director referred to in the orphanage's inmates' memoirs, Lutfi Bey was, according to them, also a physician. Our research was then

46 For this ideology of "new," as well as about Halidé Edip's participation see, for instance, Umit Kurt, Dogan Gurpinar, "The Young Turk Historical Imagination in the Pursuit of Mythical Turkishness and its Lost Grandeur (1911–1914)," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 43, no.4 (2016): 564-565, 568-569, 573.

47 Alboyajyan, *Through the Roads of Crucifixion*, 36-37.

48 *Josef Mengele* (1911-1979), an SS officer and physician in Nazi Germany, known by the nickname of "the Angel of Death." He is best known for performing medical experiments on people at the Auschwitz concentration camp, often resulting in death. Josef Mengele was also part of the medical staff selecting the victims to be killed in the gas chambers. Mengele had a doctorate in anthropology and medical science, possessed in-depth knowledge of then-current genetic/racial theories and conducted tests and experiments in person. He lived in disguise in various countries after the war and was buried under a pseudonym. See, for instance, Gerald L. Posner, John Ware, *Mengele: The Complete Story* (New York: Cooper Square Press, 2000).

49 *Naid or Nahid Bey*, a military man, was referred to only in Harutyun Alboyajyan and Melgon Petrosean memoirs. According to Alboyadjian he was a military officer from Marash who, after some time, was transferred to Palestine (Alboyajyan, *Through the Roads of Crucifixion*, 43), while Petrosean only mentioned the name (*The Memoirs of Melgon Petrosean*, 12). A Young Turk activist was found with this name who was a European-educated military man named Mehmet Nahid Kerven, but he wasn't from Marash. See "Mehmet Nahid Kerven," at <https://www.bu.edu/ckls/home/mehmet-nahid-kerven/>, accessed 02.06.2021. The identification of the first director of Antoura might well prove helpful in answering many Antoura-related questions.

centred on one individual, Dr. Lütfi Kırdar⁵⁰ who, it is believed, was the abovementioned Dr. Lütfi. This person later held high level government positions in Republican Turkey, becoming Health and Social Security Minister, as well as being the mayor and governor of Istanbul.

It is believed that it was not merely by chance that physicians were present before the transfer of the children and before they met Adnan Adıvar, about which the same Harutyun Alboyajyan said that when their caravan of deportees stopped at a *caravanserai* in the city of Homs, which was already full of deportees, a doctor appeared:

...we were approached by a well-dressed Arab or Turkish official. Before approaching, he was looking around carefully. He spoke Turkish very well. He approached me and asked whether I would want to be his son, but I resented bitterly and said that I would not leave my mother. He took out a purse of gold from his bosom and showed it to my mother. There were other boys next to us, who wanted to go with him, but he absolutely wanted to take me. He said that he was a doctor and would give me a good education if my mother and I agreed to his offer. So, every day he was coming for me and urging me to agree to go with him. Seeing that he could not persuade me, he started to threaten us that he would take me with the help of the police. I found a way out; the moment I saw him coming from a distance, I hid so that he would not see me...⁵¹

The doctor's interests might not have been limited to just one child. His field of operations was definitely wider and, from the same passage, it may clearly be seen that he was cooperating with the chief of police. He probably had permission for his activities from state bodies too. It is impossible not to pay attention to the presence of physicians in various episodes recounted in the Antoura orphans' memoirs.

Passages concerning eugenics may be seen in the memoirs of the Armenian inmates of Antoura:

Far from being for philanthropic reasons, Djemal Pasha's decision of placing the Armenian orphans in "caring hands" was a brutal and mean trap, *a shameless attempt* to Turkify the orphans and thus *ennoble the Turkish blood*. The Turks are well familiar with the Armenians. Having fed on the Armenian bread, Armenian labour for centuries, today also, in these hapless days of the Armenians, he has been putting into operation the devilish plan of assimilating the Armenian children.⁵²

50 *Lütfi Kırdar* (1887-1961), Turkish physician, public and political figure, Health and Social Security Minister (1957-1960) and mayor of Istanbul in Republican Turkey. He was born in Kirkuk (now in Iraq). He studied intermittently in the department of medicine of Istanbul University from 1908 and graduated in 1917. After the Great War, he joined the Turkish Red Crescent organisation and participated in the Kemalist movement as the head of the military medical service. Upon the proclamation of the Republic in 1923, he left for Vienna and Munich, retraining as an ophthalmologist. Returning a year later, he assumed various government positions before dying of a stroke in 1961 while defending himself against accusations before a military tribunal ("Lütfi Kırdar," at <https://www.beyaztarih.com/ansiklopedi/lutfi-kirdar>, accessed 02.06.2021, also, "Lütfi Kırdar," at <https://www.biyografi.net/kisiyrinti.asp?kisiid=1415>, accessed 02.06.2021).

51 Alboyajyan, *Through the Roads of Crucifixion*, 26.

52 Banian, *Memoirs*, 126.

or:

Halidé Edip would look at the boys and rejoice in her heart, as in several years these boys would be Turkified and ennobling the Turkish blood.⁵³

The same was reported by Harutyun Alboyajian in his testimony given to Verjiné Svazlian and quoted in the previous section; however the focus of this section is on another matter, therefore the part of the passage presented in italics is also different, in line with this section's subject:

Djemał pasha had ordered that we should be given proper care and attention, since he *appreciated the Armenians' brains and graces and hoped that, in case of victory, thousands of Turkified Armenian children would, in the coming years, ennoble his nation* and we would become his future support. Towards that aim Djemał pasha had teachers brought from Constantinople; he had brought physicians, because most of the orphans fell ill with scurvy and died.⁵⁴

At the same time the medical and sanitary situation in Antoura gave rise to many questions:

The number of children getting sick was increasing among the orphans, the completely vacant hospital during the first days was starting to feel cramped and nobody knew how professional was the physician at the orphanage, he would examine the patients coming to him, give them medications, and yet instead of getting better, they would shut their eyes not to open them again. Eight to ten of them have already died in a few weeks.⁵⁵

Consequently, the propensity of the Young Turk Pan-Turkic ideologists and elite for relevant medical, biological, anthropological, genetic and racial theories, as well as for medical services used and perhaps, also, the likelihood of experiments being carried out at the Antoura orphanage. To this aim can serve, for example, examination of bone remnants of the buried orphans of Antoura orphanage. This must be studied in the usual way to perhaps reveal many new aspects and phenomena of the Young Turks' overall genocidal ideas and to complete existing ones.

53 Ibid., 168.

54 Svazlian, *The Armenian Genocide*, 426.

55 Banian, *Memoirs*, 146.

The Veil of Secrecy and Hoax: Halidé Edip's Memoirs Versus Those of the Armenian Orphans

Halidé Edip may rightly be considered as one of the first revisionists of the Armenian Genocide; in fact her model may be classified within that of the denialism of the Armenian Genocide, typical of the modern period, in which the actual reality of the massacres is not being rejected time and again, but interpreted as a mutually administered, equal massacre, a conflict in the war⁵⁶ and never as a state, planned genocidal policy. *"They were Turks, Kurds and Armenians. Each child had a drama and each had its parents massacred by the parents of the other children, and now we're all stricken with the same misery and disaster. Each child had a Turkish or Moslem name."*⁵⁷

The following "confession," made by Edip, is noteworthy in the context of being concerned about Antoura and the orphans' living conditions: *"The two months from September to November, 1916, were to me the most painful during the war. I was in utter despair; the great calamity and hopeless misery which overwhelmed my country seemed to be everlasting. The war seemed endless and human suffering unlimited. I was unable to write a line, and if there had been a monastic life for women in Islam I should have entered it without hesitation."*⁵⁸

Garnik Banean contradicted this account of Halidé Edip, saying:

I saw Halidé Edip Adivar, the woman who had stayed behind after Jemal Pasha's visit. She would often lean against the sundial and watch us play. She seemed care-free. Sometimes she journeyed to Beirut and returned a few days later with stacks of books under her arms. Some said that she was writing a book about the orphans; others claimed that at night, she sucked the blood out of the necks of the older boys. We didn't know what to believe.⁵⁹

Even if this is about various periods of Halidé Edip's life, such contradictions should be brought together to reveal their links and address them in the context of her image, role and relation to the orphans of the Armenian Genocide.

Halidé Edip never referred to her husband's involvement in persuading the children to move to Antoura as already noted above; however, she mentioned his name twice in the section about Antoura: once relative to her decision to marry him and the marriage itself (which took place on 23 April 1917 in Brusa),⁶⁰ and for the second time, about his arrival to Syria in June 1917 *"Dr. Adnan, who was inspecting the hygienic conditions of the Turkish armies, came to Syria in June, and we traveled home together."*⁶¹

As seen from Halidé Edip's memoirs, she stayed in Antoura until the last moment; par-

56 Edib, *Turkey Faces West*, 142-144, 165-166, 174.

57 *Memoirs of Halidé Edib*, 428.

58 *Ibid.*, 431.

59 Panian, *Goodbye, Antoura*, 94-95.

60 *Memoirs of Halidé Edib*, 450.

61 *Ibid.*, 452.

ticularly illustrative is the following passage where she explicitly indicated that the incident occurred during one of her last visits:

In connection with another Kurdish child I have another dramatic but happy picture fixed in my mind. *It happened in one of my last visits to Antoura. After the announcement that the parents able to prove their identity could take their children away*, some Armenian women had appeared. But as there are very few Turks and Kurds in Beirut and Lebanon, none of these nationals had turned up to claim their children.⁶²

Such an order to return the children might have been - and was - issued at the end of the War, (at the end of 1918), as Patriarch Zaven recalled, when the Turks lost their positions in the Middle East and were defeated.⁶³ Therefore, returning children could seem to be an extremely humanitarian act, whereas it had been imposed on the Ottoman authorities and the military. As she stayed at the orphanage till the end and at was at least privy to the events that took place there, it is very suspicious that she hid many details or used manipulative stories to present them as a normal state of affairs.

