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1915 - 1965

AREGAK

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SPECIAL ISSUE

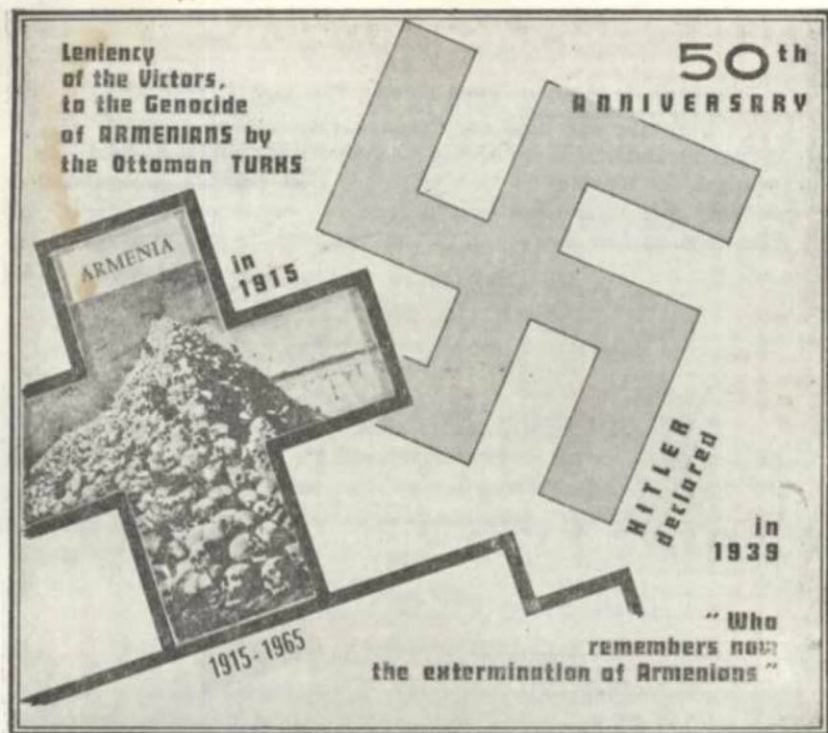
DEDICATED TO THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY
OF THE MARTYRDOM OF ONE MILLION AND A HALF ARMENIANS
IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

1915-1965

*

LONDON, APRIL 1965





TALAAAT'S ORDER.

16. 9. 1915. — To the Government of Aleppo,

It was at first communicated to you that the Government, by the order of the JAMIET had decided to destroy completely all the Armenians living in Turkey ... An end must be put to their existence, however criminal the measures taken may be, and no regard must be paid to either age or sex nor to conscientious scruples.

Minister of the Interior, TALAAAT.



HITLER'S ORDER

22. 8. 1939. — I have given orders to my Death Units to exterminate without mercy or pity men, women and children belonging to the Polish speaking race. It is only in this manner that we can acquire the vital territory which we need. AFTER ALL WHO REMEMBERS TO-DAY THE EXTERMINATION OF THE ARMENIANS.

Adolf HITLER.



L'ORDRE DE TALAAT

16. 9. 1915. — Au Gouvernement d'Alep.

Il vous a été déjà communiqué que le Gouvernement, par ordre du DJEMİYET a décidé d'anéantir complètement les Arméniens de Turquie. ... Leur existence doit prendre fin, quelque criminel que soient les mesures prises. Aucun compte ne doit être tenu de leur âge, sexe, ni des scrupules de conscience.

Ministre de l'Intérieur : TALAAT.

L'ORDRE D'HITLER

22. 8. 1939

J'ai donné l'ordre à mes Unités de Mort d'exterminer sans pitié ni merci hommes, femmes et enfants de race et de langue polonaises. C'est seulement ainsi que nous acquerrons l'espace vital dont nous avons besoin. APRES TOUT, QUI SE SOUVIENT AUJOURD'HUI DE L'EXTERMINATION DES ARMÉNIENS ?

A. HITLER.

ԹԱԱԼԱԹԻ ՀՐԱՄԱՆԱԳԻՐԸ

«16-9-1915, Հալեպի կառավարութեան»

«Միկրոէն հաղորդուած էր ձեզի, թէ կառավարութիւնը, ճշմարիտի հրամանով որոշած է ամբողջովին բնաջնջել Թուրքիոյ մէջ ապրող բոլոր հայերը: ... Ասոնց գոյութեան վերջ պէտք է տրուի, ասոնց տարիքի եւ սեռի խտրութեան եւ ասոնց խղճահարութեան, որքան ալ սճրային ըլլան ձեռք առնուած միջոցառումները»:

«Ներքին Գործոց նախարար՝ ԹԱԱԼԱԹ»

Ա. Հիթլերի ՀՐԱՄԱՆԱԳԻՐԸ (22-8-1939)

«Հրահրանգած եմ իմ Մահասիրու Չորարժիներուս, որպէսզի ասոնց խղճահարութեան, անդթօրէն բնաջնջեն լեհական ցեղին պատկանող եւ այդ լեզուն գործածող մարդերը, կիներն ու երեխաները: Այդպիսով միայն կրնանք ձեռք բերել մեզի անհրաժեշտ հողային տարածութիւնը: Ի վերջոյ այսօր ո՞վ կը յիշէ Հայերուն բնաջնջումը: Ա. Հիթլեր»

If Hitler was encouraged by the fact that the perpetrators of the Great Massacre of the Armenians were never brought to justice, then those Powers who allowed this to happen, must be in part responsible to the Hitlerite Genocide.



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1965 A YEAR OF NATIONAL MOURNING AND PRAYER
THE MESSAGE OF HIS HOLINESS THE CATHOLICOS OF
ALL ARMENIANS ON THE SAD ANNIVERSARY

His Holiness Vazgen I Catholicos of all Armenians has issued the present Encyclical (Gontag) instructing solemn observance in 1965 of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the mass Martyrdom of the Armenian population in Turkey, during the years of World War I.

Vazgen servant of Christ, by the mercy of God and will of the people primate and Catholicos of all Armenians, Supreme Patriarch of the pre-eminent national See of Ararat the Apostolic Mother Church of holy Etchmiadzin.

Greetings of love willed by Christ and Patriarchal blessing to the Catholicos of the Great House of Cilicia, Khoren I : to the Armenian Patriarch of Jerusalem, Archbishop Yeghische : to the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople, Archbishop Shnork : to all the Archbishops, Bishops, Archimandrites, Priests, Diocesan Assemblies, Diocesan and Parish Councils, to Officers of the Armenian Apostolic Holy Church, and to all our beloved faithful Armenian People.

«Even though peresumed dead, their death truly was life».

YEGHISHE

The history of our ancient nation is a living monument elevated on the horizon of mankind, blended and incorporated with the blood of martyrs, endowed with a creative genius to serve all that is good and beautiful and with a sacred fervour to create its own nation and free fatherland, especially from the very day when the Light of the Holy Gospel of Christ descended upon

the land of Armenia. Through the Gospel of Christ the Armenian people came to believe in life, to believe in light and constructive toil, to believe that «love never faileth» (Corinth. XV, 8.). And thus he opened the doors of his spiritual powers and eternal life.

The era of the national history of the Armenian people began in the Vth Century with the invention of Armenian writing and the heroic battle of Avarair.

Avarair was the culmination of the development of the spiritual powers of the Armenian people and the clear expression of national consciousness; it was also the beginning of our real national history, which has left its mark on all the succeeding centuries. The martyrdom of the Vardanians and Ghevondians set the pattern of our national fate. And from that day on, continually, for one thousand five hundred years, our fathers waged the same heroic battle «For Christ and for fatherland» and with the same spirit «that the side of truth shall prevail», always with the faith of «overcoming death with death».

On that blood-soaked but nobly glorious road, fifty years ago, the history of the Armenian people recorded its most recent martyrdom.

Today, with our hearts a sea of sorrows, we recall the memory of the awful tragedy which began on April 24th, 1915 and continued for five whole years, and which annihilated the entire Armenian population in Western Armenia, along with fearful suffering, planned and put into execution by the genocidal government of the Turkish sultans. Nearly two million Armenians were martyred. Hundreds of prosperous villages, towns, churches, monasteries, many of them impressive historic monuments of the architectural genius of Armenians were put to the torch and destroyed. «Our valiant martyrs fell in battle, and the saintly priests were slaughtered by the hands of the wicked, handsome youth were put to death, and many virgins driven into slavery; gracious women subjected to the torments of widowhood, and many orphans to tears», and «Our homes became the graves of our dead, and that which our hands had built, fell upon us» (Elishé). In those dark days the time had come when «It was impossible to be an Armenian in this world». All hope appeared lost and the book of history of the Armenians dipped in blood and closed.

But, oh incomprehensible mystery of life and death, and miraculous history of the Armenian people !

In fact, an entire people was martyred but the Armenians did not die for ever, for they had sacrificed themselves strong in the faith that «to live is Christ and to die is gain» (Philip. I, 21). «With what courage they began the drama of martyrdom, with the same they ended, full of heavenly love and bright as the sun in the universe whose names are written in the Book of Life» (Hovhannes of Traskhanakert).

As in the days of the Battle of Vardanantz and the succeeding

centuries, the death defying spirit of Armenian history once more tore the curtain of cruel fate and recalled into life the Remnants of our martyred nation, and one thousand and five hundred years later «through the precious blood of her brave sons» the renascent Armenian people gave to St. Vardan, the great tidings of Sardarabad.

And thus, for more than forty years, the main body of the Armenian people, gathered on the mother soil of their ancestors, under their own government, amidst fraternal peoples, is engaged in building a happy future under circumstances of unprecedented security, peace and progress; whilst emigrant Armenians, dispersed throughout the world, their gaze directed to the motherland with renewed hope, noble pride, and with bright visions for the future, dream of returning some day to eternal Ararat, to their sisters and brothers in Armenia, so as to bring their share of toil to the Mother land of all Armenians.

The martyrdom of the Armenians finally has been crowned with victory, and in a daybreak of new life our ancient land is now reborn as a national state.

To-day, fifty years after the Great Massacre, the Armenian people, both in Armenia and throughout the world, reverently bow before the unknown graves of the myriads of martyrs and pray for the repose and bliss of their immortal souls; they vow anew to keep holy their sacred memory and to remain loyal to their luminous faith, to their heroic spirit, and to their bright dream of seeing the Armenian people gathered in a totally restored fatherland. «Do you glorify yourselves in your patriotism ? Then revive the memory of your forefathers» (Alishan).

To-day, for Armenians, wherever they may be, is also a day of prayer for the peaceful progress and well-being of our people, for the preservation of our newly established native land, for Mother Armenia which lives and breathes and grows in brilliance.

Our martyrs died with the hope of living and with the vision of the rebirth of the fatherland.

To-day is also a day of prayer for us all for the peace of the entire world and for the genuine brotherhood of peoples, so that henceforth nowhere and never on the face of the world shall there be bloodshed, and man shall not draw the sword against his kind. May there be peace along all boundaries of the world and within the hearts of all men. May it come to pass that «mercy and truth are met together; righteousness and peace have kissed each other». (Psalms 85).

As the Catholicos of all Armenians, at the threshold of the 50th Anniversary of this great tragedy in our history, with this encyclical, we propose and instruct :

(A) That the forthcoming year 1965 be declared for all our churches and our people a year of national mourning and prayer.

(B) That in all Armenian Churches on April 24th there take place special religious ceremonies and memorial services to pray for the peace and enlightenment of the souls of our myriads of martyrs.

(C) That there be placed in all Armenian Churches before the Holy Altar a lamp of perpetual light dedicated to the memory of the Armenian martyrs. At the Mother Cathedral of Holy Etchmiadzin there will be placed a lamp of perpetual light before the altar of St. Stephen, the first martyr of Christianity, where henceforth, every year, on April 24th, a special Divine Liturgy shall be celebrated.

(D) That in all Armenian Communities and colonies, under the auspices of the Armenian Church, through the cordial co-operation of all Armenian associations, without exception, there be organised solemn gatherings of national observance, lectures, and literary functions for Armenian and non-Armenian audiences, devoted to the April Massacre.

(E) That the Armenian ecclesiastical authorities, national organizations, historic, literary and cultural foundations, and the Armenian press consider their paramount duty to revive, in words and deeds, the sacred memory of the Armenians, of the clergy and prominent writers and national workers martyred during the years of the Great Massacre, by publishing the historic evidence, documents, studies, memoirs, literary and artistic works of Armenian and non-Armenian authors.

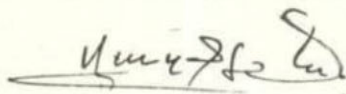
May the compassionate God in everlasting glory grant peace and rest to the pure and innocent souls of the martyred sons of our nation, and may He spread His protective hand on the Armenian people and fatherland, so that the sun of their lives shines brightly, and that they may for ever live and grow, and acquire noble stature through their honest endeavours in the world.

May the Armenian people live for ever, so that the light of the world abounds.

«Blessed are they who mourn; for they shall be comforted. Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst for righteousness; for they shall be filled». (Mat. V. 4-6).

VAZGEN I

Supreme Patriarch and Catholicos of all Armenians



The present encyclical was issued on August 16th, in the year of Our Lord 1964, and according to the Armenian Calendar, in 1414, at the Monastery of Holy Etchmiadzin.

«WE ANGLICANS WILL BE JOINING WITH YOU
IN PRAYER IN THIS COMMEMORATION».

Lambeth Palace, S. E. 1.

For many of you this year, your thoughts will go back to the terrible massacres which your people endured in the Middle East half a century ago. We Anglicans, together with Christians of other allegiances, will be joining with you in prayer in this Commemoration. We always remember with thankfulness the countless number of Armenian Christians who have been ready to die for their faith over the last sixteen centuries, knowing that their sacrifice has never been in vain.

In the Church of England we are happy to have such close ties with the Armenian Church. It was for me a great privilege to receive at Lambeth Palace His Holiness Vazgen I, your Supreme Catholicos, on his last visit to this country.

Wherever Armenians and Anglicans have lived side by side in this country, in Jerusalem or in America, they have always discovered a strong affinity for each other. I pray that the links which already exist between our two Churches and people may be even further strengthened in the days to come, until we reach that complete and visible unity which is Our Blessed Lord's will for His Church.

† MICHAEL, Archbishop of Canterbury,
Primate of All England and Metropolitan.

Extract from a Message to the readers of «Aregak».

*

A Nation of Martyrs

By : T. P. O'CONNOR, M. P.

Armenia has always appealed to the generous sympathy of all the British peoples, and, indeed, of all the civilised world outside Turkey's confederate, in the recent massacres; but Germany no longer counts among the civilised nations of the world; its attitude to Armenia is the exception that proves the rule.

But I have always felt that Armenia appealed to those unacquainted with its history, rather because of its sufferings than because of its character and history. It is a nation of martyrs, and much of its modern story is but the record of repeated massacres. But let us not forget that it is also a nation of a long and glorious history; that it was one of the earliest to create a civilised and cultured society; that it was the first practically as a nation to adopt Christianity; and that it has adhered to Christianity for all these centuries through every horror of massacre and oppression. But even this is not enough to say of the essential greatness of Armenian history and Armenian character. It is necessary to remember that it was, at one period of its history, the greatest power among the nations of Asia; that it governed itself with success and equity for century after century; and that it stood as the first rampart of Christianity between Asia and Europe, and finally, that these traditions of faith and of patriotism have been carried on through many centuries and innumerable generations without the religious or the national spirit suffering the slightest diminution in either its valour or its tenacity.

This is a noble record—the noblest perhaps in the history of the human family. But it should be added again that this national character has all the best qualities of the civilised and the cultured races of the world. The brilliant commercial genius of the Armenian people has made them the chiefs of commerce even in the lands where their race was proscribed. Their thrift and their industry have enabled them often to attain prosperity under every condition that seemed to forbid prosperity. Their art has flourished even when some of its noblest monuments fell before the devastating Turk. Their love of learning is so profound and so widespread that they have kept the school going even in villages where the race had been almost entirely reduced, by one of the periodical cyclones of massacre, to ashes and corpses. Members of the Armenian race sought the highest heritage of learning in the Universities of Great Britain, of Germany and of the United States; and these students have brought back their conquests in culture to the schools and colleges of their people.

Such a race is indestructible, is immortal; it has risen again and again from its pools of blood and heaps of ashes. Its blood has flowed, let it be hoped for the last time. This great war of liberation cannot end, must not end, without giving liberty to the Armenian race ; and that liberty must be such as will enable it at last to go along the lines of its development. Armenia is passing from the tomb of resurrection.

Extract from « Armenia : Past and Present »,
By : W. LLEW WILLIAMS, London, 1916.

Scenes Which Stagger Humanity

By : W. LLEW WILLIAMS

The Russo-Turkish War of 1877 won freedom for the Bulgarian people, and ended the reign of the Turkish terror in Bulgaria. But the Treaty of San Stefano went further. It stipulated (Article 16) that Turkey should «carry into effect, without further delay the improvements and reforms demanded by local requirements in the provinces inhabited by Armenians, and to guarantee their security from Kurds and Circassians». (Subsequent massacres form a striking comment on this Article.) That stipulation drew Armenia and the Armenians into the orb of European politics and policies. It was bitterly resented by the Ottoman Government, especially as it was accompanied by a provision that Russian troops should occupy territory in Turkish Armenia until these reforms be fully carried out. The war cost Turkey Kars and the territory known as Turkish Armenia. But Turkish diplomacy supported by the Western Great Powers succeeded in overthrowing the San Stefano Treaty, and in substituting for it the Treaty of Berlin (July 13th, 1878). The six Signatory Powers were substituted for Russia, and her troops were to be withdrawn before the period of reform began !

Has anything more futile in the region of diplomacy ever been witnessed than the efforts of the Powers to enforce the reforms in Asia Minor to which the Treaty of Berlin solemnly agreed and undertook to carry out ?

Effort after effort by the Concert of Europe was nullified by Turkish diplomacy, and when, in 1883, Bismarck told the British Government that Germany cared nothing about Armenian reforms, it was evident that any relief from this quarter was hopeless. The ill-fated Treaty of Berlin had altered Russia's policy in the Near East, and the hope of succour from that quarter for the Armenians was abandoned. Great Britain's attempts single-handed to effect the long-delayed reforms were vain. It was highly embarrassing for some of the Powers — for Great Britain especially. But it was fatal for the Armenians. The Sultan was furious with them because their question had been forced to the front, and their social and political conditions revealed to the eyes of the civilised world. The reply of the Turkish Government the whole world knows. Then began the series of massacres, organised deliberately and carried out by the regular and irregular forces. For forty years those periodical slaughterings of an unarmed, helpless, unoffending people have continued. Sir Edwin Pears declares that in the years which have elapsed no less than 500,000 have been sacrificed. During the Erzeroum massacres in 1895-6, alone, at least 100,000 were sacrificed. No possible excuse was forthcoming. There was no local disturbance, much less any organised revolt. The Balkans in 1876 were in open revolt.

There the people had arms and munitions, and were incited to use them by friends and sympathisers. On the other hand, the Armenians were isolated, a minority in every one of the so-called Armenian vilayets save that of Van. The utmost in the way of disturbance was the revenge taken by some exasperated and despairing rayah for some unusually brutal outrage or intolerable exaction. The Turkish Commission sent to Armenia in November, 1894, did not allege any revolt which would justify the action of the authorities. Notwithstanding this, officials implicated in the infamous Sasun massacres were decorated and rewarded.

The very list of organised massacres is appalling.

In 1896, under the very eye of the Sultan and of the representatives of the Powers, some 6,000 or 7,000 persons were slaughtered! Equally ruthless butcheries took place at regular intervals over the six vilayets, and in certain other districts. Any attempt at self-defence was met with more extended slaughter. The only successful defence was that made by the gallant Zeytoonlis, who for three months fought with the courage born of despair, and won for themselves honourable terms. During all these years of deliberate massacre no single official was punished, whilst many were openly rewarded for participation in them. How could the Government punish for carrying out its fixed policy? It was the Sultan's personal plan. «The only way of ending the Armenian question», said Abdul Hamid, «is to put an end to the Armenians!» Even while the «Young Turk» propaganda was

going forward the massacres continued — notably at Mush (1904) and Van (1908). The Adana massacres in 1909 rank among the most terrible even in the blood-stained records of Turkish history.*

Any attempt to influence the policy of the Sultan only inflamed his anger against his victims, only led to an increase of the area and the severity of the massacres. The total effect upon the country was disastrous in the extreme. The peasants in a steady stream flowed over the Russian frontier. At least 100,000 went to the United States during these years. By massacres and emigration the estimated Armenian population, in 1878, was reduced 50 per cent. Nor was this the only impoverishment the country suffered. «The destruction of property was enormous, the hardest-working and best tax-paying element in the country was destroyed or impoverished, and when the bread-winners were killed the women and children were left destitute.» (Ency. Brit., vol. 2 p. 568).

That Armenians sympathised with the «Young Turk» Reform movement is well known. At Constantinople, and in all parts of European and Asiatic Turkey, they warmly supported and financed the movement. No one rejoiced more heartily when, in 1908, the Constitution was granted. They hailed it as the dawn of a new day. The «Young Turk» leaders boldly proclaimed equal rights and privileges for all creeds and every race. Armenians freely took service for the State in the cause of Reform. The whole movement was hollow. The reforms were but «paper reforms». The Adana massacres in 1909 ought to have opened the eyes of the Armenian people as to what they might expect. The «Young Turk» party came into power simultaneously with this organised massacre, yet they allowed the two chief culprits to escape. It was prophetic of the conduct of the «unscrupulous gang», to use Lord Bryce's words, who had snatched at the reins of government in the Ottoman Empire. They reproduced the worst methods of the government they had overturned when they suppressed the Albanian revolt in 1911. To retain and maintain the power they had wrested from other hands, they were, and are, willing to use any weapon, however blood-stained.

Their conduct in Armenia during these last months is too notorious to call for lengthy notice. Lord Bryce, in his speech in the House of Lords (October 6th.), indicted the Turkish Government, which boasts as moving spirits such perjured politicians as Enver Pasha and Talaat Bey, before the civilised world. These men have out-Heroded Herod. Humanity stands aghast at the enormity of their crime—the unparelled extent of their butcher-

* Here is an incomplete list : Mush, 1893, Mush 1894, Trebizond, October 1896, various places 1896, Van, Egin, Niksar, June 14th to 22nd, 1896, Constantinople, August 26th, 1896, Mush 1904, Van 1908, Adana, 1909.

ies. Even the blood-curdling atrocities of Tamerlane are rivalled by the men who are fit allies of the German Huns ! It cannot be doubted but that from 800,000 to 1,000,000 Armenians in Turkish Asia Minor have been murdered, outraged, deported, under circumstances of unimaginable cruelty, (1) to desert places where they can only die from hunger and thirst. The roads which lead to the deserts south of Diarbekir and Bitlis were crowded with old men, women, and children, driven by Kurds, unfed, waterless, robbed by their brutal guards of their poor possessions—the women even of their clothes! Their path is indicated by the bodies of the dead. Exhaustion, hunger, thirst have exacted terrible toll. The body of the newly-born child lies there—thrown aside by its demented mother! Thousands have sought in self-inflicted death escape from the horror and dishonour. In very truth it seems as though Talaat Bey's threat that he would «deal the Armenians such a blow as would stop them talking of autonomy for fifty years» has been literally fulfilled. Remonstrances, protests, appeals from the United States, from Rome, have been contemptuously ignored. Meanwhile Count Reventlow, the uncompromising apologist for every extreme measure adopted by the German Huns and their Allies, proclaims to the world that the treatment of the Armenians is the sole concern of the Turkish Government, with which the rest of the world has no right to interfere. Some Armenians have taken up arms against the Turks, therefore the «Young Turk» party may treat all other Armenians, including women, children, and new-born babes, as cruelty and lust dictate!

So the rigime of the Turk in Armenia, which began in blood, has been blood-stained through all the weary and shameful years of his domination, closes amid scenes of carnage which stagger humanity. But Turkish domination closes!

Extract from « Armenia : Past and Present »,
By W. LLEW WILLIAMS, London, 1916.

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(1) This presents the number of victims upto the middle of 1916. During the preceding years 500.000 more were killed.
«Aregak»

A Message

«IT WOULD NOT BE EASY TO FIND ANYWHERE IN HISTORY
A PARELLEL TO THE ARMENIAN STORY»

Bishop Harold Buxton.

London, 9th February, 1965.

In response to the request of the Editor of 'AREGAK', I am happy to raise my voice among those who pay tribute to the Church and People of Armenia.

It would not be easy to find anywhere in history a parallel to the Armenian story. I wish that all young people were reminded that in the first World War, 1914-1918, this 'bit' or 'piece' of mankind's flesh and spirit (and a quite small 'bit', in fact—**lost as many lives as did the whole British Commonwealth.** But, nevertheless their noble faith and courage, under Providence, have enabled them to persist;—to rebuild their culture;—and to play no small part in serving the highest interests of humanity.

In 1915 — in spite of the preoccupations of war-time— the British people were profoundly shocked by the news from Turkey. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Bishop Gore, Lord Bryce, T. P. O'Connor M. P. and many other Public men in all walks of life, called for some immediate expression of British concern. The Lord Mayor opened a Mansion House Fund,— (which ultimately raised about half a million), and soon afterwards a Relief and Hospital Unit was organised which with Russian permission, was able to proceed to the Russo-Turkish frontier. A Hospital was opened near Erzerum and Refugee-Homes at Erivan.