The reasonable doubts raised about the veracity of Halidé Edip's memoirs reaches its culmination with the description of the closing events of Antoura as a Turkish orphanage. She presented everything as if it was the result of her exhortations: she particularly presented the arrival of the Red Cross workers and assuming the management of the orphanage as an expression of her humanitarian attitude: *"I requested Dr. Bliss and Mr. Dodge to come and see me and begged them to take Antoura under the auspices of the Red Cross as soon as the clashes broke out in Beirut. For four months, the children were provided for thanks to Major Kemal, and the director had to stay with some of the staff members until the last minute."*⁶⁴

This notion prompts some questions, if not enigmas and one of these was the following: the memoirs of the orphans read that the Turks left abruptly with only the orphanage's pharmacist staying behind, whose name was given by both Melgon Petrosean⁶⁵ and Harutyun Alboyajian, as being the military doctor Riza Bey, who had been ordered to poison the children before leaving:

... Unexpectedly, the pharmacist of the orphanage, Riza Bey (a military doctor with the rank of colonel) entered the dining room. Walking along the room, he approached Enver, the chavush of the highest grade and said: "Enver chavush, son!" Enver chavush stood up. Riza Bey asked: "Enver, son, what is your Armenian name, do you remember it?" "Yes, I do, Toros." Thus, repeating the same thing with everyone, he approached and asked me the same question; I told him that my name was Harutyun.

62 Ibid., 467.

63 Archbishop Zaven. *Պատրիարքական յուշերու փանդագիրներ եւ վկայութիւններ* [My Patriarchal Memoirs: Documents and Testimonies] (Cairo: Nor Astgh, 1947), 254.

64 *Memoirs of Halidé Edib*, 469.

65 *The Memoirs of Melgon Petrosean*, 12.

Then he asked the chavushes and orphans to take their seats. He said that no one from the management of the orphanage was there, no soldiers either. He himself might not have been there as well, but in that case, the orphans would not have been there too. *Later we learned that while running away the Turks had ordered the pharmacist Riza Bey to poison the orphans during their last supper and then leave. But Riza Bey refused to agree to such a crime.*⁶⁶

Edip did not present the Antoura closure in a complete way; it is true that the Red Cross mission arrived when the Turks left, but many questions were left unanswered or were omitted.

It is not thought that Halidé Edip might simply have been unaware of all this and that inhuman orders and atrocities had been issued and carried out only by the military leadership headed by Djemal Pasha, because at the time of publication of the memoirs in 1926 Edip at least should have been aware of what had happened about seven or eight years earlier. In addition, the last quotation from her book, which was cited above, was immediately followed by the following continuation, indicating that she had been very well informed of the details of further developments: *“I also begged them to pass the Armenian children to the Armenians through the Red Cross, and the Moslem children to the Red Crescent in Constantinople, if the necessary moment came. They promised, and they kept their promise. They sent up Mr. Crawford in the name of the Red Cross when the Allied armies entered. This was my last service to Antoura.”*⁶⁷

She finished her memoirs with a tale about Antoura, indicating that they stayed in Syria until 4 March 1919.⁶⁸ Did this abovementioned notion - “... [to hand over - Sh.Kh.] *the Moslem children to the Red Crescent in Constantinople*” - not serve to gloss over the fact that several dozen children were moved to Constantinople and kept in a secret place as reported by the orphans, among whom were some who were Armenians, of which one escaped, as mentioned above? Moreover, why did Halidé Edip, who recommended herself as a philanthropic and impartial intellectual, conceal those facts, if she honestly did not have anything to do with them? Perhaps she had feared for her own life; after all, she would have been relating things that would have given rise to multiple moral issues and, if she had divulged everything, might have lost her her position and authority. Finally, it could have ended with her disclosing military secrets. Selim Deringil quoted a passage from Halidé Edip to Ismail Hakki Bey, the *mutasarrif* of Lebanon, which is another piece of evidence of Halidé Edip’s complicity. It said:

In the eventuality of the situation [of the war] going against us, *it would be a political and humanitarian error to abandon such a large group, whose parents were killed by*

⁶⁶ Alboyajyan, *Through the Roads of Crucifixion*, 50, see also, Svazlian, *The Armenian Genocide*, 429: “He [the pharmacist Fevzi of the Antoura orphanage-Sh.Kh.] did not continue, but later we learned that they had asked the pharmacist to poison our last supper, but he had refused to obey their order. And really, soon they came with Arab Sheriff, put handcuffs on his hands and took him away. We all were sad and silent. When they were taking him out.”

⁶⁷ *Memoirs of Halidé Edib*, 469.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 471.

Turks, [ebeveyni Türkler tarafından öldürülmüş] to the foreigners. To abandon the orphanage would be an error enabling them to use it as political and humanitarian evidence against us. For this reason, I am in favor, for now, of immediately transferring Antoura to Istanbul [...]. The children can be moved to Istanbul in relative safety only if you provide transport for the staff. If Antoura is indeed to be abandoned I request that you leave Mount Lebanon.⁶⁹

With all this in mind Halidé Edip could confidently be called an accomplice, as she could have concealed, but avoided, the urge to present all this under a manipulatively positive light, which was something she didn't do in her memoirs or decades later. She never edited her own work in any way, even though she was active in politics and society until her death in January 1964. Therefore, her memoirs are - and at the same time cannot be - a source concerning the Antoura orphanage, state Islamisation and the Turkification policy as they raise a host of questions and issues and contradict the orphans' memoirs.

The methods of persuasion chosen by the teacher of religion or hoja to coerce the orphans, which might have been of service in previous times, are also interesting. Moreover, the words used were diametrically opposed to what Halidé Edip was trying to communicate to us through Djemal Pasha's words. There is no doubt about Islamisation being on firm foundations, nor was there any doubt about the desire to create Turks from Armenian children and speaking Armenian had been forbidden too. But Halidé Edip's diplomatic efforts to conceal those facts are of interest too.

Thus, Melgon Petrosean, compared to Garnik Banean for instance, had some knowledge of Turkish and remembered some of the phrases used to convert Armenian children by the teachers at the Antoura orphanage: *“My dear children, in olden times you have been children of Turks, the infidels converted your mothers into “gavurs” forcibly, you should go back to your mother religion. Your religion is old and outdated like the fire worship. Your prophet Jesus is also worn out and like a worn-out shirt we throw it away and put on another.”*⁷⁰

Ziya Gökalp⁷¹ was, in the later years of the Ottoman Empire, the father of the idea that Christianity was an old and outdated religion and that Islam was new and innovative, tending towards novelty and modernity and containing layers of thought that were in line with Western thinking. Halidé Edip followed that ideological line both virtually and in her writings, as was well known. In this sense, the Islamisation of Christians, unified with the approaches developed by the ideologists of pan-Turkism, was used for the first time and at least the ideological line is noticeable. This, then, is another point that adds doubt to Halidé Edip's direct quotation above, stating that she was against the idea of the Islamisation of

69 See No.68 reference of the article: Deringil, “Your Religion is Worn and Outdated.”

70 *The Memoirs of Melgon Petrosean*, 12-13. The expressions were in Turkish and we express our deep gratitude to AGMI researcher, Turkologist Dr. Elina Mirzoyan for converting the Turkish text in Armenian script into literary Turkish.

71 This was briefly touched on in our following article: Shushan Khachatryan, «Երիտուրքերի գաղափարախոսական ուղենիշները: Կրոնը՝ քաղաքականության, քաղաքականությունը կրոնի մեջ» [The Young Turks' Ideological Guidelines: Religion in Politics and Politics in Religion] *Ts'eghaspanagitakan handes* 4, no. 1 (2016): 125-126.

children, as Christian religious identity was regarded as an impediment to the establishment of pan-Turkism. In other words, future studies must allow for the following question: was the Islamisation carried out at Antoura orphanage by its staff headed by Halidé Edip done for the sake of religion, as carried out in the Ottoman Empire in previous centuries, or did it have political, civilizational, cultural and ideological foundations conspicuous in pan-Turkist writings and its ideological line? It is believed that the second was a link in the chain dependent on the first, as Islam was only one element of a synthesis - the primary link - but not the ultimate aim. There was an urge to create a new cultural environment, a new cultivated and cultured man within the substantial solidity of pan-Turkism. Armenian children were Turkified in this sense.

This phenomenon, fitting into the concept of pan-Turkism, has been studied many times on various occasions by different specialists, but needs further, extensive coverage and detailed elaboration in the context of the Antoura orphanage and the subtext of the Turkification of Armenian children, which has been outlined in this article and is its subject. It is necessary, at the same time, to draw parallels with the phenomenon of the Sunnification⁷² of non-Muslim and non-Sunni groups carried out in previous centuries under the vertical subordination of the leadership of the Ottoman Empire and recently conceptualised with the much-cherished agenda of religious and ideological homogenization of the Ottoman Empire. This is the context in which studies should be made as to which generalities exist and what differences there are and whether the above phenomenon was the precursor of pan-Turkism and if the genocidal mentality cultivated against Armenian Christians also has its roots in this pan-Sunnitisation phenomenon.

Conclusion

The aim of this question-posing research is to open up the field for various sub-studies, where the future work of various specialists able to take advantage of an important area of the philosophy of Islamisation and Turkification of Armenian children at the Antoura orphanage and generally during the Armenian Genocide may be seen. The foregoing indeed only contributes to the number of questions and problems requiring clarification, but this is the true purpose of this article.

The name for what Halidé Edip did at the Antoura orphanage is *genocide*. Research carried out concludes that Halidé Edip's character should first and foremost be the subject of a psychological study. A female leader having influence not only on political leaders, but also on the masses, who was one of the future-builders of Turkey was an unprecedented event in Ottoman history. She was rushing, with her right foot to the West and her left to the East to Turkify orphaned and homeless Armenian children. She also had her right hand on the concept and implementing of the ideas of modernizing Turkey, while her left was conceiving and realising the ideas of the erasure of the identity of Armenian children.

She would put on a smiling face when associating with the elite of Western cultural life,

⁷² For this phenomenon see Derin Terzioğlu, "How to Conceptualize Ottoman Sunnitization: A Historiographical Discussion," *Turcica* 44 (2012-2013): 301-338.

while scowling at influential ladies and gentlemen and playing a painful role in the life of the world-famous genius Komitas Vardapet, even denying that he was an Armenian. What did she hate so much in Armenians? What was the reason for her obviously metaphysical hatred? If a professional interdisciplinary group could be tasked with answering these questions, there would be a new set of phenomenological explanations as to why the Armenian Genocide was planned. Historical examination of this woman's character may lead to errors being committed but that is up to the court of psychologists, scholars of religious and cultural studies, anthropologists and others.