I have heard it said,— «The Armenian Church is no more than a remnant !» A remnant indeed. What a **glorious** title— as any educated man should know! **The 'Remnant' is an organic, not a numerical concept.** (See Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel). It is the promise of New Life.

To day, as we greet your Supreme-Catholicos, Patriarch, on his visite to London, we greet—in his person—your civilising mission among the nations.

HAROLD BUXTON.

■

Memoires of a Turkish official

(CHIEF SECRETARY OF THE DEPORTATION COMMITTEE)

The following extracts are taken from **The Memoires of Naim Bey**. Naim bey was the chief secretary of the Deportation Committee in Aleppo. «The Committee was charged by the Central Government of Turkey with the official responsibility of deporting via Aleppo the uprooted Armenians with the ultimate aim of exterminating them.»

After the arrival of the British at Aleppo, Naim Bey did not flee with the Turkish officials but remained back and in order to calm his deeply disturbed conscience handed over to A. Andonian many official documents under his disposal received from the Central Government as regard the extermination of the Armenians.

The Memoires of Naim Bey was first published in London in 1920 with the following Introduction by Viscount Gladstone.

INTRODUCTION

«Search the blood-stained annals of the Ottoman Empire and nothing comparable to the atrocities of the past five years can be found. The awful story of the extermination of men, women and children by the direct order of the Turkish Government is beyond words. For cold and bestial cruelty the names of ENVER and TALAAT are consigned to undying infamy.

Readers of this significant MEMOIRES must form, as I have done, their own conclusions.

We know the horrible facts. It is well to know also how and by whom the massacres were organised and perpetrated.

We are about to make a Treaty with the Government of Turkey reeking of deeds surpassing in magnitude and vileness the most imaginative pictures of hell ever conceived. . .

It is right to note that even their instruments sometimes show pity and that some Turkish officials are good and human men.

But for the Turkish Government the strongest words are ineffective. If there is anything in the modern conception of duty and justice, the Treaty that has yet to come must rescue once and for all the survivors of this Christian nation from the unutterable misdoings of the «Sublime Porte».

December 24, 1919.

GLADSTONE.

(1) See «The Memoires of Naim Bey», second edition, 1964, by AHRA, U.S.A.

Extracts from "The Memoires of Naim Bey"

I believe that the history of the Armenian deportations and massacres, which have rendered the name of Turk worthy of eternal malediction on the part of all humanity, has no parallel in any record of inhuman deeds which has been written until this day. In whatever corner of the wide territories of Turkey one may look, whatever dark ravine one may investigate, thousands of Armenian corpses and skeletons will be found, slaughtered and mutilated in the most cruel manner.

Every time I recorded the secret orders given in cipher documents I trembled. A great nation was sentenced to death with its women and babies.

One day the following telegram came from the Minister of the Interior:—

«The purpose of sending away Certain People is to safeguard the welfare of our fatherland for the future, for wherever they may live they will never abandon their seditious ideas, so we must try to reduce their numbers as much as possible.»

But the copy of an order which was found amongst the secret papers of the Deportations Committee is sufficient in itself to explain the fearlessness and daring with which Nour Bey was carrying out the work entrusted to him—the work of completely exterminating the Armenians.

This is the order:—

«Although the extermination of the Armenian element, which has for centuries been desirous of destroying the sure foundation of our Empire, and has now taken the form of a real danger, has been decided upon earlier than this, circumstances did not permit us to carry out this sacred intention. Now that all obstacles are removed, and the time has come for redeeming our fatherland from this dangerous element, it is urgently recommended that you should not be moved to feelings of pity on seeing their miserable plight; but by putting an end to them all, try with all your might to obliterate the very name 'Armenia' from Turkey. See to it that those to whom you entrust the carrying out of this purpose are patriotic and reliable men.»

A new and awful order had arrived from the Ministry of the Interior, which gave them every license. And, as it was, they needed no license.

«To the Government of Aleppo.

«March 9, 1915.— All rights of the Armenians to live and work on Turkish soil have been completely cancelled, and with

In all the official communications regarding the deportations and massacres, as well as other kindred operations, the designation 'certain people' is used for the Armenians.

regard to this the Government takes all responsibility on itself, and has commanded that even babies in the cradle are not to be spared. The results of carrying out this order have been seen in some provinces. In spite of this, for reasons unknown to us, exceptional measures are taken with 'Certain People', and those people instead of being sent to the place of exile are left in Aleppo, whereby the Government is involved in an additional difficulty. Without listening to any of their reasoning, remove them thence—women or children, whatever they may be, even if they are incapable of moving; and do not let the people protect them, because, through their ignorance, they place material gains higher than patriotic feelings, and cannot appreciate the great policy of the Government in insisting upon this. Because instead of the indirect measures of extermination used in other places—such as severity, haste (in carrying out the deportations), difficulties of travelling and misery—direct measures can safely be used there, so work heartily.

«General Orders have been communicated from the War Office to all the Commanders of the Army that they are not to interfere in the work of deportation.

«Tell the officials that are to be appointed for that purpose that they must work to put into execution our real intent, without being afraid of responsibility. Please send cipher reports of the results of your activities every week.

Minister of the Interior, TALAAT. »

Anyhow there was no hope of life for anyone who went a step beyond Aleppo. The whole line from Karlik to Der Zor was a track of misery—a graveyard. The officials in charge had been ordered not to abstain from any brutality which would cause death.

The two following telegrams prove this—both of them sent on behalf of Talaat Pasha, the Minister of the Interior.—

«We hear that some officials have been brought before a military tribunal (court martial) under the accusation of extortion and severity towards Certain People (the Armenians). Even though this may be a mere formality, it may lessen the energy of other officials. For this reason I command that you shall not allow such examinations.

Minister of the Interior, TALAAT.»

«To pay heed to the complaints lodged by «Certain People» on all sorts of personal subjects will not only delay their despatch to the desert but will also open the door to a series of actions which may entail political difficulties in the future. For this reason no notice should be taken of those applications, and orders must be given to this effect to the officials concerned.

Minister of the Interior, TALAAT.»

THE MASSACRES OF RES-UL-AIN

While the deportation of the deportees was carried on by railway, Kaimakam Yousouf Zia Bey reported that there was no more room for Armenians in Res-ul-Ain; that five or six hundred were dying every day, and that there was neither time to bury the dead nor to send the living further south.

He received an answer to the following effect. «Hasten the deportations. In this way those who are not fit to leave will fall down and die at a few hours' distance from the town, and the town will get rid of both the living and the dead.»

The first thing that attracted the attention of Jevdet Bey was the mound at whose base were the thousands of tents belonging to the Armenian Camp.

Jevdet Bey thought that it was a military camp, and asked where those soldiers were going. The Kaimakam answered that those were not soldiers, but Armenian deportees. On hearing this, Jevdet Bey, not dreaming that there was an Armenian amongst his audience exclaimed :—

«Are those dogs still in existence? I command you to slaughter them all!».

The Kaimakam refused, saying that he could not shed the blood of so many innocent people, who had never done him any harm.

«Then you don't know what policy the Government is pursuing?» said Jevdet Bey, and he threatened to have him dismissed.

The Massacres followed the deportations almost immediately, because they were committed in the neighbourhood, chiefly on the banks of the Jurjib and on the road to Shaddade. The Armenians were taken out in groups, and killed in the most brutal manner. Some of them used to escape occasionally, and come to Res-ul-Ain — it was not possible for them to go anywhere else— and they used to tell of the horrors. One can imagine how terrified the helpless people were who heard these stories, how they shuddered when they came with whips, revolvers and clubs to beat them and drive them out to the slaughter-houses. Neither the sick were spared, nor the children, nor the aged.

«Don't leave any of them alive— especially the children, down to five or seven years old; otherwise in a short time they will grow up, and seek to revenge themselves.»

Zeki Bey had arrived at Der-Zor as governor, in the place of Ali Souad Bey; and, as the massacres had begun there, he needed people to carry out his devilish work. To slaughter about 200,000 people is not an easy matter.

The colossal amount of labour needed had stupefied him. He had been obliged to call to his assistance all the Circassians who had executed the massacres of Res-ul-Ain. But still the butchers were not enough for the victims.

The companies sent via Aintab and Marash were slaughtered

all along the way until they reached Mardin, where none of them were to arrive.

While the massacres of Res-ul-Ain and Intilli were being completed, the even more terrible slaughter, by means of which Zeki Bey was to exterminate the 200.000 Armenians deported to Der-Zor, had begun.

On January 20, 1916, Abdullahad Nouri Bey wrote to the Chief Official of the Deportations Committee of Bab, Mouharrem Bey:—

«No. 334.

«Jan. 20, 1916.— Doubtless you appreciate the confidence which the Government has in you, and you realise the importance of the work entrusted to you. You are not to permit one single Armenian to remain in Bab. Your severity and promptitude with regard to the deportations can alone assure the success of the scheme which we are pursuing. Only you must take care that no corpses are left by the roadsides. Let us know by post the maximum remuneration which you propose to pay to the men whom you appoint for this work.

«Do not trouble about means of transport. The deportees can go on foot.

«The weekly death-rate sent to us during these last few days was not satisfactory. It is evident from this that those people (the Armenians) are living quite comfortably there.

«The dispatch of the deportees must not be like a journey. Do not listen to protests or lamentations. The Government has sent the necessary instructions to the Kaimakam as well.

ABDULLAHAD NOURI.»

Abdullahad Nouri Bey subsequently issued the following order:—

«No official will be held responsible for any severities connected with the deportations of Armenians.»

The Government demanded that the life and honour of the Armenians should be destroyed. They no longer had any right to exist.

Talaat Pasha wrote:—

«It is necessary to punish those who wish to ensure the existence of the Armenians, who have for centuries been an element of danger to Turkey, and have recently tried to inundate the whole of our country with blood. Send secret instructions to the Officials.»

Thus, after having witnessed hundreds of thousands of such dramas in Aleppo, I was sent to Meskene as an official of the Deportations Committee. When I was about to depart, Eyoub Bey called me and said: «We have not been satisfied with any of the officials sent to Meskene. You have been in the work, and you are familiar with the orders that have been sent. See that you do not let those people (the Armenians) live. When necessary, kill them with your own hand. Killing them is an amusement.»

While I was still at Aleppo, the following cipher telegram had arrived from Constantinople:—

«A cipher-telegram from the Ministry of the Interior, sent to the Government of Aleppo.

«Dec. 1, 1915.— In spite of the fact that it is necessary above all to work for the extermination of the Armenian Clergy, we hear that they are being sent to suspicious places like Syria and Jerusalem. Such a permit is an unpardonable delinquency. The place of exile of such seditious people is annihilation. I commend you to act accordingly.

«Minister of the Interior, TALAAT.»

Meskene was filled with skeletons, from one end to the other, it looked like a real valley of dry bones.

Two hundred thousand Armenians were sent out on the road from Aleppo to Meskene and Res-ul-Ain alone, and only about five or six thousand of this great multitude survived. The babies were thrown into the Euphrates and drowned. The women were killed with bayonets or revolvers at different points of the road by the savagery of the qendarmes or the people.

The people were driven out of Der-Zor in batches, under the pretext of being sent to Mousul. But they were unable to go beyond Sheddade. Zeki Bey selected principally the deserts of Marat and Souvar on the road to Sheddade, and as it was impossible to wipe out so many people by slaughtering them, he created an artificial famine, during which the people first ate the donkeys, dogs and cats, then the carcasses of horses and dogs, finally, when there was nothing else left to eat, they began to devour human corpses, more especially corpses of small children.

In the desert some ownerless and hungry children saw a cauldron on a fire at a camp and thought that it was meat cooking; they took off the lid of the cauldron and stole a piece. It was a little child's hand they had stolen.

A girl was ill in bed, from having had nothing to eat for several days. Her mother was watching beside her. The smell of cooking meat came from somewhere near. Doubtless they were cooking the corpse of some child.

«Mother, go and ask for a piece, I can stand it no longer», said the girl. The mother went, but shortly returned empty-handed.

«Wouldn't they give any?» said the girl. «Mother, if I die, don't give them any of my flesh. Eat it yourself.»

In this way the children were accustomed, while still alive, to the idea that their corpses would be eaten after their death.

A chemist who had some poison with him, made pills of it, and fortunate people used to buy them, so as to be liberated a moment earlier from those unspeakable tortures.

In order to keep the enthusiasm of the Turks for massacre up to the mark, Zeki Bey would often bend down from his horse, take hold of a small child by its arm, turn it round once or twice in the air and dash it to the ground, killing and breaking it to

pieces; and he would say to his followers: «Don't think that I have killed an innocent being. Even the new-born babes of this people (Armenians) are criminals, for they carry the seeds of vengeance in themselves. If you wish to ensure to-morrow, kill even their children.»

And they spared none.