At the same time, without repeating what kind of research problems have occurred, it is relevant to highlight that each person, place-name, profession and every action relating to Antoura must be made the subject of examination and thorough collation. The Antoura orphanage may be called a touchstone not only the issues of forcible Turkification of Armenian children, but also generally of the revelation of many aspects of the Armenian Genocide. The mere existence of this orphanage with its methodology, staff and ideology combines, within itself, the implementation of Pan-Turkism, assimilation, as well as the new methods and scientific theories of nation-building that were employed by Young Turk officials and theorist-adherents. The names of Antoura inmates, their stories and the staff of the orphanage should also provide subjects for study, particularly focusing on the collection of the memoirs or testimonies of inmates still unknown to us and the biographical and ideological details of the Turkish staff. To keep things in order, an appendix containing relevant tables is attached to this article.

It should be noted that the issue of the existence of the Antoura orphanage is broader and fits into the framework of contemporary scientific and anti-scientific theories as well as in ideologies and philosophical-political phenomena. In this sense the involvement of Halidé Edip's second husband Adnan Adıvar in the establishment of the Antoura orphanage that has been concealed so far will be the subject of our next study when a sufficient number of relevant sources have been identified.

Appendix

Table 1. Antoura Orphanage Staff

Position	Name [+Profession]					N
General Inspector	Halidé Edip					1
Directors	Naid/Nahid Bey [military]	Lutfi Bey [Physician]	Reshad Bey	Abraham Bey Romashvili		4
Overseers-Controllers	Favzi/Fevzi Bey [military, Internal Affairs Mudir]	Mukhtar Bey				≈2 ⁷³
Teachers	Nejmeddine [Hodja/mullah, teacher of religion]	Nabihe Hanim [Turkish teacher]	X [Rules of etiquette and Medicine teacher]	Aishe [A teacher who praises the fruits of Turkey and teaches geography]	X [Arab music teacher]	≈5
Pharmacist / Physician	Riza Bey [doctor with military rank]	X ⁷⁴	X			≈1
Office Staff	X Arabs					X
Accountant	Muhasabaji Bey					≈1
Storekeeper	Shukri					≈1
Responsible for the Canteen and Cleanliness	Emine Hanim					≈1

73 The approximately symbol ≈ was used as it is not clear whether there have been others or not, or because the orphans mentioned others in their memoirs but their number is still unknown to us.

74 The X indicates that there was a reference in the text also to other people occupying the given position, but no name or exact number has been indicated.

Carpenter	Josef (Arab)					≈1
Guard						≈30
Total						≈47

Table 2. The Antoura Orphanage Curriculum

N	Subject
1	Marching drill
2	Religion and history of religion
3	Turkish
4	Writing exercise
5	Music
6	Etiquette
7	Medicine
8	Arithmetic
9	Natural science or “Talks about wildlife, domestic plants and animals in Turkey” ⁷⁵
10	Geography

Table 3. Armenian Children in the Antoura Orphanage According to the Memoirs Written by G. Banean, H. Alboyajyan and M. Petrosean

N	Baptismal Name Surname /Other Notes	Orphanage Number	New Turkish Name	Birth- place, Or- igin	Other Avail- able Data
1	Melgon Petrosean (1905-1990) ⁷⁶	8	Nezhip [=Nejip/ Nejep]	Sarılar, Amanos	

⁷⁵ Banean, *Memoirs*, 135:

⁷⁶ Fabrice Grognet, “Les mémoires d’un père en héritage,” *Hommes & migrations* 1281 (2009): 174-179, at <http://journals.openedition.org/hommesmigrations/404>, accessed 09.09.2021.

N	Baptismal Name Surname /Other Notes	Orphanage Number	New Turkish Name	Birth- place, Or- igin	Other Avail- able Data
2	Harutyun Alboyajyan (1904-1994)	534/535 ⁷⁷	a. Saleh, b. Shukru	Finticak	
3	Garnik Banean (1910- 1989)	551	Ahmed	Kyurin	
4	Toros Karapetyan or Big Toros ⁷⁸		Enver chavush / küçük Enver	Kyurin	According to M. Bedrosian he only one circumcised willingly and the 10th grade chavush
5	Vardan		Djemal chavush /küçük Djemal	Kyurin	Chavush of M. Bedrosian's class
6	Hrand?		Talaat chavush / küçük Talaat		
7			küçük Hasan		
8	Hovsep		Mahmud cha- vush		Trumpeter
9			Izzet chavush		

⁷⁷ In Harutyun Alboyajyan's memoirs, 534 (Alboyajyan, *Through the Roads of Crucifixion*, 40), and in Verjiné Svazlian's miscellanea, 535 (Svazlian, *The Armenian Genocide*, 439).

⁷⁸ *Küçük Enver* or *Enver chavush*, real name Toros Karapetyan, was referred to in the memoirs of all the three orphans. The most detailed account of him was given by Harutyun Alboyajyan, as they stayed in touch with each other even after the Antoura orphanage was closed and later the orphans were repatriated and settled in Soviet Armenia. Toros Karapetyan apparently was one of the most important figures in the Antoura orphanage. A small personal investigation revealed the names of his grandchildren and great grandchildren, and it is hoped that it will be possible, in the near future to contact them to find more details about his persona and stay at the Antoura orphanage, thus make new discoveries about it.

N	Baptismal Name Surname /Other Notes	Orphanage Number	New Turkish Name	Birth- place, Or- igin	Other Avail- able Data
10			Shekir chavush		Chavush of H. Alboyajyan's class
11	Nshan		Midhat	Sis	
12	Manuel				Leader boy cursing the Turkish flag, related to G. Banean
13	Mkrtich				Leader boy cursing the Turkish flag
14	Gevorg		Muhamed	Sis	
15			Yusuf	Adana	
16	Serob				
17	Murad [?]		Murad [?]		
18	Grigor				Orphanage storekeeper, Karnig Banean's cousin
19	Mihran				One of the leaders of K. Banean's secret group
20	Galust			Sebastia	Brother of the next two
21	Poghos			Sebastia	

N	Baptismal Name Surname /Other Notes	Orphanage Number	New Turkish Name	Birth- place, Or- igin	Other Avail- able Data
22	Hovhannes			Sebastia	
23	Vagharshak			Erzurum	
24			Sarı	Marash	The only completely Islam-ized
25			Aysha		M. Bedrosian's sister
26			Lutfia		M. Bedrosian's sister
27	Abraham		Ibrahim		Blind from forced looking at the sun.
28	Toros Tadevosian/ Zhamkochyan or Little Toros		Ahmed ⁷⁹		
29	Arshak	549	Ahmed ⁸⁰		
30	Hovhannes Karapoghosian ⁸¹				
31-32	Tadevos and Sedrak Khashkhashians				

79 An orphan by the name of Ahmed was referred to in both Garnik Banean's and Harutyun Alboyajyan's memoirs; the latter mentions his Armenian name, while Garnik Banean twice referred to an orphan by the same name with his number mentioned as 549 in one place and his Armenian name in another. Not being sure about the particulars of the number given by Banean or whether the reference was made to the same person or not, it was preferred to footnote it.

80 See the previous footnote.

81 There is Hovhannes Karapoghosian's brief unpublished memoir mentioning about the Antoura orphanage: *Through the Valley of the Shadow of Death: Autobiography by John Jacob Karaboghosian*, 36 pp. AGMI collections, s-40, no. 1316:

N	Baptismal Name Surname /Other Notes	Orphanage Number	New Turkish Name	Birth- place, Or- igin	Other Avail- able Data
33	Minas				Nicknamed “kyalaji”
34			Mustafa		
35	Hrach				
36	Tovmas				H. Alboyajyan’s friend
37	Karapet				H. Alboyajyan’s brother
38	Taguhi Gyurjian				H. Alboyajyan’s friend
39			Emmi oghli		
40			Izyat	Adana	After Antoura orphanage he was studying at the Maritime College
41	Verjiné Gyulumian				
42	Vertahim Svazlian				
43	Hovsep				M. Bedrosian’s relative
44	Panos				M. Bedrosian’s relative
45			Mehmet	Ainteb	One of those who were locked in near Constantino- ple, who had escaped from there

N	Baptismal Name Surname /Other Notes	Orphanage Number	New Turkish Name	Birth- place, Or- igin	Other Avail- able Data
46-48	Three boys from the same village as Melgon Bedrosean with who the latter fled from Antoura orphanage				
49	Garnik Banean characterized him as a spirited boy making anti-Turkish speeches				
50-51	Harutyun Alboyajyan’s two cousins who died early				
52-54	Three Armenian boys helping intendant and physician Riza Bey, one of whom was called Arif [Hovhannes Karapoghosian’s name was Arif]				
55	A boy from Adana who was beaten for trying to escape, he limped afterwards				
56	A boy who developed mental problems because of forcible conversion and died				
57	An 8-year-old kid subjected to beating for wearing a cross				
[+50]	In the spring of 1918, some 50 boys and several teachers were moved to Istanbul and kept in confinement under strict control in one of the districts there. Here is where Mehmet from Aintab escaped from				

Table 4. The route taken by Garnik Banean and other children in his group to Antoura, starting from conscription to transportation

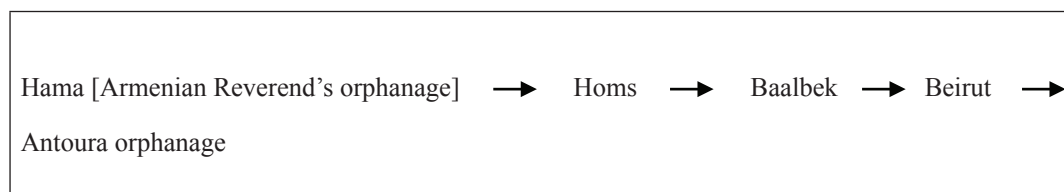


Table 5. The route taken by Harutyun Alboyajyan and other children in his group to Antoura, starting from conscription to transportation