Only a few of the good-looking girls were saved from the massacres. After a week or two, those girls were sent on camels to Res-ul-Ain, towards Mardin, where they were often sold for five piastres (one shilling). In this way was completed the massacre of Der-Zor, in which nearly all the Armenians who had been deported into the desert were wiped out — more than 200,000 people.

March 25, 1915.— To the delegate at Adana, **Jemal Bey.**

«The Jemiet, unable to forget all old scores and past bitterness, full of hope for the future, has decided to annihilate all Armenians living in Turkey, without leaving a single one alive, and it has given the Government a wide scope with regard to this.»

«To Jemal Bey, delegate at Adana.—

«Nov. 18, 1915.— It is the duty of all of us to effect on the broadest lines the realisation of the noble project of wiping out the existence of the Armenians who have for centuries been constituting a barrier to the Empire's progress in civilisation.

«A cipher-telegram from the Ministry of the Interior, addressed to the Government of Aleppo.—

«From interventions which have recently been made by the American Ambassador of Constantinople on behalf of his Government, it appears that the American consuls are obtaining information by secret means. In spite of our assurances that the (Armenian) deportations will be accomplished in safety and comfort, they remain unconvinced. Be careful that events attracting attention shall not take place in connection with those [Armenians] who are near the cities, and other centres. From the point of view of the present policy it is most important that foreigners who are in those parts shall be persuaded that the expulsion of the Armenians is in truth only deportation. For this reason it is important that, to save appearances, a show of gentle dealing shall be made for a time, and the usual measures be taken in suitable places. It is recommended as very important that the people who have given such information shall be arrested and handed over to the military authorities for trial by court-martial.

«Minister of the Interior, **TALAAT.**»

No. 502.

«To the Government of Aleppo.—

«Sept. 3, 1915.— We recommend that the operations which we have ordered you to make shall be first carried out on the men of the said people (Armenians), and that you shall subject the women and children to them also. Appoint reliable official for this.

«Minister of the Interior, **TALAAT.**»

No. 537.

«To the Government of Aleppo.—

«Sept. 29, 1915.— We hear that some of the people and officials are marrying Armenian women. We strictly prohibit this, and urgently recommend that these women shall be picked out and sent away (to the desert).

«Minister of the Interior, TALAAT.»

No. 691.

«To the Government of Aleppo.—

«Nov. 23, 1915.— Destroy by secret means the Armenians of the Eastern Provinces who pass into your hands there.

Minister of the Interior, TALAAT.»

No. 820.

«To the Government of Aleppo.—

«Jan. 4, 1916.— It is decreed that all Armenians coming from the north shall be sent straight to their place of deportation, without passing through any town or village on the way.

Minister of the Interior, TALAAT.»

A cipher-telegram sent from the Government of Aleppo to the Government of Aintab.—

«Jan. 11, 1916.— We hear that there are Armenians from Sivas and Kharput in your vicinity. Do not give them any opportunity of settling there, and, by the methods you are acquainted with, which have already been communicated to you, do what is necessary and report the result.

Governor-General, MUSTAFA ABDULLHALIK.»

No. 603.

«To the Government of Aleppo.—

«Nov. 5, 1915.— We are informed that the little ones belonging to the Armenians from Sivas, Mamuret-ul-Aziz, Diarbekir and Erzeroum are adopted by certain Moslem families and received as servants when they are left alone through the death of their parents. We inform you that you are to collect all such children in your province and send them to the place of deportation, and also to give the necessary order regarding this to the people.

Minister of the Interior, TALAAT.»

«To the Government of Aleppo.—

«Collect the children of the Armenians who, by order of the War Office, have been gathered, together and cared for by the military authorities. Take them away on the pretext that they are to be looked after by the Deportation Committee, so as not to arouse suspicion. Destroy them and report.

Minister of the Interior, TALAAT.»

«To the Government of Aleppo.—

«Sept. 16, 1915.— It was at first communicated to you that the Government, by order of the Jemiet (the Ittihad Committee) had decided to destroy completely all the Armenians living in Turkey. Those who oppose this order and decision cannot remain

on the official staff of the Empire. An end must be put to their existence, however criminal the measures taken may be, and no regard must be paid to either age or sex nor to conscientious scruples.

Minister of the Interior, TALAAT.»

«A cipher-telegram from the War Office sent to all the commanding officers of the army.

«Feb. 27, 1918.— In view of present circumstance, the Imperial Government has issued an order for the extermination of the whole Armenian race. The following operations are to be made with regard to them.

1) «All» the Armenians in the country who are Ottoman subjects, from five years of age upwards, are to be taken out of the towns and slaughtered.

2) «All the Armenians serving in the Imperial Armies are to be separated from their divisions without making any disturbance; they are to be taken into solitary places away from the public eye, and shot.

3) «Armenian officers in the army are to be imprisoned in the barracks belonging to their regiments until further orders.

«Forty-eight hours after these three orders are communicated to the commanders of each regiment, a special order will be issued for their execution. You are not to undertake any operations except those indispensable for the execution of these orders.

Representative of the High Command,
and Minister of War, ENVER.

«We think», writes Ali Kemal Bey, «that those who know how to judge conscientiously and without bias will give a verdict in our favour. What are the facts of the case? Four or five years ago a crime universal and unique in history was being perpetrated in our country. Taking into consideration the gigantic magnitude and extent of the crime, it could not have been committed by four or five people, but proportionately by hundreds of thousands. If the victims had been 300,000 instead of 600,000 — if they had been even 200,000 or 100,000, a hundred, five hundred, or even a thousand criminals could not have wiped out so many people. It is already a proved fact that this crime was mapped out and decreed by the General Centre of the Ittihad. After the programme of the crime had been drawn up by certain bodies, it was carried out by Governors — General and Government — that is, Government officials, by the police and by the people. Now, is it not a contempt of justice to let loose on the one hand a multitude of great and small criminals, and on the other to arrest only the Governors-General of Diarbekir, Sivas and Kharput (who were in any case not tried), and a few subordinate officials?»

«Sabah», January 28, 1919.

THE GREATEST HORROR IN HISTORY

HENRY MORGENTHAU

(American Ambassador in Turkey during the First World War)

Few nations have suffered as much as Armenia. So terrible and continuous have been the atrocities to which it has fallen victim, that the very name of Armenia to most of us, became synonymous with martyrdom. Its sufferings during the present catastrophe have been greater than any known in the history of the world. None of the fearful horrors perpetrated in the various gruels of the war can compare with the «Tragic lot of the Armenians... !

The final and worst measure used against the Armenians, was the wholesale deportation of the entire population, from their homes and their exile to the Desert, with all the accompanying horrors on the way.

«Homes were literally uprooted, families were separated, men killed women and girls violated daily on the way or taken to harems. Children were thrown into the rivers or sold to strangers by their mothers to save them from starvation. The facts contained in the reports received at the Embassy from absolutely trustworthy eye witnesses surpass the most beastly and diabolic cruelties ever before perpetrated or imagined in the history of the world.

«The women and children were taken to the neighbouring villages, placed in house by the hundred, and either burned alive or thrown into the river. Furthermore, one could see women and children pass by with blood streaming down, weeping... Who can describe such pictures ? Add to all this the sight of burning houses and smell of man burning corpses.

Mamuret-ul-Aziz has become the cemetery of all the Armenians, all the Armenians from the various vilayets were sent there, and those who had not died on the way came there simply to find their graves.

«And they had generally treated so harshly the families of better class. Feet, hands, chests, were nailed to a piece of wood, nails of fingers and toes were torn out, beard and eye-brows pulled out, feet were hammered with nails, as they do with horses, others were hung with their feet up and hands down over closets... Oh ! »

«This massacre of the Armenians judged both by the numbers involved and the methods used, was the greatest single horror ever perpetrated in the history of humanity.

« Will the outrageous terrorising, the cruel torturing, the driving of women into harems, the debouchery of innocent girls, the sale of many of them at eighty cents each, the murdering of hundreds of thousands and the deportation to and starvation in the deserts, the destruction of hundreds of villages and cities, with the wilful execution of this whole devilish scheme to annihilate the Armenians, Greek and Syrian Christians of Turkey, will all this go unpunished ?

« THE TRAGEDY OF ARMENIA »,

EXTRACTS

AND THEIR BODIES FLOATED DOWN TO THE SEA... ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE

« They fell behind and were boyoneted and thrown into the river, and their bodies floated down to the sea, or lodged in the shallow river on rocks where they remained for ten or twelve days and putrefied.»

«The Turkish atrocities in the district of Bitlies are undescrivable. After having massacred the whole male population of this district, the Turks collected 9,000 women and children from the surrounding villages. Two days later they marched them out to the bank of the Tigris, shot them all, and threw the 9,000 corpses into the river.»

«All this horrors, both the concerted crime and its local embellishments, was inflicted upon the Armenians without a shadow of provocation.»

«In one village 1000 Armenians, men-women and children have been crowded into a wooden house, and the house set on fire.»

«THE ARMENIAN ATROCITIES»



ONE MILLION HAVE BEEN SLAUGHTERED

H. ADAM GIBBONS

«Of the 2,000,000 Armenians in Turkey in 1914, one million have been slaughtered, and the survivors only 130,000 remain in Turkey and the rest are refugees and exiles. Armenian property losses are valued at over 5000.000.000 dollars or more than three fourths of the estimated wealth of the Armenian race.»

(Armenia in the World War)



A WORD OF GHASTLY HORROR

«Another word remains - Armenia - a word of ghastly horror carrying the memory of deeds not done in the world since Christ was born - a country swept clear by the wholesale murder of its people.»

(«Times» 30.12.1916)



THE TURK COLONEL SIR MARK SYKES, M. P.

«The Turk, who in the last ten years had thrown back to the primitive Turanian Conqueror, was not content with dominating, but was now engaged in exterminating the Armenian, the Syrian Christian, and the Arabs, and was even now beginning to bully the Jews.»

(«The Near East», January 19, 1917)

"He saw ravines full of skeletons of the slain"

By VISCOUNT BRYCE, O. M.

London, 1920

We know what Oitornan tyranny always was, and is, and always will continue to be, since it belongs to the character of the race. The Turks, as rulers, have proved themselves, to be what Edmund Burke called them one hundred and thirty years ago, savages. They are, moreover, irreclaimable savages. Their governing class—it is of that class only and not of the simple Turkish peasants that I speak throughout these pages — is cruel, perfidious, incapable of honest or efficient government, dead to all feelings of justice or humanity. Their diplomacy has shown cunning and adroitness, in playing upon the jealousies of the European Powers, as their only statesmanship has lain in setting one part of their subjects against the others, but they have neither the wish to give, nor the capacity for giving, a decent administration to the once prosperous countries which they beggared and depopulated. Whoever doubts this need only recall their behaviour since the Crimean War, when they made lavish promises of reforms that they never even attempted to carry out, and since the Treaty of Berlin in 1878, when they were allowed another chance of mending their ways. So far from improving, they grew worse. Abdul Hamid, in 1895 and 1896, directed a series of frightful massacres in Armenia, in which more than one hundred thousand Christians perished.

With the fall of Abdul Hamid better prospects seemed to be opening. The young Turk party and so-called Committee of Union and Progress which led it and governed Turkey till 1918, made liberal professions, proclaiming equal rights for all subjects of the Sultan. But within a few months they planned and carried out a massacre at Adana, and, not without some promptings from German advisers, they formed the design of removing or exterminating all the Christian populations. The Armenians, as the most energetic and industrious part of these populations, were the chief victims. About the middle of 1915, as soon as the fear that Constantinople might be captured by the British Fleet had vanished, Talaat and Enver, the two leading members of the Committee, issued orders for the slaughter of all the adult males among the Armenian Christians in the Asiatic parts of the Empire, and for the expulsion from their homes and enslavement or transportation into the desert of Northern Arabia and Mesopotamia, of the women and children. These orders were carried out. Nearly a million persons were killed, many of them with horrible tortures, some including bishops and other ecclesiastics, roasted to death. An American Consul told me that he

saw ravines in the Mountains near Kharput full of the skeletons of the slain. Of the women, many were seized by Turkish officials or sold by public auction, to Muslim purchasers for their harems, and in those harems most of these helpless victims are still confined. Those children who escaped death were given over to dervishes to be made Muslims. Of those, both women and young children, who were deported, the greater number perished on their journey to their places of exile, but a few escaped into Egypt, and some three hundred thousand fled into Trans-Caucasia, a large proportion of whom have since died of starvation. Forty or fifty thousand survive, in severest distress, near Adana in Cilicia. The Turkish ruffians in power at Constantinople tried, when the facts became known in Western Europe—for the German Government, even when appealed to by the horrified German missionaries, refused either to allow the truth to become known, as it had refused to raise a finger to arrest the work of massacre.—the Turkish government tried to accuse the Armenians of having given provocation. But these falsehoods cannot impose on any one who looks at the evidence as it has now been brought to light, and sifted.