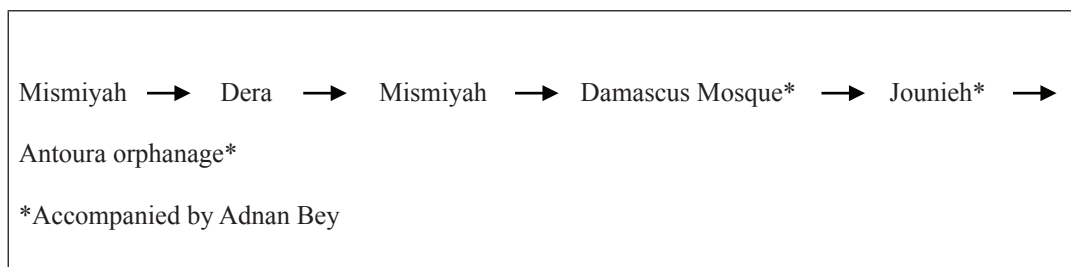
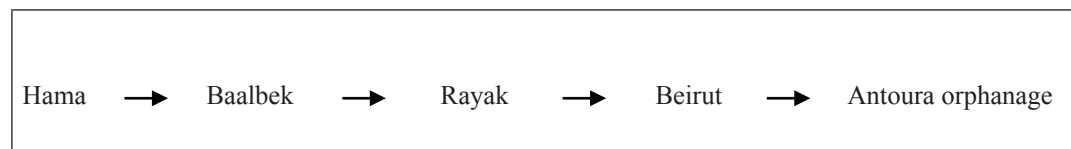


Table 6. The route taken by Melgon Petrosean and other children in his group to Antoura, starting from conscription to transportation



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“ON THE HIGH SEAS WITH NO PLACE TO LAND”: THE SMYRNAEAN INFERNO AND HUMANITARIAN AID TO ARMENIAN AND GREEK REFUGEES FROM TURKEY (1922-1923)

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In September 1922, the great fire of Smyrna drove more than 200,000 Armenian and Greek refugees to the wharves of that port city. They had fled to Smyrna to escape the massacres perpetrated by Turkish nationalist troops and now urgently needed humanitarian aid to relocate them to safety in Greece. In this article we examine the actions and the roles of humanitarian workers of the Near East Relief (NER) and the American Women’s Hospitals (AMH) working in Greece among these refugees deported from Smyrna. We highlight the central role of women doctors and nurses in their humanitarian efforts to save this population. Their actions, and the gratitude of their peers and government authorities, solidified their professional status in the context of profound changes to transnational humanitarianism after 1919.

Keywords: Humanitarian aid, Near East Relief, American Women’s Hospitals, Smyrna’s catastrophe, Armenian refugees, Greek refugees

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Introduction

As the Great Powers of France, Great Britain, Italy and the United States occupied the vanquished Ottoman Empire following WWI, some 13,000 Greek soldiers disembarked in Smyrna, fully sanctioned by Great Britain and France. These two allies believed that a Greek military presence in the cosmopolitan city would prevent the further massacres of Christians.¹ What is more, British Prime Minister David Lloyd George appeared to support the creation of an eastern Greek Empire to defend British interests in the region.² The Greek army occupied Smyrna from mid-May 1919 and sought to subdue the Anatolian territory. The Greek government, led by Prime Minister Eleftherios Venizelos, dreamed of reoccupying former Greek lands in Asia Minor and thus unify all Greeks in one Nation-State (*Megali Idea*).³

Faced with the occupation of the Ottoman Empire and the decision of Sultan Mehmed VI to cooperate with the allied forces, the officer Mustapha Kemal (later, Atatürk) rallied the nationalist forces and declared war on both the Sultan and the occupying armies.⁴ Even as early as the autumn of 1921, Greek soldiers were threatened by Kemal's men.⁵ The following year, in August 1922, the Greek army suffered a catastrophic loss at the hands of Turkish nationalist troops. Disoriented, the Greeks beat a hasty retreat; according to eyewitnesses, the fleeing soldiers followed a scorched earth policy as they withdrew, burning villages and killing Turkish civilians.⁶ The retreating Greek troops were joined by nearly 150,000 panicked refugees fleeing retaliation by Turkish forces.⁷ On September 8, 1922, Greek authorities in Smyrna left the port city; the following day, Turkish troops arrived, reinforced by irregular armed groups. Christian districts of the city were soon pillaged and their citizens massacred. On September 13, fire broke out in the Armenian district and quickly spread to

1 Michelle Tusan, *Smyrna's Ashes: Humanitarianism, Genocide, and the Birth of the Middle East* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 154.

2 Great Britain needed a solid ally in the Middle East. Greece seemed well positioned to fill this role. Eleftheria Dalizou, *Britain and the Greek-Turkish War and Settlement of 1919-1923: The Pursuit of Security by "Proxy" in Western Asia Minor*, PhD Thesis in History (Glasgow: University of Glasgow, 2002), 72.

3 Erik Goldstein, "Greater Britain and Greater Greece," *History Journal* 32 (1989): 345-346. Ioannis-Dionysios Salavrakos, "The Economic Forces of Victory versus those of Defeat: An Analysis of the Greek Economic and Military Mobilization of the 1903-1923 Period," *Journal of Military and Strategic Studies* 18, no. 1 (2017): 2-14.

4 Leyla Neyzi, "Remembering Smyrna/Izmir: Shared History, Shared Trauma," *History & Memory* 20, no. 2 (2008): 107.

5 Hervé Georgelin, "Un cosmopolitisme à détruire," in *La fin de Smyrne: Du cosmopolitisme aux nationalismes* [online] (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2005), at <http://books.openedition.org/editions-cnrs/2528>, accessed 02.02.2021.

6 At the time, a delegate from the International Committee of the Red Cross prepared a report detailing his investigation of the events: Maurice Gehri, "Mission d'enquête en Anatolie (12-22 mai 1921)," *Revue internationale de la Croix-Rouge* 31 (1921): 721-735. The historian Arnold J. Toynbee was present in Anatolia during the Greco-Turkish War and denounced the crimes committed by both sides as the Greek army withdrew, in his book entitled: *The Western Question in Greece and Turkey* (London: Constable and Company Ltd., 1922), 259-319. It remains a controversial topic to this day. Peter K. Jensen, "The Greco-Turkish War, 1920-1922," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 10, no. 4 (1979): 563; Norman Naimark, *Fires of Hatred: Ethnic Cleansing in Twentieth Century Europe* (Cambridge, London: Harvard University Press, 2001); 45-46. Jeremy Salt, *The Unmaking of the Middle East* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2008), 77-78.

7 Harry J. Psomiades, "The American Near East Relief (NER) and the Megali Catastrophe in 1922," *Journal of Modern Hellenism* 19 (2001): 135.

other Christian quarters. The Armenian doctor Garabed Hatcherian described the blaze that destroyed his home and a large part of the port city:

Gradually, the flames approach our house. The crackle of burning materials and the transformation of explosives into flaming clouds produces an infernal sight the likes of which I have never seen before. [...] During the battles in the Dardanelles and in Romania, I have witnessed the burning of so many cities and villages, but none of those fires has made such a strong impression on me. This fire in Smyrna is indescribable and unimaginable.⁸

Like Dr. Hatcherian, other witnesses of the fires – victims, but also consuls and American and British schoolteachers and missionaries – believed the blaze to be the work of Turkish troops.⁹ The Smyrnaean devastation forced its residents to escape to the piers on the waterfront, where they met Greek and Armenian refugees fleeing from the interior of the country, waiting for rescue at the harbour.¹⁰

At that time, the city of Smyrna (today known as Izmir) was a port city where Greeks, Armenians, Jews, Levantines and Turks lived peacefully alongside each other. An Armenian population was recorded in Smyrna as far back as the 13th century.¹¹ In the mid-1800s, the Greek population in Smyrna, predominately Orthodox Christian, surpassed that of the Muslims, who thereafter renamed the city Smyrna, the Unfaithful. The city prospered from the 19th century onwards, thanks in large part to the economic power of the local Christian population. The fires that devastated the city would destroy the second largest city after Constantinople and one of the Ottoman Empire's most cosmopolitan centres.¹²

Witnesses and western bystanders watched the final chapter of the Greco-Turkish war and the last act of the Turkish solution to the problem of the Ottoman Empire's Christian minorities on the Smyrnaean piers in September 1922. The immense humanitarian crisis took place before the eyes of powerful foreigners there on the piers, where 21 French, British, Italian and American warships were anchored in the bay. Every ship declared its neutrality and their crews received orders from their respective governments to save only their own nationals.¹³

The Turkish authorities announced, on 24 September 1922, that refugees who were not evacuated within one week would be “deported to the interior.” As witness Dr. Esther Pohl Lovejoy,¹⁴ director of the American Women's Hospitals (AWH), recalled, all were aware

8 Garabed Hatcherian, *An Armenian doctor in Turkey: Garabed Hatcherian, My Smyrna Ordeal of 1922* (Montreal: Arod Books, 1997), 15.

9 Turkish history attributes the destruction to Greeks and Armenians. On this debate, see Georgelin, “Un cosmopolitisme à détruire”.

10 Psoyiades, “The American Near East Relief,” 136.

11 Marie-Carmen Smyrnelis, “Les Arméniens catholiques de Smyrne aux XVIIIe et XIXe siècles,” *Revue du monde arménien moderne et contemporain* 2 (1995-1996): 27.

12 Tusan, *Smyrna's Ashes*, 144.

13 For example, the evacuation of British citizens was undertaken on 4 September 1922. As many as 1,200 British subjects embarked that day, aided by British soldiers on the piers. Tusan, *Smyrna's Ashes*, 147.

14 For more on the life and work of Dr. Lovejoy, see Kimberley Jensen, *Oregon's Doctor to the World: Esther Pohl Lovejoy and a Life in Activism* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012), and Kimberley Jensen,

that this expression clearly meant a death sentence for the majority of those there.¹⁵ Shortly afterwards, the Kemalist authorities allowed Greek (Hellenic) boats and British and American sailors to assist the refugees and organize their evacuation with the support of humanitarian organizations in the area. Among these were the Near East Relief (NER), one of the largest American humanitarian organisations at the time, the American Red Cross (ARC), the Armenian Red Cross, the American Women's Hospitals (AWH) and the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA). The Disaster Relief Committee in Smyrna got all the American humanitarian organisations to coordinate the urgent aid effort.¹⁶

Our goal in this article is to examine the role of individual humanitarian aid stakeholders in the Smyrnaean refugee crisis in the context of the massive population migrations from Asia Minor to Greece. We are interested in the following questions: by what means and concrete actions did humanitarian organisations – particularly the NER and the AWH – help deliver this defenceless population? What challenges did these organisations face and overcome in the wake of the Smyrnaean catastrophe? Using reports and memoirs of witnesses in Smyrna and the archives of the American Women's Hospitals, we try to answer these questions here.

“Every Night there came those Blood-curdling Shrieks that Swept along that Terrible Quay.”¹⁷ On the Piers of Smyrna, a Major Humanitarian Crisis

More than 200,000 refugees huddled on those piers in Smyrna in September 1922 without food or water, in inconceivably squalid conditions: *“The scenes on the quay and the wharf are beyond the possibility of human imagination; they cannot really be described; they can only be expressed as they were expressed, in shrieks and groans and wild prayers and pleadings.”*¹⁸ The writer was Dr. Esther Pohl Lovejoy, one of the rare American women in Smyrna authorised by the Kemalist armed forces to tend to the refugees. Dr. Lovejoy assisted women in labour that would give birth on the piers. In a text penned later for a radio speech delivered in New York in early 1923, she wrote:

There were a large number of pregnant women in this quarter of a million people and their labors were precipitated by the horrible experiences through which they were passing. A British surgeon at the end of the wharf was taking care of a great many sick and injured people. He told me he knew nothing about maternity work and asked me if I wouldn't watch the crowd for the women in labor and help them. Day after day I

“Esther Clayson Pohl Lovejoy (1869-1967).” in *The Oregon Encyclopedia*, at

https://oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/lovejoy_esther_clayson_pohl_1967/, accessed 13.09.2020.

15 Dr. Lovejoy Talk 1922. AWH ACC 144 box 3, folder 25. Lovejoy Esther Pohl talk 1921-1928. American Women's Hospitals records. Drexel University, College of Medicine Legacy Center. Philadelphia, 1.

16 Antonis Klapsis, “American Initiatives for the Relief of Greek Refugees, 1922-1923,” *Genocide Studies and Prevention* 6, no. 1 (2011): 101.

17 Dr. Lovejoy Talk 1923. AWH ACC 144 box 3, folder 25. Lovejoy Esther Pohl talk 1921-1928. American Women's Hospitals records, 2.

18 Ibid 4.

went to the dock early in the morning and remained until the ship-loading ceased at night. Children were born on the quay, some on the wharf, but most of the women we got aboard ship before their babies came.¹⁹

Despite the presence of westerners, the refugees were the victims of violence by Kemalist armed forces: they were taken hostage and beaten; girls and young women were kidnapped. Their immediate evacuation was the only way to save them. Most of the evacuees – 177,000 in all, mainly women and children – embarked on boats between September 26 and 29.²⁰ The refugees' evacuation took place in conditions so utterly chaotic that Dr. Lovejoy, years later, as she wrote her memoirs, could not find the words to describe the crisis: "*The description of that frantic rush to reach the ships is beyond the possibility of language. Pain, anguish, fear, fright, despair and that dumb endurance beyond despair, cannot be expressed in words.*"²¹

The exiles were mostly women, children, and the elderly.²² Men aged 15 to 45 years were separated from their families and sent to the interior to forced labour battalions. The historian Harry J. Psomiades states that the life expectancy in these battalions was about two months.²³ The majority of the women and children thus found themselves without their men, the traditional breadwinners and family providers. To fully understand the violence suffered by the refugees, it is important to understand the role gender played in the perpetration of ethnic cleansing by Turkish authorities. According to Dr. Lovejoy, the separation of families and the deportation of the men had even more terrible consequences for the women and children left defenceless:

This enforced exodus of the Christian from Anatolia is one of the greatest movements in the history of mankind. It involves problems which challenge the possibilities of human imagination. The fact that the young men of this nation were separated from their women and detained in Asia Minor has more than a military and economic effect. Men were not born [to] live without women, nor women to live without men, and the absence of young men normally belonging to this group of migrating human beings naturally entails far-reaching social and biological problems.²⁴

This excerpt should be put into context: Lovejoy's depiction here of the relationship between men and women was commonplace for the times and not simply one individual's perspective. In other words, Lovejoy – who keenly felt the plight of the refugees and, in particular, that of the women and children in distress – was expressing a worldview shared by the vast majority of her contemporaries: that women were dependent on men to ensure their survival. That being said, violence against the refugee women and girls took place

19 Ibid 5.

20 Tusan, *Smyrna's Ashes*, 151.

21 Esther Pohl Lovejoy, *Certain Samaritans* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927), 153.

22 Klapsis, "American Initiatives," 99.

23 Psomiades, "The American Near East Relief," 142.

24 Dr. Lovejoy Talk 1923. AWH ACC 144 box 3, folder 25. Lovejoy Esther Pohl talk 1921-1928, 1.

throughout the deportation, to which Lovejoy was a witness during her time in Smyrna. According to her, two facts were clear to everyone: “*The Turks are determined to get rid of the Christian population in Turkish territory, and Greece is the only country within reach which will receive them.*”²⁵

To compound their miseries, even if the transport of hundreds of thousands of refugees by sea to continental Greece and her offshore islands happened quickly, it still took place under perilous conditions. The refugees, some of whom were already suffering serious health problems brought about by their long journey across Anatolia, were crammed onto ships, often without food or fresh water. Sanitary conditions were deplorable and the weakest among them fell prey to typhus and smallpox. Correspondence between Dr. Mabel Evelyn Elliott of the AWH, medical director in charge of the NER’s refugee health unit, and Dr. Lovejoy, highlighted the enormous challenges of the mass exodus and the transport of close to one million refugees in the space of a few weeks. In her letter dated January 16, 1923, Elliott described the situation in which the survivors found themselves, on board ships leaving Turkey:

To try and picture to you conditions on these boats is beyond human description. You have seen boats loads of refugees, doctor, no need to describe, if I could, the horror of human beings jammed onto these boats. But remember, these people, before embarking have travelled for days and weeks over the snow-covered mountains of Anatolia, they have traveled on these boats down the Black Sea, through the Bosphorous [sic], Marmora and Aegean Sea and now stand in the harbor. Not one of these boats but what have on board smallpox and typhus besides all the other diseases which develop [sic] from such hardships. In the harbor it is not permissible [sic] to throw the dead overboard, so there is nothing to do but burn the bodies in the ship’s furnaces. [...] Added to the rest of the stench which, you know, always accompanies the ships of horror, is now added the distressing odor of burning flesh.²⁶

Note that in 1923, the Greek population was approximately 5 million, added to by the nearly one million refugees arriving on their shores.²⁷ The Greek government and humanitarian organisations were overwhelmed. In a telegram dated 11 October 1922, Dr. Fridtjof Nansen, High Commissioner for Refugees of the League of Nations and envoy to Asia Minor, wrote about the critical situation of the refugees in Greece:

There are probably no fewer than 750,000 refugees, the greater part of whom are women and children, scattered over every part of Greece, Thrace and the Islands. The evacuation of the refugees from Asia Minor was carried out with admirable thoroughness and efficiency and undoubtedly saved innumerable lives, but their present

²⁵ Ibid 7.

²⁶ Letter from Dr. Mabel E. Elliott to Dr. Lovejoy. January 16, 1923. AWH ACC 144, box 10, folder 82 Mabel Elliott, 1922-1923, 1.

²⁷ Félix Sartiaux, “Le problème des réfugiés d’Asie Mineure et de Thrace en Grèce,” *Journal de la société statistique de Paris* 64 (1923): 30.

condition is deplorable. They are without money, clothes or shelter and frequently without food [...].²⁸

Their needs were overwhelming. There was a dire and urgent need for reception camps and socio-health care clinics, which were undertaken by the NER and the AWH with the support of the Greek authorities.

On Camps and on Islands: Humanitarian Aid to Greek and Armenian Refugees and Orphans

Faced with the influx of refugees, the Greek government set up makeshift camps around Athens and on numerous islands, wherever the refugees landed. Some were housed in buildings made available to them by the government, while others were temporarily placed in crude shelters. Still others, mainly Armenian women and children, built mud houses on lands allocated to them by the Greek government. Dr. Lovejoy expressed her admiration for the women's resilience and courage:

These heroic women are not conscious of their own heroism. They have accepted their burdens and instinctively dedicated themselves to the task of securing food and shelter for their children. The mother who has lived in the open with her little ones through fair and foul weather knows the meaning of shelter. And when she has dug a home out of the earth and built it brick on brick with her own hands, she has built her soul, hopes and fears, into that home.²⁹

The local Greek population was by and large welcoming, but the presence of so many refugees in some poor urban and rural areas created tensions within communities with already limited resources. Refugees who were ethnic Greeks and who considered Greece to be their motherland had adopted Turkish customs over the centuries.³⁰ Furthermore, some of the refugees were Armenians and did not share the Greek language or religion with their new hosts. They were seen as complete outsiders. Finally, whether Greek or Armenian, many refugees were simply women and children, all alone, without husbands or fathers: *"Native women are afraid of this influx of females. They are dangerous. In this connection a prominent Greek woman said to me: "We want help these Smyrna women, but don't want them in our homes. We must consider our families – our sons and brothers and even our*

28 "Relief for Refugees from Asia Minor," *League of Nations Official Journal* 3, no. 11, part 1 (1922): 1141.

29 Dr. Lovejoy Talk 1923. AWH ACC 144 box 3, folder 26. Lovejoy Esther Pohl talk 1921-1928, 8.

30 Katherine Nazloglou, "Problèmes d'intégration et quête identitaire des réfugiés grecs de Turquie en milieu urbain (Athènes-Le Pirée) de 1922 au début des années 1930 : quelques exemples," *Cahiers balkaniques* 42 (2014), at <http://journals.openedition.org/ceb/5014>, accessed 23.11.2020. Bayindir Goularas Gökçe, "Un exemple de la perception de la frontière en Méditerranée: l'étude de la frontière entre la Grèce et la Turquie," *Diacronie. Studie di Storia Contemporanea* 23 (2015), at <http://journals.openedition.org/diacroni.2383>, accessed 05.12.2020. Renée Hirschon, *Heirs of the Greek Catastrophe: The Social Life of Asia Minor Refugees in Piraeus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989).

husbands.” And what about the laboring men and women of Greece? We are sorry for these people, they say, but charity begins at home.”³¹

This wariness toward the refugees also came from the fact that some carried infectious diseases, and the risk of an epidemic was significant. The AWH archives detail the list of afflictions suffered by the refugees: malnourishment, typhus, smallpox, tuberculosis, dysentery and trachoma, an eye disease affecting mainly children.³² Urgent humanitarian aid was desperately needed.

Faced with the threat of contagion, the Greek authorities imposed a mass quarantine on the refugees. The island of Macronissi, tiny and without significant infrastructure, was used as a quarantine station. The doctor in charge of setting up the station, Dr. Olga Stasny of the American Women’s Hospitals, wrote a very detailed report of the process, in which she lamented the lack of personnel and start-up resources on the island, uninhabited and without drinkable water as it was:

I learned I was to organise and direct a large quarantine station on the island of Macronissi [...] Greece, which had been the only Nation to accept the unfortunate Greek and Armenian victims of Turkish wrath had closed the gates.