It is necessary to repeat these facts, for in these last three years, full of startling events and dismal sufferings everywhere, many English people have already forgotten the massacres of 1915 though they are most terrible that even these afflicted countries have ever seen. Whoever wishes to know how vile and ruthless Turkish cruelty can be should read the evidence regarding the massacres published by the British Foreign Office in 1916, and read also in the book of Mr. Morgenthau the account which he, then American Ambassador at Constantinople, gives of the efforts he made to induce Talaat and Enver to desist from their hideous work. These two last-named wretches were the most prominent actors but they allowed, or encouraged, by their colleagues to proceed with the policy of extermination. Not a voice seems to have been raised, inside or outside the Governmental circle, to check or modify it. It was indeed of a piece with the policy of Turkish rulers in former days. The massacres of the Greek Christians in Chios in 1822, the massacres of the Bulgarians in Thrace in 1876, the massacres in Armenia and Constantinople, ordered by Abdul Hamid in 1895 and 1896, were only attempts on a comparatively small scale to secure obedience by murder and uniformity by extermination. But the most convincing proof that the snake is still a snake, however often he may change his skin, was given by those apostles of freedom, the Young Turks, when they bettered the achievement of the tyrant whom they had deposed by slaughtering hundreds of thousands where he had slaughtered tens of thousands. They had not even the excuse of fanaticism, whatever it may be worth. The Committee of Union and Progress are not what Orientals call "good Muslims". Some of them are more than suspected of not being Muslims in anything but name. It was political motives, and in some cases the desire to enrich themselves (as they in fact did) by robbery, that prescribed their policy.

Can anyone who recalls this long record of oppression, cruelty, and bloodshed, anyone who knows what misery and poverty Turkish administration, hardly less pernicious to its Muslim subjects than to its Christian subjects, has brought upon countries rich in natural resources, doubt to what conclusion the record points? The Council of Ten at Paris had no doubt. In their answer to the Turkish delegates who appealed to them in June, 1919, to leave the Turkish Empire standing, they observed that «the Turk had no capacity to rule over alien races. The experiment has been tried too long and too often for there to be any doubt. Neither among Christians nor among Muslims has the Turk done other than destroy wherever he has conquered. Never has he shown himself able to develop in peace what he has won by war». This is a gentle way of stating that he has ruined everything he has touched. Every chance given for amendment has been neglected. The condition of the Turkish dominions was worse in 1914 than it had been before the Crimean War; and the country is more hopelessly disorganised now than it was in 1914, with more ferocious passions let loose and a greater difficulty in restoring order or prosperity, because the most orderly and industrious part of the population has been destroyed.

The only course that can be followed by the Allies, if they have the slightest regard for the welfare of the populations or for the declarations and promises they have repeatedly made during the war, is to put an end, once for all and for ever, to any Turkish rule over Christian races. The British Prime Minister said in Parliament on December 21st, 1917, that Mesopotamia and Armenia must never be placed again under Turkish domination, and in a declaration made to trade union delegates on January 5th, 1918 repeated that Arabia, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine had a right to have their separate national existence recognised, and could not be given back to their former masters. The French Minister for Foreign Affairs said, a few days later, that the policy of respect for the right of nationalities ought to be applied to the Armenian and Syrian populations. President Wilson, in the twelfth of his Fourteen Points, M. Clemenceau in a letter dated July 15th, 1918, recognising the services which the Armenians who fought for the Allies had rendered to the Allied cause, made similar declarations. So did the British Under-Secretary of State (Lord Robert Cecil then held that office) in a letter (since published) to myself of October, 1918, and more than once in Parliament. From those dates till now no official authority in any Allied country had, so far as appears, receded—as how, indeed, could any of them recede?—from these announcements of what the Allies have promised and of what justice requires. Public opinion both here and in America welcomed those announcements and has relied upon them, for every reasonable man saw that it would be a crime and a blunder to give the Turk any further chance of wreaking his wicked will upon Christian subjects.

Extract from «The Settlement of the Near East»,
London, 1920

A PUBLIC MEETING

Report of Public Meeting organised by the Lord Mayor's Fund, held at Central Hall, Westminster, on December 4th, 1918.

The Meeting was presided by His Grace The Archbishop of Canterbury.

« UNSPEAKABLE HORRORS »

The servitude in which Christian populations under Turkish rule had groaned for centuries was replaced some thirty or forty years ago, under that monster of iniquity, Abdul Hamid, by a former policy of massacre. The difficulty of Christian peoples had been a continuous one, and the Turk had complained time after time of what he called a «disloyalty» on the part of people whom he was ceaselessly persecuting. But he then exchanged for that former policy a policy of massacre, and decided that there should be no Armenian or Nestorian or Christian question, because, so far as he could bring it about, there should be no Armenian or Nestorian or other Christian to arouse it. A deliberate plan of extermination was set on foot, and for years was carried out. During the war matters reached a point almost incredible in its horror. First there came to the poor Christian populations who had survived what had gone before exactions intolerable in their severity, and then, because those exactions could not be enforced or the money paid, there came torture of the vilest and most awful kind. Then there came the fear that Christians, after so suffering, should be enlisted in the Army. They were enlisted, and speedily put into what are called labour battalions, the point of that being that they should be disarmed, so on occasion be the objects of a massacre against which, had they been ordinary soldiers, they might have defended themselves. We have records of all this, compiled largely from American sources, by the devoted labours of American consuls, missionaries, and workers. These records are stored in the archives at Washington, and the facts are placed beyond doubt with a horrible detail, blood-curdling to those who read. The massacres which afterwards ensued, carried out among men who had no power of resistance, and no physical strength to escape, are literally incredible but for the sources from which the information comes. Some of you will have read in detail the story told in Mr. Arnold Toynbee's book on Armenian Atrocities, to which Lord Bryce has given his imprimatur and his name. Others will, perhaps, have read three articles in the last three weekly issues of Land and Water, by Mr. Henry Morgenthau, the former diplomatic agent in Constantinople, written for the American Government, and setting forth the events in detail. They are literally incredible but for the sources from which they have come and the authentication which is given to the narrative. They describe unspeakable horrors, tortures, massacres, the selling for a few shillings of girls to Turkish soldiers, and the consequent terrible things

which have ensued. A population civilised and intelligent, and a little while ago, notwithstanding all its troubles, prosperous, is now reduced to a condition almost impossible to describe without seeming an exaggeration. We read of 24,000 massacred in three days; another time 55,000 bodies were counted by the American representatives, who saw the preparation made for their burning. Altogether at least 600,000 persons— some say a million persons— have been done to death under a system of horrible misrule and intolerable and unspeakable cruelty, which, it amazes one to find, has not stirred the world even more than it has done. These are not the high-flown or over-wrought descriptions of emotional men. I refer you to the books I have mentioned to see, where the authority is given, how quiet and cool and careful it is, and how capable the story is of refutation if refutation were possible, which I am afraid it is not.

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

«I READ WITH HORROR OF THE ATROCITIES »

The Archbishop of Canterbury, brethren in Christ: it is with great emotion that I am amongst you at a meeting on behalf of those who were persecuted by the Turkish cruelty. I have been in Jerusalem and in Damascus and other places, and have seen with my own eyes the sad results of Turkish savagery. I recall the order made by Sultan Hamid for the massacres of Armenians. The sad impression I gathered from the atrocities committed in those times will follow me to my tomb. A few years later I heard while in Jerusalem of other massacres which had been committed against the Christians in Syria. These massacres were not made by Sultan Hamid, but by the Young Turk party, who proved to be greater tyrants than Sultan Hamid himself. They resulted in the worst misfortune to the poor peoples of Assyria and Armenia and the Greeks of Asia Minor. I read with horror of the atrocities committed by the Turks against the Armenians and Assyrians.

ARCHBISHOP MELETIOS

«DESPERATE CONDITION...»

We miss Lord Robert Cecil from this meeting, and we must make it understood of the Government that the change of personnel in the Foreign Office shall mean no change of policy. Turkey must go (loud cheers). Delays are dangerous, and sometimes desperate, and the delay with the Turk has brought about the desperate condition in which the Armenians find themselves today. It sometimes happens, I believe, that statesmen utter words of wisdom, and even great ecclesiastics have been known to give advice that was salutary at times, and the delay which has happened, and which has been the cause of this that we now deplore would never have been had the words of wisdom of the great Christian statesman, Gladstone - (applause) - and the sound advice of the not less great ecclesiastic Cardinal Manning - (applause) - been listened to a generation ago. The Turk would not have been

able in that event to have used his fangs during the last thirty years.

MONSIGNOR GROCH

Let me say also that all this talk about the gentlemanly Turk is the greatest rot in the world. Too many people are running down the character of the Armenians (hear, hear). It is simply done in the interests of those who are persecuting them. The Armenians I look upon as most oppressed and deserving body of people.

BISHOP OF LONDON

«IS HE NOT TO BE BROUGHT TO TRIAL ?»

These Christians, both Armenians and Assyrians, live under Turkish rule, and I want you to realise what Turkish rule means, in normal times, in ordinary times, without any war, without any excitement. What is the condition of these Christian peoples holding the Christian faith in these vast tracts of Asia Minor ? It is no exaggeration to say, ladies and gentlemen, that no man's property is safe, no woman's honour is safe, and no Christian's life is safe - all that in normal times.

And when we pass further west, to a great city like Constantinople, which calls itself a civilised city, what do we find, or what did we find a few years ago, in times of peace ? We found, only a few years ago, wholesale massacres of the Armenians of Constantinople.

And now, ladies and gentlemen, when Turkey is at war - or was at war - what was the policy ? It was a policy of absolute extermination of the Christian peoples, it did not matter whether they were Armenians or Assyrians, or whether they were of the nationality of the Archbishop of Athens whom we are so proud to see on the platform tonight. As the Turks say, « It was black pigs, white pigs, all pigs. » Every Christian was regarded as the same. The policy of extermination was carried out partly by deportations, so that thousands - literally thousands - of men, women and children were torn from their homes, and dragged through Asia Minor. If you read the reports his Grace has referred to you will be filled with horror. Stark naked and dying on the road, these people were driven from one side of Asia Minor to the other. Great Rivers actually changed their courses because they were choked with corpses. And that has been going on within the last two years. At the present moment the people of this country are very much excited about the Kaiser. They are calling for the Kaiser's head. I am not here to defend the Kaiser. But I am here to say that if we are moved by the atrocities which are under our eyes more or less, in Belgium and France, those atrocities in Belgium and France do not equal the tenth - not the twentieth - part of what has been going on in other parts of Europe and in Asia Minor. If it comes to asking for heads, there are other heads besides the Kaiser's. What about Enver, the leader of the Young Turks ? If there was ever a man respon-

sible for these frightful cruelties, it is Eeavier Pasha. Is he not to be brought to trial ? We know the names of most of these scoundrels. A confidential paper of the Greek Government was put into my hands the other day. There are the names of the men who ordered the massacres, who ordered the violation of the women, and if we are going to ask for the head of the Kaiser, it is only the beginning, ladies and gentlemen, if justice is to be done (applause).

I turn to the question of what is to be our policy, and that brings me to my resolution. This resolution I did not draft, but I most thoroughly agree with it. It is a very curious thing, but you will find that the Turk has always been traditionally popular in this country. Talk to the average Englishman, and you will find that he has always something to say for the Turk. I know the Turk very well indeed, I have come across him a great deal, and let me tell you what the difference between the Turk is. When the Turk is a servant and the underdog he is a very good fellow. If I wanted a servant in travelling I should certainly choose a Turk. He is very decent fellow when in that capacity. But he is an absolutely impossible person as master. The Turkish Government is impossible. Lord Bryce - I wish he was with us to-night - has dinned it into the ears of the British public for years and years that the Turkish empire must go.

ATHELSTAN RILEY

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« EVERYWHERE THAT THE TRAIL OF THE TURK
APPEARS, HUMAN LIFE... WITHERS »

My first passionate interest in the Armenians and the Assyrian peoples began in the months just preceding the war, when I was walking in the streets of Tarsus, the city of St. Paul, with that magnificent, great-hearted Christian woman of America, Mrs. Christie, the wife of the President of St. Paul's Institute in Tarsus. She is, I believe, one of the great women of the world. We turned into the little courtyard, and there we heard voices belonging to quite a strong-lunged party of Armenian children, boys and girls, coming through the window. We went into the room and found there a little Armenian kindergarten.