Thousands in her midst were without shelter or food – would it not be better to save them already there than loose [sic] all? An American group of workers in touch with the situation pleaded with the Greek Government. [...] The Government was urged and finally in answer to “Under what conditions will you take them” said “only if they could be rid of disease and come in clean.” The task seemed impossible to one who knew the condition of these people, but the American Women’s Hospitals were prevailed upon [to] attempt it. We accept and January 27th I left Athens to organize the Station for we were to receive our first boat load of refugees in ten or twelve days. No telephone-cable or wireless. Our isolation was complete. The Government furnished the location – boats for necessary traffic – water and fuel and the A.W.H. was to furnish all else.³³

The Macronissi quarantine order lasted from January to June 1923. More than 20,000 refugees from Turkey went through the tiny island’s station.³⁴ Stasny’s reports testify to the challenges faced by the AWH on Macronissi, but also to the work accomplished there.

The refugees were often moved from one island or camp to another, depending on the local resources available there. The humanitarian workers would follow these movements, trying to attend to the immediate needs of the masses over the short term and anticipate their longer-term needs as well.

31 Dr. Lovejoy Talk 1923. AWH ACC 144 box 3, folder 26. Lovejoy Esther Pohl talk 1921-1928, 5.

32 Rapport to the Managing Director of NER from Mabel Elliot. August 1923. AWH ACC 144 box 10, folder 81 – Mabel Elliott 1922-1923, 2.

33 Olga Stasny’s Report. November 1923. AWH ACC box 10 folder 83 – Stasny Dr. Olga Macronissi Island 1923, 11-12.

34 General Report to the Board, Dr. Esther P. Lovejoy, 1927. AWH ACC 144 box 3 folder 24 – Lovejoy Esther Pohl Reports 1926-1930, 2.

On account of the moving refugee population which we serve, our work is transferred from place to place in accordance with the greatest needs. Over one and a half million alien, homeless people driven from Asia Minor were received in Greece. The task of replanting an uprooted nation within an impoverished neighbour nation is colossal, and it [will] probably be several years before it is complete.³⁵

The doctors and nurses of the Red Cross, the AWH and the NER set up various facilities in order to care for this destitute population and restore them to health. On the island of Mytilene, for example, Director General Dr. Mabel E. Elliott coordinated the NER's entire medical aid service to the refugees. According to an AWH report, within two days of Dr. Elliott's arrival in Greece in October 1922, she opened a hospital, and cared for 80 patients in a single day. Two weeks later at the end of October, she inaugurated the Piraeus hospital and three urgent care clinics. In addition to caring the sick, Elliott raised funds from donors, managed the donations sent to Greece, recruited staff and oversaw the proper functioning of services. In early 1923, as many as 39 doctors and 113 nurses worked under her supervision, among them Greeks and Armenians.³⁶ Like her colleagues and the nurses deployed in Turkey and Greece, Dr. Elliott proved to be entirely capable of managing a transnational health and relief effort.

More than 80,000 of the refugees were Armenian and Greek orphans, residents of NER orphanages built in Turkey following the 1915 genocide and the post-genocide massacres. The NER orphanages had been established under crisis conditions. Katherine McFarland, a nurse working for the AWH and the NER, witnessed, first-hand, the arrival of the first orphans from Oropos: "*Can you imagine 1,000 children arriving at such a place and finding only an empty building? Our hospital had nothing for about three days, until the freight could be unloaded and landed. Unfortunately two little bodies have been taken to the graveyard, but I hope they are the last.*"³⁷ The AWH set up, directed, and financed all the hospitals connected with NER orphanages which had been displaced from Anatolia to Greece.³⁸ In her written report, the medical director Elfie R. Graff confirmed the central role played by the AWH on behalf of the NER orphanages: "*From November 1922 to August 31, 1923, the American Women's Hospitals did the medical work for the Near East Relief Orphanages, taking care of 12,287 patients and giving 1,499,529 treatments.*"³⁹

The NER orphanages had two primary objectives. The first was to care for and ensure the survival of the children, 84% of whom were under the age of 14. In its annual report to

35 Report from Dr. Esther P. Lovejoy to the Medical Woman's National Association, May 19 1925. ACC 144 box 3 Folder 23- Lovejoy Esther Pohl Reports 1923-1925, 2.

36 Report from Mabel Elliott to the AWH, March 5, 1923. AWH ACC 144 box 10, folder 81 – Mabel Elliott 1922-1923, 1-2.

37 Letter from Oropos, December 28 1922. *News from Abroad*, Letters of Katharine Adele McFarland 1921-1925, Grim-McFarland-Woodbridge family history collection, Collection 3706, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

38 Report from Esther P. Lovejoy to the Medical Woman's National Association, June 1923. AWH ACC 144 box 3 Folder 22- Lovejoy Esther Pohl reports 1922-1923, 2.

39 Report from Elfie R. Graff, September 1922 to September 1926. AWH ACC 144 box 14 folder 113 – Near East 1921-1930, 1.

the American Congress, the NER reminded its readership that: “*The largest medical work of the year has been done in connection with the refugee camps and in fighting typhus and other epidemics among refugees in their flight from the interior of Anatolia, in refugee camps and aboard ships where they have frequently been detained in harbours, unable to land.*”⁴⁰

The NER workers paid a high price indeed: during the forced relocation of the orphans to Greece, a dozen of the workers died after contracting typhus or smallpox.⁴¹

The second objective of the NER was to enable the orphans to quickly become independent so that they could care for themselves. To expedite this independence, the workers had to train the orphans in a trade. In fact, the training was centred on traditional trades found in communities of the Middle East: rug-making, embroidery, ironwork and agriculture. These trades were also common in Greece, where the economy was not yet industrialised. According to historian Michelle Tusan, the training in trades also recalls early means of self-sustaining by missionaries to the Ottoman Empire, who would support their work in the field by selling hand-crafted items made by the workers they trained.⁴² For the NER, this longer-term goal was ambitious, because it involved creating a policy of education with the hopes of ending, for good, the conflicts which had raged for decades in the Middle East: “*The real test of our work is yet before us. The children must not be merely so many lives saved; they must become so many forces for righteousness, progress, world brotherhood and peace, permeating and transforming the industrial and social life of the Near East.*”⁴³

As a final observation, it is important to point out that the doctors of the AWH and the nurses of the American Red Cross quickly established schools to train Greek and Armenian nurses in modern medical practices originally developed in Western hospitals. These new nursing recruits later served in important intermediary roles between Western professionals and the refugees.⁴⁴

Conclusion

It cannot be denied that the humanitarian workers, the majority of whom were women, played an extraordinary role in the mass migration of Middle Eastern populations after the First World War. Indeed, they were forced to contend with war, famine, contagious disease and the despair of a traumatized population. They had to mobilize material and human resources for their work, and train others to aid in the urgent care of refugees. As for the women doctors of the AWH and the nurses of the Near East Relief and the Red Cross, their humanitarian work with women, mothers and children, was vital in saving a great many lives. Thanks to their selfless acts and with the gratitude of their peers and the authorities,

40 *Near East Relie. Report of the Near East Relief for the year ending December 31, 1923* (Washington: Washington Government Printing Office, 1924), 13.

41 *Ibid.*

42 Michelle Tusan, “The Business of Relief Work: A Victorian Quaker in Constantinople and Her Circle,” *Victorian Studies* 51, no. 4 (2009): 633-661.

43 *Near East Relief*, 18.

44 Isabel Kaprelian-Churchill, *Sisters of Mercy and Survival. Armenian Nurses, 1900-1930* (Antelias-Lebanon: Armenian Catholicos of Cilicia, 2012).

their professional status as women doctors, nurses and medical health administrators – and their legacy – endures.

This fascinating research is still in its early stages. We want to better understand the journey of those women actively engaged in humanitarian health and social work with Armenian and Greek refugees and orphans in the 1920s. We hope to shine a light on their professional and religious motivations, and analyse their actions in a transnational framework. It would be illuminating, for example, to compare our findings to those of researchers examining the role of Scandinavian missionaries providing humanitarian aid both during the Armenian Genocide and among refugees and orphans after 1919. Three notable examples come to mind. First, there is Maria Smaberg's study on the missionary Alma Johansson, who pushed back the boundaries of her role as a single woman while maintaining the societal norm of motherhood among Armenian orphans.⁴⁵ Second, we could examine Inger Marie Okkenhaug's work demonstrating that for several female Scandinavian missionaries such as Karen Jeppe, Maria Jacobsen and Alma Johansson, their humanitarian work with Armenian refugees transformed their own personal and professional lives so much so that they are part of the collective memory of Armenians today.⁴⁶ Finally, we would include Matthias Bjornlund's work, which allows us to understand how the Armenian Genocide and the refugee crisis that followed the war ethically affected women missionaries and how their faith gave purpose to their transnational humanitarian commitment.⁴⁷ Ultimately, we would explore the social systems and the human milieu in which these women moved, grew, changed, and shaped their own and others' lives.

45 Maria Smaberg, "Mission and Cosmopolitan Mothering. Saving Armenian Mothers and Orphans, 1902-1947," *Social Sciences and Missions* 30 (2017): 44-73.

46 Inger Marie Okkenhaug, "Scandinavian Missionaries, Gender and Armenian Refugees during World War I. Crisis and Reshaping of Vocation," *Social Sciences and Missions* 23 (2010): 63-93.

47 Matthias Bjornlund, "If I die, I die": Women Missionary Workers among Danes, Armenians, and Turks, 1900-1920," *International Journal of Armenian Genocide Studies* 4, no. 1 (2019): 55-79.

BOOK REVIEW

Shushan Khachatryan, *The Role of Religion in the Realization of the Armenian Genocide*, St. Echmiadzin, 2020, 230 pp.

Reviewed by Tehmine Martoyan, PhD, Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute Foundation

The Role of Religion in the Realization of the Armenian Genocide worthwhile monograph authored by Shushan R. Khachatryan,¹ scholar of Religious Studies, PhD in History was published in 2020, by the recommendation of the Publishing Council of Mother See of Holy Echmiadzin and the Scientific Board of the Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute Foundation.

In her research Dr. Khachatryan scrutinized, from the historico-religious viewpoint, the religious aspect of the realization of the Armenian Genocide, as a factor and a tool (starting from the day of the Ottoman Empire's entry to the Great War (1914) throughout the entire process of the Armenian Genocide (1915-1923)).

Identifying the role of religion in perpetration of genocides, as strongly believed by the author, was the most sensitive issue requiring the utmost attention of a scholar, whereas the nexus of religion and genocide could be considered as touchstone in the sense that the issue had not been given due attention to date.²

Khachatryan deemed that the significance of the religious aspect of the Armenian genocide had been "long noticed," while its application in the study of genocides, as maintained by the author, might change approaches or offer methods and research leading to completely different complex solutions.³

The goal of the research was the elucidation of the issue of religious targeting within the context of the Armenian Genocide. Khachatryan put forward the following questions/problems: What would the common questions be when considering the nexus of religion and genocide as a subject of scientific research? Could theological analysis contribute to the development of the topic? To what extent have the genocide scholars tackled the phenomenon of religious targeting manifested during the Armenian Genocide? What assessments have

1 Shushan Khachatryan, PhD, received her Bachelor's degree (2005-2009) and then her Master's degree (2009-2011) from the Department of Theology, Yerevan State University (YSU). From 2011 to 2015, she was a PhD student at the same department. Within the scope of her thesis, she carried out research for her dissertation at Ca' Foscari University in Venice (September 2013 – July 2014). On 28 June 2018 she defended her PhD dissertation titles "Issues of Religious Studies of the Armenian Genocide" and received her PhD in History. Since March 2013, she has been working at the Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute as a researcher, and since April 2019 as the Head of the AGMI Armenian Genocide Victims' Documentation and Data Collection Department.

2 Shushan Khachatryan, *Կրոնի դերը Հայոց ցեղասպանության իրագործման մեջ* [The Role of Religion in the Realization of the Armenian Genocide] (Echmiadzin: Mother See of Holy Echmiadzin publishing house, 2020), 14.

3 Ibid.

been made and what approaches offered around this issue? Was the religious difference a factor or an instrument in planning and executing the Armenian Genocide, etc.?⁴

The book consists of three chapters, a conclusion, a list of sources and bibliography and appendices.⁵

The author's analytical mind, on the one hand, and rich sources of the work on the other hand (documents of the Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute and the US National Archive, addresses/calls and declarations written using religious terminology, memoirs of survivors and eye-witnesses, chronicles (Arm. *patmagirk*) and memorial-collections (Arm. *hushamatyan*), Armenian- and foreign-language press of the time, collections of documents of the Armenian Genocide, scholarly studies, etc.) came to account for the success of the monograph.⁶

In the *first chapter* of the monograph (*“Outlines of Religious Studies and Theology for the Research of Genocides”*) Shushan Khachatryan touched upon historico-religious research and their methodological peculiarities. The author broached topics like extermination and killings in religions (from mythological systems to monotheistic religions), the massacre of Canaan nations, the conflict of religions during genocides, Turkish Islam and the Armenian Genocide, the Young Turk policy towards religious minorities, etc.⁷

Taking up the concept of “mythological thinking,” Khachatryan advised to look back at the initial, mythological religious system of a nation/race in order to find out the basis for genocidal ideas. In the case of the Turks, the peculiarities of pre-monotheistic religion - what heroes did they have at that time, were the heroes taken as ideals for the nation fighters for justice, or the incarnation of aggressive force?⁸

Of particular interest is the following observation of the author: “... *In each religion the worldview-based attitude towards the representatives of other religions could be both negative, down to calls to exterminate them, and positive, like, for instance, being merciful to people. The study of the role of morality in a given religion might shed light on genocide studies.*”⁹ Shushan Khachatryan beheld that the conflict of religions is a manifest, facilitating factor in the genocide: “... *The Armenian Genocide was not a genocide committed on religious grounds, however, religious confrontation and religious otherness were among those material factors that made the realization of the genocide possible.*”¹⁰

The author comprehensively described how the political elite used the religion as a means of provoking conflict, and highlighted that the ideology of Islam by its nature could not stay separated from the state and politics and therefore from wars and armed conflicts as

4 Ibid., 15-16.

5 The Appendix to the monograph includes the originals of various calls for holy war issued by the Ottoman Empire, their translations, copies of photos and postcards, see I-LXIII.

6 Ibid., 18-19.

7 Khachatryan, *The Role of Religion*, 16-17.

8 Ibid., 27-28.

9 Ibid., 28.

10 Ibid.

well.¹¹ Considering atheism, juxtaposed also with positivism, biological materialism, social darwinism, etc. as the Young Turk “ideological core,” Khachatryan drew the attention of the readers to the anti-Christian worldview of each of them, simultaneously emphasizing the importance of making it a subject of research.¹²

Within the context of the study reference was made to the issue of conversion of the Armenians during the genocide: “*Conversion must be scrutinized through complex and sequential processes – the rite of consecration, the social significance of the converted, and its effects during the Armenian Genocide and later.*”¹³

Khachatryan also presented the theological efforts in the study of genocides. She discriminated the following issues as base points of the common topic for further research in Theology and Religious Studies; viz. the theodicy¹⁴ of genocides, the meaning of sacrifice in genocides, the issue of extermination of pagan races of Canaan, the theological reflections of Catholic and Protestant missionaries about the genocide of Armenians, the semantic connection of mass killings with religious semiotics, the topic of canonization of the martyrs of the Armenian Genocide, as well as theological analyses of the Armenian Genocide.¹⁵

According to Khachatryan, the issue of religion was not properly addressed in the studies of the Armenian Genocide leaving the field open for religious scholars and genocide scholars. Religious Studies scholars have paid special attention to the general problem of religion and violence scrutinizing religions and their features and characteristics that were viewed as a base for various forms of violence throughout different periods.¹⁶

The author presented and commented on the ideas of other genocide scholars, who either had dedicated brief analyses to the topic, or expressed their general stand on the religion-genocide problem (Raphael Lemkin, Leo Kuper, Vahagn Dadrian, Leonard Glick, Richard L. Rubenstein, Steven L. Jacobs, Ronald G. Suny, Taner Akçam and others).¹⁷

Historico-religious studies on the Armenian Genocide, as Khachatryan asserted, should cover specific issues, such as viewing the inter-religious fabric of the Ottoman Empire, interactions, animosities and conflicts between Turkish Islam and Christianity, the role of all those factors in the religious and psychological behavior of the planner-perpetrators and the horde of implementers of atrocities.¹⁸ While studying the precursor to the canonization of the Armenian Genocide martyrs, the author clearly stated: “*The percept of the sufferers of the Armenian Genocide as martyrs was not conditioned by some all of a sudden ideas or triggered by an event: it has always been in the perceptions of the Armenian people. However, official steps in the [last] 100 years had been undertaken by the Church indeed, the*

11 Ibid.

12 Ibid., 29.

13 Khachatryan, *The Role of Religion*, 30.

14 Theodicy (from the Greek words “theos” (God) and “dikē” (law, justice)) is a set of questions and theories that discuss, on the one hand, the role of the good and evil in human suffering, putting forward many why-questions connected with the omnipotency, benevolence and mercifulness of God, and on the other hand, refer to the “power” of evil and its presence throughout the history of mankind, see Khachatryan, *The Role of Religion*, 31.

15 Ibid., 31-41.

16 Ibid., 42.

17 Ibid., 42-52.

18 Khachatryan, *The Role of Religion*, 55.

*Armenian Apostolic Church, the adherents of which were martyred as an absolute majority; even there were those, who called the Armenian Apostolic Church a “Martyr Church” in various memoirs, testimonies, historical documents and papers.”*¹⁹

Presenting and analyzing major occurrences paving the path to and maturing the idea of canonization, mentioning the progression steps, elucidating events that have received public response, the ceremony of canonization of the martyrs of the Armenian Genocide on 23 April 2015, Khachatryan arrived at the following conclusion: “After a long break, through the canonization of the martyrs of the Armenian Genocide the canonization procedure of Armenian Apostolic Church was restored through canonization of the martyrs of the Armenian Genocide. However, it is important to understand that canonization is not making someone a saint: by canonization, the Church proclaims loudly that She recognizes Her martyrs as saints. Besides, it is important to understand that it is true that the Armenian Church has performed collective canonization, but it does not mean that the Church has made around 1.5 million people massacred during the Genocide saints, as no number has been mentioned... One can only hope that one last ecclesiastical canonical solution will be worked out and they will be mentioned also in the Armenian Book of Divine Liturgy.”²⁰

The *second chapter* of the monograph under the title of “*Religious and Ideological Grounds for the Realization of the Armenian Genocide*” was dedicated to the Young Turk attempts of the adaptation of European philosophy and olden and novel Turkic teachings, due to which a syncretic ideology with a pan-Turkism-positivism-modernism mixture was created. In this chapter, a special place was given to the Young Turk religious policy, as well as the role of the holy war declared in November of 1914 in the genocide of the Christians of the Ottoman Empire. The author, describing and analyzing the dangerousness of the Young Turk ideology, arrived at the conclusion that the fundamental cause for the Young Turk anti-Christianity lay with ideology, political views and the general frame.²¹ Khachatryan strongly believed that the ideology of the Young Turks, Ittihadism, at the last stage of its existence, i.e. in 1908-1918, was adamant about massacring Christians.²²

When examining the cases, Khachatryan noted that regarding Christians, the Young Turks had adopted a policy of collaborating with them at first, on the surface, and then exterminating them later. They had intertwined the ideologies of pan-Turkism and pan-Islamism rendering no future role to pan-Islamism.²³ The use of the religious difference as an instrument was considered by the author as a material element in the genocidal plan of the Young Turks, and in this sense, it served to secure the consent of two weighty Islam-worshipping layers in the Empire - the spiritual crust in the first place and then the Muslim [population].²⁴

Khachatryan, introducing the motivations for participating in the jihad and the implementers thereof, stated: “*The Young Turks were using the religious peculiarities of Islam for their own political purposes. The jihad was a pretext and a weapon in the hands of the*

19 Ibid., 57.

20 Ibid., 74.

21 Khachatryan, *The Role of Religion*, 85.

22 Ibid.

23 Ibid., 89.

24 Ibid.

Young Turks; it did not find supporters in the entire Islamic world, but put down deep roots in the Ottoman Empire."²⁵ The author presented one by one the Sultan's calls for war, the five fatwas of the Ottoman Sheikh ul-Islam, Enver Pasha's address to the Ottoman army, the jihad pamphlet and the leaflet in Ottoman Turkish and Russian.²⁶

In effect, the texts of various calls for jihad were developed targeting Christian "infidels," the fight and the war against them were considered as a sacred religious duty. The texts of those calls were meant to secure a mass campaign against the already targeted groups.²⁷

In the *third and final chapter, Religious Means of Realization of the Armenian Genocide*, the author presented eyewitness accounts of jihadist statements and calls against the Armenians and the response of the press of the time, examined the phenomenon of ritualization of violence and killings during the Armenian Genocide. Referring to specific religious targets (clergy, cross, holy places, etc.) the author viewed ritualization as an example of the religious factor of realization of the Armenian Genocide.²⁸

Khachatryan described the acts of barbarism against the clergy, the ritualization of violence, ritual killings, the desecration of the cross during the Genocide, the crucifixions of people, the manipulation of Jesus Christ's name, religious blasphemy, profanation, labeling, calls, religious vandalism of Christian sanctuaries.