From that kindergarten Mrs. Christie called out three little five-year old children, all bearing practically the same name, though two of them were boys, and one was a girl. Their tragic story was then told to me. Five years before that date the rifles were handed out at the Turkish arsenal at Tarsus, and a ruthless massacre of Armenians began. The Turks sped to the Armenian quarter, the door of house after house was bashed open, the rooms entered, the treasures looted-if a business house the safe was blasted open with gunpowder; men, women, and children were slaughtered, and then the house was set on fire. It was really an attempt to destroy the whole Armenian life in Tarsus. The Armenian women, learning what was happening, fled for their lives down the streets of Tarsus, all of them making by one instinct for the gates of St. Paul's Institute, which were flung wide open

to them, and they filled the campus, the stables, the dormitories, the class-rooms, the missionaries' house, until actually that night three women were sleeping under the grand piano and two on the top of it ! Here was the one place where they could remain in safety, and while the mothers were in there, and the fathers were being massacred outside in the streets of Tarsus, these little baby children were born, and because of the compassionate affection that they received in this place of refuge, the boys were called Christie, and the girl Christine. These two boys and the girl to whom I was introduced at Tarsus were born during that terrible time. They would be nine now. I met at the same time a boy nine years old and talked with him, and this was his story. The Turks had entered his house, bayoneted his father and his elder brothers, thrown them out on a heap of corpses in the road, and had thrown out this little boy with them. He lay there as though dead through the hours of light upon the heap of his slaughtered relatives, and then, when darkness fell, he crept away to that same place, the missionary college of St. Paul's, where he has been brought up by Mr. & Mrs. Christie as a second father and mother. During these latter days, when we have been hearing of these horrible massacres, knowing as I do that they began on the Cilician plain, of which Tarsus is the centre, I am haunted by the memory of the faces of those three innocent children and of that boy of nine in the certainty in my own heart that none of them have escaped the filthy violence of the abominable Turk.

I stand here to-day full of a passionate conviction—having gone through the Turkish empire from the shores of the Dead Sea, travelling across Cilicia and Asia Minor to Smyrna, and having seen how everywhere that the trail of the Turk appears, human life in all its best elements withers—that the rule of the Turk must go. (Applause.) I will not go into detail, as I had a mind to do, because the time for closing this meeting is already upon us, only I want to say that the facts laid before us are as incontrovertible as they are diabolical.

Now, fellow Christians, ladies and gentlemen, just multiply the horror of this scene by a thousandfold. Think of men slain and women raped along the roadsides. Think of gentle, trained nurses being dragged away from the hospitals in which they were ministering to the Turks themselves—driven out into the country to die. Think of innocent people beaten and dragged and thrown into the rivers, of children taken up by the legs and hurled against rocks, and, as a background to all this, the burning villages and the sum of atrocities piled up with every imaginable barbarity and filthiness. And still, even after all this, you would go short of the absolutely cold and historically accurate facts of the case. That being so, there is nothing before us but to liberate these people and all Christian people for evermore from the horrible rule of the Turk.

BASIL MATHEWS

Extracts from « The Plight of Armenian and Assyrian Christians », London, 1919.

DOCUMENTS

The following extracts are quoted from «The Treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire» (**The Blue Book**), a collection of documents relating to the massacres and deportation of the Armenian population of Asiatic Turkey from early 1915 to July 1916, presented to Viscount Grey of Fallodon, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and laid before the Houses of Parliament as an official paper and was published in 1916.

A SCHEME FOR EXTERMINATING THE ARMENIAN NATION 50 YEARS EGO



LETTER FROM VISCOUNT BRYCE TO VISCOUNT GREY OF FALLODON, SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

July 1st., 1916

My Dear Sir Edward,

In the autumn of 1915 accounts of massacres and deportations of the Christian population of Asiatic Turkey began to reach Western Europe and the United States. Few and imperfect at first—for every effort was made by the Turkish Government to prevent them passing out of the country—these accounts increased in number and fullness of detail till in the beginning of 1916 it became possible to obtain a fairly accurate knowledge of what had happened. It then struck me that in the interest of historic truth, as well as with a view to the questions that must arise when the war ends, it had become necessary to try to complete these accounts, and test them by further evidence, so as to compile a general narrative of the events and estimate their significance. As materials were wanting or scanty in respect of some localities, I wrote to all the persons I could think of likely to possess or to be able to procure trustworthy data, begging them to favour me with such data. I addressed myself in particular to friends in the United States, a country which has long and intimate relations with Eastern Christians and to which many of those Christians have in recent years emigrated. Similar requests were made to Switzerland, also a neutral country, many of whose people have taken a lively interest in the welfare of the Ar-

menians. When the responses from these quarters showed that sufficient materials for a history—provisional, no doubt, but trustworthy as far as the present data went—could be obtained, I had the good fortune to secure the co-operation of a young historian of high academic distinction, Mr. Arnold J. Toynbee, late fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. He undertook to examine and put together the pieces of evidence collected, arranging them in order and adding such observations, historical and geographical, as seemed needed to explain them. The materials so arranged by Mr. Toynbee, followed by such observations as aforesaid, I now transmit to you. They are, of course, of unequal value, for while most of them are narratives by eye-witnesses, some few report, at second hand what was told by eye-witnesses. In a short introduction prefixed, I have tried to estimate their value, and so need only say here that nothing has been admitted the substantial truth of which seems open to reasonable doubt. Facts only have been dealt with; questions of future policy have been carefully avoided. It is evidently desirable not only that ascertained facts should be put on record for the sake of future historians, while the events are still fresh in living memory, but also that the public opinion of belligerent nations and, I may add, of neutral peoples also should be enabled by a knowledge of what has happened in Asia Minor and Armenia to exercise its judgement on the course proper to be followed when, at the end of the present war, a political re-settlement of the Nearer East has to be undertaken.

I am, Yours sincerely,
BRYCE.

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**LETTER FROM VISCOUNT GREY OF FALLODON,
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
TO VISCOUNT BRYCE**

Foreign Office,
August 23rd, 1916

My Dear Bryce,

I have to thank you for sending me the collection of documents on the Armenian Massacres which has been so ably put together by Mr. Arnold J. Toynbee.

It is a terrible mass of evidence; but I feel that it ought to be published and widely studied by all who have the broad interests of humanity at heart. It will be valuable, not only for the immediate information of public opinion as to the conduct of the Turkish Government towards this defenceless people, but also as a mine of information for historians in the future, and for the other purposes suggested in your letter.

Your sincerely, **Grey of Fallodon.**

...the position of the Armenians and the system of deportation, dispersion, and extermination that is being carried out against them beggars all description.

DOCUMENT 1.

A week before anything was done to Baibourt, the villages all round had been emptied of their Armenian inhabitants. The forced exodus from Baibourt took place on the 1st June. All the villages, as well as three-fourths of the town, had already been evacuated. The third convoy included from 4,000 to 5,000 people. Within six or seven days from the start, all males down to below fifteen years of age had been murdered.

Persecutions, accompanied by horrible torture, have taken place in the Armenian village of Baghtchedjik or Bardizag (2000 families), in Ovajik (600 families), in Arslanbeg (600 families), in Dôngól (65 families), in Sabandja (1,000 families), in Ismid, etc. The inhabitants of Kurt-Belene (6,000 to 7,000 families) have been expelled.

DOCUMENT 2.

The least details of this compulsory emigration that reach us at Constantinople, reduce one to tears at their recital. Among those 1,000 families deported to Sultania there are less than fifty men. The majority made the journey on foot; the old people and the young children died by the wayside, and young women with child miscarried and were abandoned on the mountains.

DOCUMENT 4.

The exiles will have to traverse on foot a distance that involves one or two months' marching and sometimes even more, before they reach the particular corner of the desert assigned to them for their habitation, and destined to become their tomb. We hear, in fact, that the course of their route and the stream of the Euphrates are littered with the corpses of exiles, while those who survive are doomed to certain death, since they will find in the desert neither house, nor work, nor food.

It is simply a scheme for exterminating the Armenian nation wholesale, without any fuss. It is just another form of massacre, and a more horrible form.

The villages in the neighbourhood of Van and Bitlis have been plundered, and their inhabitants put to the sword. At the beginning of this month, there was a pitiless massacre of all the inhabitants of Kara-Hissar with the exception of a few children who are said to have escaped by a miracle.

DOCUMENT 6.

It is now established that there is not an Armenian left in

the provinces of Erzeroum, Trebizond, Sivas, Harpout, Bitlis and Diyarbekir. About a million of the Armenian inhabitants of these provinces have been deported from their homes and sent southwards into exile.

The convoys of women and children were placed on view in front of the Government Building at each town or village where they passed, to give the Moslems an opportunity of taking their choice.

The convoy which started from Baibourt was thinned out in this way, and **the women and children who survived were thrown into the Euphrates** on the outskirts of Erzindjan at a place called Kamakh-Boghazi. Mademoiselle Flora A. Wedel Yarleberg, a Norwegian lady of good family who was a nurse in a German Red Cross Hospital, and another nurse who was her colleague, were so revolted by these barbarities and by other experiences of equal horror, that they tendered their resignations, returned to Constantinople, and called personally at several Embassies to denounce these hideous crimes.

The same barbarities have been committed everywhere, and by this time travellers find nothing but thousands of Armenian corpses along all the roads in the provinces. A Moslem traveller on his way from Malatia to Sivas, a nine hours' journey, passed nothing but corpses of men and women. All the male Armenians of Malatia had been taken there and massacred.

DOCUMENT 7.

German travellers from Aleppo describe the misery of the deported Armenians as terrible. All along the route they saw corpses of Armenians who had died of hunger.

The Arab deputies from Bagdad and Syria report that the misery in the deserts of Hauran is indescribable.

DOCUMENT 11.

In the Vilayet of Aleppo they have evicted the inhabitants of Hadjin, Shar, Albustan, Goksoun, Tasholouk, Zeitoun, all the villages of Alabash, Geben, Shivilgi, Furnus and the surrounding villages, Fundadjak, Hassan-Beyli, Harni, Lappashi, Dort-Yof and others.

They have marched them off in convoys into the desert on the pretext of settling them there. In the village of Tel-Armen (along the line of the Bagdad Railway, near Mosul) and in the neighbouring villages about 5,000 peoples were massacred, leaving only a few women and children. The people were thrown alive down wells or into the fire. They pretend that the Armenians are to be employed in colonising land situated at a distance of from twenty-four to thirty kilometers from the Bagdad Railway. But as it is only the women and children who are sent into exile, since all the men, with the exception of the very old, are at the

war, this means nothing less than the wholesale murder of the families, since they have neither the labour nor the capital for clearing the country.

For a whole month corpses were observed floating down the River Euphrates nearly every day, often in batches of from two to six corpses bound together. The male corpses are in many cases hideously mutilated (sexual organs cut off, and so on), the female corpses are ripped open. The Turkish military authority in control of the Euphrates, the Kaimakam of Djerablous, refuses to allow the burial of these corpses, on the ground that he finds it impossible to establish whether they belong to Moslems or to Christians. He adds that no one has given him any orders on the subject. The corpses stranded on the bank are devoured by dogs and vultures. To this fact there are many German eye-witnesses. An employee of the Bagdad Railway has brought the information that the prisons at Biredjik are filled regularly every day and emptied every night into the Euphrates. Between Diyarbekir and Ourfa a German cavalry captain saw innumerable corpses lying unburied all along the road.

Aleppo and Ourfa are the assemblage-places for the convoys of exiles. There were about 5,000 of them in Aleppo during June and July, while during the whole period from April to July many more than 50,000 must have passed through the city. The girls were abducted almost without exception by the soldiers and their Arab hangers-on. One father, on the verge of despair, besought me to take with me at least his fifteen years old daughter, as he could no longer protect her from the persecutions inflicted upon her. The children left behind by the Armenians on their journey are past counting.

Women whose pains came upon them on the way had to continue their journey without respite. A woman bore twins in the neighbourhood of Aintab; next morning she had to go on again. She very soon had to leave the children under a bush, and a little while after she collapsed herself. Another, whose pains came upon her during the march, was compelled to go on at once and fell down dead almost immediately. There were several more incidents of the same kind between Marash and Aleppo.

DOCUMENT 12.

THEY WERE KILLED OR STARVED TO DEATH

... At sunset these 500 young men were shot outside the town without any formality. During the following two days the same process was carried out with heartless and cold-blooded thoroughness in the 80 Armenian villages of Ardjish, Adiljevass, and the rest of the district north of Lake Van. In this manner some 24,000 Armenians were killed in three days, their young women carried away and their homes looted.

The country from Igdir to Van had indeed been a slaughter-

house but a few months before. Entire villages had been completely wiped-out. Except for some casual travellers, not a single human soul was to be seen there — there were but vultures and howling dogs who fed upon the putrified human remains.

DOCUMENT 19.

«I spent a month in Van while our school was the target of the Turks. I saw them kill, burn and persecute,» she said. «I saw our town become a part of barren waste. I saw Turks bury Armenian victims with the dogs, divide the women among them as wives and throw babies into the Lake. The school was burned, the missionaries fled, and 35,000 of the 75,000 inhabitants of the Van district were killed or starved to death.»

DOCUMENT 20.

When there was no one left in Bitlis to massacre, their attention was diverted to Moush. Cruelties had already been committed, but so far not too publicly; now, however, they started to shoot people down without any cause, and beat them to death simply for the pleasure of doing so. In Moush itself, which is a big town, there are 25,000 Armenians; in the neighbourhood there are 300 villages each containing about 500 houses. In all these not a single male Armenian is now to be seen, and hardly a woman either, except for a few here and there.

We left for Harpout. Harpout has become the cemetery of the Armenians; from all directions they have been brought to Harpout to be buried. There they lie, and the dogs and the vultures devour their bodies. Now and then some men throws some earth over the bodies. In Harpout and Mezre, the people have had to endure terrible tortures. They have had their eyebrows plucked out, their breasts cut off, their nails torn off; their torturers hew off their feet or else hammer nails into them just as they do in shoeing a horse.

In Mezre a public brothel was erected for the Turks, and all the beautiful Armenian girls and women were placed there. At night the Turks were allowed free entrance.

DOCUMENT 23.

... Women were wantonly slain; those with child ripped up with swords; the breasts of others cut off. Some threw themselves and their children into the streams and over the precipices to escape outrage.

DOCUMENT 51.

Our information concerning Erzeroum itself was at first somewhat scanty, but since its capture by the Russians it has been visited by representatives of various relief organisations in the

Caucasus, who have obtained circumstantial accounts of what happened in the city and the surrounding villages. They report that, out of an Armenian population estimated at 400,000 souls for the Vilayets of Erzeroum and Bitlis, not more than 8,000 - 10,000 have survived—in other words, that 98 per cent of the Armenians in the Vilayets have been deported or massacred.

(Author's note, page 221).

... One child was brained. Of the other children, a girl was taken away and only escaped many months later when the Russians came. Very reluctantly she poured out her story to the Stapletons, from which it appeared that she had been handed round to ten officers after the murder of her husband and his mother, to be their sport.

DOCUMENT 53.

A few hours' distance beyond Mamahatoun, at the entrance of a valley called the Kabakh gorge, this convoy was «ambushed by unknown robbers.» The signal was given by a revolver shot, whereupon a volley of fire was poured upon the Armenians. One of the survivors of this batch, a lad of 18 whom I saw in Erzeroum, told me that the shrieks and cries of the women and weeping children under fire were distracting. Many attempted to escape, but they were fired upon by their own escort. In two hours' time the valley had become a vast cemetery of unburied human bodies. Out of the 15,000 thus disposed of, a few escaped and reached Erzeroum in the guise of Turkish peasants.

The German officers in Erzeroum behaved in an outrageous manner towards the Armenian women torn away from their men. The Germans, in fact, seem to have set the example of wrenching women from their homes. One Captain Schapner (?) is said to have forced Miss Tchilingarian, a handsome girl, to follow him. On her resisting and crying, she was dragged about in the streets and roughly handled. This worthy German also carried off Mrs. Sarafian, a young woman educated in Switzerland. Another German lieutenant, Karl (?), dragged five women to his rooms, and so on.

In a loop of the river near Erzindjan, the thousands of dead bodies created such a barrage that the Euphrates changed its course for about a hundred yards.

DOCUMENT 57.

The worst and most unimaginable horrors were reserved for us at the banks of the Euphrates and in the Erzindjan plain. The mutilated bodies of women, girls and little children made everybody shudder. The brigands were doing all sorts of awful deeds to the women and girls that were with us, whose cries went up to heaven. At the Euphrates, the brigands and gendarmes threw into the river all the remaining children under fifteen years old.

Those that could swim were shot down as they struggled in the water.

After seven days we reached Erzindjan. Not an Armenian was left alive there. Between there and Enderessi, the fields and hillsides were dotted with swollen and blackened corpses that filled and fouled the air with their stench.

DOCUMENT 59.

Convoys of exiles were continually arriving all on their way to the slaughter; we have no doubt about their fate, after the unanimous testimony which we have received from many different quarters. Later, our Greek driver told us that the victims had their hands tied behind their backs, and were thrown down from the cliffs into the river. This method was employed when the numbers were too great to dispose of them in any other fashion,

DOCUMENT 62.

... When she visited the Orphanage again several days later, there were only thirteen of the 700 children left —the rest had disappeared. They had been taken, she learnt, to a lake six hours' journey by road from the town and drowned. Three hundred fresh children were subsequently collected at the «Orphanage», and Sister DA. believed that they suffered the same fate as their predecessors. These victims were the residue of the Armenian children at H. The finest boys and prettiest girls had been picked out and carried off by the Turks and Kurds of the district, and it was the remainder, who had been left on the Government's hands, that were disposed of in this way.

DOCUMENT 64.

If it were simply a matter of being obliged to leave here to go somewhere else, it would not be so bad, but everybody knows that it is a case of going to one's death. If there was any doubt about it, it has been removed by the arrival of a number of convoys, aggregating several thousand people, from Erzeroum and Erzindjan. I have visited their encampment a number of times, and talked with some of the people. A more pitiable sight cannot be imagined. They are, almost without exception, ragged, filthy, hungry and sick. That is not surprising, in view of the fact that they have been on the road for nearly two months, with no change of clothing, no chance to wash, no shelter and little to eat.

On the Wednesday morning they were taken to a valley a few hours distant, where they were all made to sit down. Then the gendarmes began shooting them, until they had killed nearly all of them. Some who had not been killed by bullets were then disposed of with knives and bayonets.

... Our ears are sick with these sights and stories of abject terror and suffering. The extermination of the race seems to be the objective, and the means employed are more fiendish than could be connocted locally. The orders are from headquarters, and any reprieve must be from the same sources.

DOCUMENT 69.

TREBIZOND : EXTRACTS FROM AN INTERVIEW WITH COMM. G. GORRINI, LATE ITALIAN CONSUL-GENERAL AT TREBIZOND, PUBLISHED IN THE JOURNAL «IL MESSAGGERO» OF ROME, 25th AUGUST, 1915

For over four years I was Consul-General at Trebizond, with jurisdiction over practically the whole Black Sea littoral, from the Russo-Turkish frontier to the neighbourhood of Constantinople, and over five provinces in the interior of Asia Minor, (Eastern Anatolia, Armenia and Kurdistan) - districts chiefly inhabited by Turks, Armenians and Kurds, with a considerable sprinkling of Persians, Russians, Greeks and Arabs. For the last ten months, moreover, I had also been responsible for the protection of the very numerous Russian subjects and Russian interest, as well as the Greeks and Montenegrin, and also, to some extent, the French, the English, and the American, with others of minor account...

As for the present internal condition of the Ottoman Empire I can only answer for my own district. In my district the present condition of things is almost desperate. The population is showing true Moslem resignation in the way it is bearing the existing situation - the ruin and desolation of individuals and community, the holocaust of all and everything for a war which no one desired, but which was forced upon them by Enver Pasha, and which will lead to the ruin and dismemberment of all that still remains of the Ottoman Empire. But the Moslem and Christian populations can do nothing more - they have reached the extreme limit of their effort. The oxygen is being administered by the Germans, who are trying to prolong the agony of the dying Empire, but will not be able to perform the miracle of restoring life to a corpse. Apart from a few lunatics, a speedy peace, even if it involves the foreign occupation of Ottoman territory, is the prayer of all. There is no coudage for a rebellion. The Germans and the «Committee of Union and Progress» are hated and detested by all, but only in the intimacy of the heart and in confidential conversation, for the Germans and the Committee constitute the one genuine, solid organisation at present existing in Turkey - a masterly and most rigorous organisation, which does not hesitate to use any weapon whatever; an organisation of audacity, of terror, and of mysterious, ferocious revenge...

As for the Armenians, they were treated differently in the different vilayets. They were suspect and spied upon every-where,

but they suffered a real extermination, worse than massacre, in the so called «Armenian Vilayets».

There are seven of these, and five of them (including the most important and most thickly populated) unhappily for me formed part of my own Consular jurisdiction. These were the Vilayets of Trebizond, Erzeroum, Van, Bitlis and Sivas.

In my district, from the 24th June onwards, the Armenians were all «interned» - that is, ejected by force from their various residences and despatched under the guard of the gendarmerie to distant, unknown destinations, which for a few will mean the interior of Mesopotamia, but for four-fifths of them has meant already a death accompanied by unheard-of cruelties.

The official proclamation of internment came from Constantinople. It is the work of the Central Government and the «Committee of Union and Progress». The local authorities, and indeed the Moslem population in general, tried to resist, to mitigate it, to make omissions, to hush it up. But the orders of the central Government were categorically confirmed, and all were compelled to resign themselves and obey.

The Consular Body intervened and attempted to save at least the women and children. We did, in fact, secure numerous exemptions, but these were not subsequently respected, owing to the interference of the local branch of the «Union and Progress Committee» and to fresh from Constantinople.

It was a real extermination and slaughter of the innocents, an unheard-of thing, a black page stained with the flagrant violation of the most sacred rights of humanity, of Christianity, of nationality. The Armenian Catholics too, who in the past had always been respected and excepted from the massacres and persecutions, were this time treated worse than any - again by the orders of the Central Government. There were about 14.000 Armenians at Trebizond - Gregorians, Catholics, and Protestants. They had never caused disorders or given occasion for collective measures of police. When I left Trebizond, not a hundred of them remained.

From the 24th June, the date of the publication of the infamous decree, until the 23rd July, the date of my own departure from Trebizond, I no longer slept or ate; I was given over to nerves and nausea, so terrible was the torment of having to look on at the wholesale execution of these defenseless, innocent creatures.

The passing of the gangs of Armenian exiles beneath the windows and before the door of the Consulate; their prayers for help, when neither I nor any other could do anything to answer them; the city in a state of siege, guarded at every point by 15.000 troops in complet war equipment, by thousands of police agents, by bands of volunteers and by the members of the «Committee of Union and Progress»; the lamentations, the tears, the abandonments, the imprecations, the many suicides, the instantane-

ous deaths from sheer terror, the sudden unhooking at men's reason, the conflagrations, the shooting of victims in the city, the ruthless searches through the houses and in the countryside; the hundreds of corpses found every day along the exile road; the young women converted by force to Islam or exiled like the rest; the children torn away from their families or from the Christian schools and handed over by force to Moslem families, or else placed by hundreds on board ship in nothing but their shirts, and then capsized and drowned in the Black Sea and the River Deyirmen Dere - these are my last ineffaceable memories of Trebizond, memories which still, at a months distance, torment my soul and almost drive me frantic. When one has had to look on for a whole month at such horrors, at such protracted tortures, with absolutely no power of acting as one longed to act, the question naturally and spontaneously suggests itself, whether all the cannibals and all the wild beasts in the world have not left their hiding places and retreats, left the virgin forests of Africa, Asia, America and Oceania, to make their rendez-vous at Stamboul. I should prefer to close our interview at this point, with the solemn asseveration that this black page in Turkey's history calls for the most uncompromising reproach and for the vengeance of all Christendom. If they knew all the things that I know, all that I have had to see with my eyes and hear with my ears, all Christian powers that are still neutral would be impelled to rise up against Turkey and cry anathema against her inhuman Government and her ferocious «Committee of Union and Progress», and they would extend the responsibility to Turkey's Allies, who tolerate or even shield with their strong arm these execrable crimes, which have not their equal in history, either modern or ancient. Shame, horror, and disgrace.

DOCUMENT 73.

The whole Armenian population of Trebizond, numbering some 10,000 souls, was thus exterminated. It is hoped, however, that some hundreds of persons may yet be found hidden in the villages in the neighbourhood.

At Erzeroum, where the Armenian population was considerably greater, being estimated at 35,000, practically the same programme was carried out.

DOCUMENT 76.

We believe there is imminent danger of many of these people (whom we estimate for the Sivas, Erzeroum and Harpout Vilayets to be 600,000) starving to death on the road.

DOCUMENT 77.

The night before we had spent at Kazi Mahara, which was empty. They said that a valley near there was full of corpses. At Kangal we also began to see exiles from Tokat. The sight was one to strike horror to any heart; they were a company of old women, who had been robbed of absolutely everything.

As we approached the bridge over the Tokma Su, it was certainly a fearful sight. As far as the eye could see over the plain was this slow-moving line of ox-carts. For hours there was not a drop of water on the road, and the sun poured down its very hottest. As we went on we began to see the dead from yesterday's company, and the weak began to fall by the way.

DOCUMENT 78.

The Kaisaria people had been allowed to leave their daughters behind. While I was there, a woman and two men arrived from one of the Kaisaria out-stations and told of the terrible massacre of the whole village. **First the little boys up to ten were taken outside the village and killed.**

DOCUMENT 80.

With unspeakable brutality, the innocent young women teachers and pupils of the girls' school, who were remaining in the school for the summer vacation on account of the difficulties of traveling to their homes, were carried off by the Turkish gendarmes under Government orders.