The architects of declaration of jihad, as interpreted by the author, were the Young Turk leaders, who were using religious terminology in their calls, citing the Quran, so that the call for jihad would be allowed to the masses and committed under the guise of legitimacy, as per the Islamic law.²⁹ Suggesting to the readers to follow the impacts of the jihadist calls, Khachatryan stated that one of their first effects on the drafted Christian men of the Ottoman Empire appeared in 1914, right after the declaration of jihad, and the later massacres also had their roots in jihad and were connected with the declaration of jihad.³⁰ That, as strongly believed by the author, had theological grounds, and the Turkish Islam had had theological contribution to the atrocities, granting the Turkish and Kurdish religious mob the privilege of massacring the Christians and particularly Armenians.³¹

As an undeniable presence of the religious factor in the realization of the Armenian Genocide, the author described the manifestations of religious contexts during the assaults. She also mentioned that the massacres were committed with special cruelty, accompanied by torture, ritualization, use of "Christian" context - crucifying, murdering on church altars, etc.³² Speaking of barbarianism against the clergy, the author cited multiple testimonies about the Christian clergy who were killed with special cruelty. The tortures administered to the clergy were mainly based on false accusations.³³

25 Ibid., 97. In her monograph the author introduced written documentations of the jihad calls translating some of them into Armenian for the first time, highlighted their substantive significance, made relevant observations and conclusions.

26 Khachatryan, *The Role of Religion*, 103-114.

27 Ibid., 116.

28 Ibid., 18.

29 Ibid., 124.

30 Ibid., 125.

31 Khachatryan, *The Role of Religion*, 127.

32 Ibid., 131.

33 Ibid., 142-143.

With regard to profanation of Christians and their relics and sanctuaries, Khachatryan noted that the churches were deliberately turned to brothels subjecting girls to sex slavery.³⁴

The author mentioned that under both the conversion and death threat the Armenians demonstrated a unique religious and psychological behavior: performing religious and ritualistic imitations in borderline situations of life (even in the conditions of Islamization, Armenian orphans in Mardin Turkish orphanage were finding symbolic substitution of Christian rituals and sacred ceremonies).³⁵

By unwinding, systematizing and analyzing disciplinary topics *The Role of Religion in the Realization of the Armenian Genocide* monograph ended in momentous conclusions. Recognizing the importance of Shushan Khachatryan's research, we deem it expedient to have her book published in English.

34 Ibid., 149.

35 Ibid., 150.

Harutyun Marutyan, Narine Margaryan (eds.), *Հայերի փրկության գործը Մերձավոր Արևելքում 1915-1923 թթ., միջազգային գիտաժողովի նյութերի ժողովածու*. [The Rescue of Armenians in the Middle East in 1915-1923, International Conference Proceedings] Yerevan: Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute Foundation, 2020, 440+16 pp.

Reviewed by Artyom Tonoyan, PhD, Research Associate, University of Minnesota, Twin Cities

Although the last two decades have seen a steady rise in scholarship on the Armenian Genocide, there still are aspects of the genocide that are neither fully investigated or fully understood. Some of the reasons for this lack has to do with the fact that much energy was spent on producing works that, for the lack of a better term, were dedicated to the search after the elusive “smoking gun” that would prove once and for all that what happened to the Ottoman Armenians was indeed genocide rather than a series of unfortunate events that for some inexplicable reason rendered Armenian life and culture extinct in the Ottoman hinterlands. The works of Vahakn Dadrian, Raymond Kevorkian, and Taner Akcam have been especially instrumental and effective in dismantling some of the persistent and ideologically driven narrative constructs that looked to question the veracity of the Armenian experience or deny basic and verifiable facts altogether. Though defying logic in the spirit of what philosopher Paul Boghossian has called “the doctrine of equal validity,” (a postmodernist philosophical posture which in its barest form posits that both *A* and *non A* are equally valid if not equally true),¹ many of these denialist works erected obstacles in the path of investigating the whole range of the genocidal experience and not just aspects that would help scholars discover said smoking gun. More than simple bad faith scholarship they were often political projects designed to create the illusion that when it comes to the Armenian experience, there are no facts but only interpretations, to paraphrase Nietzsche.² Thankfully the Armenian Genocide scholarship has now moved beyond that limiting paradigm. With the Armenian Genocide now enjoying universal consensus among reputable historians, new research areas have become available for scholars allowing them to understand the complexity of the calamity brought upon the Armenians and other ethno-religious minorities of the empire.

Which brings us to the book under consideration here. The volume, *The Rescue of Armenians in the Middle East in 1915-1923, International Conference Proceedings*, as the title suggests consists of papers presented at an international conference held in Yerevan in 2020. Featuring (bilingual) chapters by a stellar group of genocide scholars and historians, and edited by the Director of the Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute prof. Harutyun Marutyan and historian Narine Margaryan, the book is a long overdue attempt to reconstruct

1 Paul Boghossian, *Fear of Knowledge: Against Relativism and Constructivism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

2 Fredrich Nietzsche, *The Will to Power*, trans. Walter Kaufmann and R.J. Hollingsdale (New York: Vintage Books, 1967), 267.

the multilayered history of the rescue of Armenian orphans and survivors, a topic that has been lamentably understudied, for reasons discussed above.

The thrust of the book is simple enough – on the whole, it seeks to identify the individuals and institutions (and what motivated them) central in the efforts to save, rescue, and rehabilitate Armenians. The enterprise itself is not new, there have been previous works dealing with the issue and a more recent work, Khatchig Mouradian’s superb monograph on the Armenian resistance network through Ottoman Syria readily comes to mind.³ What is however new is that for the first time, if my memory serves well, there has been a concerted effort to probe the entire scope the rescue efforts from a variety of historical, historiographic, and disciplinary perspectives. Which is not to say everything imaginable has been covered in the book, but being a first, the book opens the field for further investigation into the topic.

The overarching theme of the book is that the brave efforts of foreign missionaries and humanitarians notwithstanding, more often than not it was the Armenians themselves that were agents of their own rescue and rehabilitation, not unlike the argument in Mouradian’s book mentioned earlier. Particularly illuminating on these points are chapters by Raymond Kevorkian, Eduard Melkonian, and Seda Ohanean. Their chapters on Armenian rescue and rehabilitation missions in places like Jerusalem, Mosul, and elsewhere throughout the Middle East, shed new and important light on the issue and in an exemplary fashion reveal the scope of the gap in our knowledge on this very important topic.

Especially useful is the discussion by Marutyan on “rescue” as a term and as a concept. What do scholars mean when they discuss the issue of rescue of Armenians as they were undergoing massacres and dispossession? Drawing upon similar terminology found in the Yad Vashem memorial’s *Righteous Among Nations* conceptual approach to the issue as a point of departure, Marutyan distinguishes between rescue *qua* rescue, i.e. rescue motivated by altruism and for exclusively humanitarian purposes (often risking rescuer’s own life and freedom), and rescue motivated by material gain or attendant “non-humanitarian” motivations. By the latter Marutyan means rescue efforts that were conditional or transactional, i.e. (forced) religious conversions, adoption of children (many of whom would be rescued but lost to Armenian culture), sex slavery, etc. Basing his research on hundreds of interviews with survivors and/or their descendants Marutyan argues, with some merit, that not all rescues were equal. Moreover, of the 600 interviews that form the basis of Marutyan’s argument, nearly all of the rescuees were either children or women, with men having virtually no chance to survive regardless of motivations of would-be rescuers.

While Marutyan’s chapter is the sole theoretical work in the collection, (perhaps unsurprising given his background as an ethnographer), other chapters that follow take readers on a sort of journey through the important and familiar waystations that marked the rescue and rehabilitation operations in the broader Middle East. Chapter after chapter the reader is introduced to equal part fascinating, tragic, and heroic individuals and institutions whose cumulative efforts at rescuing survivors were nothing short of miraculous. Be they the German missionaries, who at great personal risk and in the conditions of state-imposed censorship

³ Khatchig Mouradian, *The Resistance Network: The Armenian Genocide and Humanitarianism in Ottoman Syria, 1915–1918* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2021).

managed to rescue and care for Armenian children during the genocide and in its aftermath in places such as Marash, Mezre, and Haruniye, or Rev. Aharon A. Shirajian and the British Friends of Armenia Society who ran a hostel in Port Said, Egypt tasked with sheltering, rehabilitating, and re-Armenizing rescued Armenian women from Muslim captivity, these are stories that need to be told and retold. And it is one of the main virtues of the collection that by bringing these stories and histories to the reader they at the same time lay the foundation for further and more extensive research.

It will take considerable effort and space to do proper justice to all the chapters found in the book, and nothing short of proper justice is what these chapters deserve. Unfortunately given the space limitations usually imposed on book reviews it is well-nigh impossible. Nevertheless, the collection of articles affords an important new step away from the “smoking gun” paradigm in the scholarship on the Armenian Genocide. The book’s richly textured and well-organized chapters make a valuable contribution to our understanding of the mechanics of genocide survival. It will be of interest to students of the Armenian Genocide, history of humanitarian movements in the Middle East, as well as to anyone interested in lesser known chapters of Armenian life in the aftermath of the Genocide.

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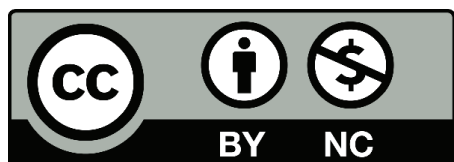
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