You will see, incidentally, how this work of destruction illustrates the deep laid and carefully executed plans of the Turkish Government for the assassination and annihilation of the Armenian people.

On my way from X. to Constantinople, I saw at least 50,000 people, three fourths of whom were women and children, who had been torn from their homes and all their earthly possessions, and driven into the fields along the railway line without any shelter or any adequate means of subsistence, hungry, sick and perishing, awaiting the conveniences of the railway traffic to be crowded like sheep into the goods trucks, to be carried away eastward to die in the desert, if they did not perish or disappear in Turkish harems on the way.

The 50,000 whom I saw represented but a brief section of the procession which has been passing along that way for months. A very moderate estimate of the number of people who have perished in this way places the figure at 50,000, and still they go on.

When the wife of our American Ambassador at Constantinople made a personal appeal to Talaat Bey, the Minister of the Interior in the Turkish Cabinet—the man who more than anyone else has devised and executed this deportation of the Armenians, and who has boasted that he has been able to destroy more Armenians in 30 days than Abd-ul-Hamid was able to destroy in 30 years, when she made an appeal to this Turkish Minister, begging him to stop this cruel persecution of Armenian women and girls, the only answer she got from him was : «All this amuses us!».

The mayor of our city told our American Consular Agent that the Government intended first to get rid of the Armenians, and then of the Greeks, and finally of the foreigners, and so to have Turkey for the Turks. Enver Pasha said the same thing to our Ambassador.

One of the gendarmes who helped to drive these 1,213 men away, boasted to our French teacher that he had killed 50 Armenians with his own hands, and had obtained from their persons £150 Turkish. The chief of the police at X. stated that none of these 1,213 men remained alive. Our Consular Agent visited the scene of this slaughter in August, and brought back with him Turkish «nufus teskeries», or identification papers, taken from the bodies of the victims. I personally saw these papers. They were all besmeared with blood.

DOCUMENT 87.

The number of Armenians in Turkey was variously estimated at from one a half millions to two and a half millions. Most people who know this country well, think that not over five hundred thousand are now left.

DOCUMENT 88.

A little bride and a slim young girl sidled up to our wagon to talk. In reply to our talk they told us that they were «busy taking care of the babies.» We asked what babies, and they said, «O, those the effendis stop here; the mothers nurse them and then go.» We asked if there were many, and were told that every house was full. We were watched too closely to make calls possible. Afterwards we found an officer ready to talk, who said: «We take them off after a while and kill them. What can we do? The mothers cannot take them, and the Government cannot take care of them for ever.

DOCUMENT 89.

A person of standing, who has been travelling in the interior, gave me confidentially the following details on the subject:

1. Samsoun, Amasia and Marsovan people—all reached Amasia. Then all the men were taken, bound, and some of them killed, between Amasia, Tokat and Tourchal. All those who reached Tokat were directed towards Tchiftlik or Guishguisha and murdered. The women and children were taken in ox-carts to Sharkishla; then they were sent to Malatia, and finally thrown into the Kirk Goz or Euphrates.

2. The same thing as above, with the difference that all pretty women and all children were taken off to Turkish houses.

3. Erbaa, Niksar, Messoudia. - The men were bound during the night, and then part of them were thrown into the river Kelkid. The others were murdered near Tokat. The women and children were deported via Shakishla and Malatia—same fate as in No. 1.

4. Sharkishla, Gemerek, Azizia, Tchoroum, Derenda—all sent on foot to Malatia, same fate.

5. Sivas, Divrik, Kangal, then all on foot to Malatia, men murdered en route, same fate.

6. Egin, Arabkir, Keban, Harpout, Malatia — same fate.

7. Karahissar, Sou-Shehr, Zara, Tchavik — all murdered.

8. Erzindjan, Kamakh — part murdered, the rest thrown into the Euphrates.

Band of Kurds from Dersim are at work in Malatia. All Armenians have been killed, according to my informant. I believe that all the men have been killed, but that the women and children have been distributed among the Turkish families of the interior. Not one Armenian is to be seen.

DOCUMENT 90.

Under the pretext of transportation for political reasons, the Young Turks are carrying out a well-planned, systematic process of extermination. Beginning in April, they imprisoned the leaders and many other prominent people in X. In order to exact confession they used all sorts of torture, only to be paralleled in the records of Mediaevalism and the Inquisition.

The Kaimakam and the commandant of the gendarmes at X. told me repeatedly that they were only tools; they had to carry out the orders given them. **No Armenian is to be left.** Old or young, blind or lame, or disabled—all had to go away, without any exception being granted.

DOCUMENT 93.

It was on the 29th April that the Turkish Government began to arrest the leading Armenians at X.

Mr. OO., Professor of Armenian, was sent to Z. with sixteen other Professors; they suffered fiendish atrocities. Their hair was plucked out by the roots; they were burned with red hot irons; they were sprinkled with boiling water; they were flogged daily; some of them died in prison. Mr. OO. himself had his eyes gouged out, and was then hanged.

DOCUMENT 94.

Then they were sent away, principally in three directions — some along the high-road that leads to Kaisaria and Yozgad, others in the Sungurlu direction, and others westward. Reports came from all directions that these exiles were all killed after proceeding some miles from the city. It was said that one party

was shot, but in all the other cases the Turks practised economy, killing their victims with axes and daggers. Some of the perpetrators of these horrible crimes boasted of it openly in the cafes, giving details of their achievements and the number of their victims. One Albanian said he had killed fifty men. Villagers from Kildjlar, on the way to Sungurlu, spoke to many people confidentially of how the ground in their neighbourhood was soaked with blood.

DOCUMENT 95.

People say that the mountains round Asi Yozgad are a cemetery.

In Angora I learned that the tanners and the butchers of the city had been called to Asi Yozgad, and the Armenians committed to them for murder.

The Ottoman Bank President showed bank notes soaked with blood and struck through with daggers with the blot round the hole, and some torn that had evidently been ripped from the clothing of the people who had been killed, and these were placed on ordinary deposit in the bank by Turkish officers.

DOCUMENT 96.

In the valley of Beyhan Boghazi, six or seven hours' distance from the town, they were attacked by a wild horde of Turkish peasants, and, in pursuance of the order, were all massacred with clubs, hammers, axes, scythes, spades, saws—in word, with every implement that causes a slow and painful death. Some shore off their heads, ears, noses, hands, feet, with scythes; others put out their eyes. Thus was exterminated the whole male Armenian population of Angora.

The bodies of the victims were left in pieces in the valley, to be devoured by the wild beasts. The gendarmes boast the part they played in these exploits.

DOCUMENT 97.

I have received information in regard to the wholesale extermination of the Armenian population of Andrinople.

The document furnishes a list of 29 districts in which the whole Armenian population numbering some 835,000 persons, have been either killed or exiled or forcibly converted to Islam. One ecclesiastic was burnt alive, five were hanged, or otherwise killed, and ten were imprisoned.

DOCUMENT 100.

Words are inadequate to describe the utter misery and destitution of these hordes of emigrants who are today roaming all

over Asia Minor. The roads are crowded with thousands upon thousands of these unfortunate wretches.

However, even if no Armenian had been killed outright, the result would be the same, for the deportation as carried out at present is merely a polite form of massacre. Unless the whole movement be stopped at once, there is, I am firmly convinced, not the slightest chance of any of the exiles surviving this coming winter, except possibly the very wealthiest amongst them.

Nor do authorities make any secret of the fact that their main object is the extermination of the whole Armenian race. The Vali admitted quite frankly: «We are determined to get rid, once and for all, of this cancer in our country. It has been our greatest political danger, only we never realised it as much as we do now. It is true that many innocent are suffering with the guilt, but we have no time to make any distinctions. We know it means an economic loss to us, but it is nothing compared with the danger we are thereby escaping!».

DOCUMENT 101.

Old women weeping, babies crying piteously. Oh, it was awful to see such brutality, to hear such suffering.

They told us that twenty babies had been thrown into a river as a train crossed —thrown by the mothers themselves, who could not bear to hear their little ones crying for food when there was no food to give them.

One woman gave birth to twins in one of those crowded trucks, and crossing a river she threw both her babies and then herself into the water.

Those who could not pay to ride in these cattle-trucks were forced to walk. All along the road, as our train passed, we saw them walking slowly and sadly along, driven from their homes like sheep to the slaughter.

A German officer was on the train with us, and I asked him if Germany had anything to do with this deportation, for I thought it was the most brutal thing that ever happened. He said: «You can't object to exiling a race; it's only the way the Turks are doing it which is bad.» He said he had just come from the interior himself and had seen the most terrible sights he ever saw in his life. He said: «Hundreds of people were walking over the mountains, driven by soldiers. Many dead and dying by the roadside. Old women and little children too feeble to walk were strapped to the sides of donkeys. Babies lying dead in the road. Human life thrown away every where.

The last thing we saw late at night and the first thing early in the morning was one train after another carrying its freight of human lives to destruction.

DOCUMENT 108.

The whip and club are in constant use by the police, and that upon women and children too. Think what it is for people, many of them cultivated, educated, refined, to be driven about in this way like dogs by brutes.

Oh! I wish you could see the abominable cruelty of their treatment and the diabolical ingenuity of the ways devised to strip them of all their money before bringing them to their deaths—for that is where it will surely end for all these people, unless some means of stopping it is soon found.

The region from Angora to Polatlu (on the railway) is said to have been the scene of such outrages as cannot be described.

DOCUMENT 109.

Whether these unfortunate people are sent on towards the east or whether they remain where they are along the road, their future is very dark, and it means annihilation for the whole race unless they can be quickly reinstated in their homes with permission to carry on their business, or else taken out of the country altogether. Even if they are left just as they are, two or three months will probably see the end of most of them.

It is all horrible, horrible—no mere description can adequately portray the awful suffering of these unfortunate people, whose only crime is that they are Armenians.

Dr. & Mrs. D. went through the massacres of '94 and '96 and they and Miss H. and I have been through two revolutions, one massacre and two wars since then, but we all agree that we have never seen anything like this.

DOCUMENT 110.

The mortality among Armenians — exiles — who have been admitted to our wards has been over 30 per cent, and this in spite of the fact that we have taken only the ordinary run of maladies and that there has been no epidemic! The nation is being systematically done to death by a cruel and crafty method, and their extermination is only a question of time.

DOCUMENT 111.

The valley was strewn with graves, and many of them had been torn open by dogs and the bodies eaten. I was told that considerably over a thousand people had died at Bozanti and about the same number at P. How many thousands all along the way from Constantinople to Mesopotamia, no one can tell. People coming from that region say that not one person in ten ever reached Zor, and that those people who have gotten there have nothing but starvation before them. From the statements of the railway officials and other I should think that not less than 500,000 people must have passed through Bozanti.

DOCUMENT 112.

Immediately after the recall of the Vali, Djelal Bey, who had left the exiles' tents with tears in his eyes, more than 80,000 Armenians—men, women and children— were driven away from their tents and directed towards the south, beaten along with whips and clubs. It was a heart-rending sight. The poor people, who were already in rags, had to abandon what blankets or clothes they possessed and start on foot. Parents had lost their children, women were looking for their husbands, but the wild gendarmerie flogged without mercy all those who cried or entreated. The tents were full of corpses, which dogs were devouring .

DOCUMENT 113.

I have just returned from a ride on horseback through the Baghtche Osmania plain, where thousands of exiles are lying out in the fields and on the roads, without any shelter and completely at the mercy of all manner of brigands.

I found men and women badly wounded — bodies slashed open, broken skulls and terrible knife-wounds.

A number of corpses were lying about unburied, and it was only by bribing the gendarmes that we could induce them to allow their burial.

Nearly everything had to be transported on foot; men, women and children carried their few belongings on their backs. I often saw them break down under their burden, but the soldiers kept on driving them forward with the butt-ends of their rifles even sometimes with their bayonets.

Unburied women and children were lying in the ditches.

The camp at Islohia itself is the saddest thing I have ever seen. Right at the entrance a heap of dead bodies lay unburied. I counted 35, and in another place 22, in the immediate neighbourhood of the tents of those who were down with virulent dysentery. The filth in and around these tents was something indescribable. On one single day the burial committee buried as many as 580 people. Men were fighting for bread like hungry wolves.

DOCUMENT 117.

They were mostly bare-headed, and their faces were swollen from the sun and exposure. Many had no shoes on, and some had their feet wrapped in old pieces of rag which they had torn from their clothing. At Entilli there was an encampment of about 10,000 and at Kotmo a large encampment of 150,000.

From Kotmo on to Aleppo I witnessed the worst sights of the whole journey. Here the people began to give out in the intense heat and dearth of water, and I passed several who were prostrate — actually dying of thirst. One woman, whom I assisted, was in:

a deplorable condition, unconscious from thirst and exhaustion; and further on I saw two young girls who had become so exhausted, that they had fallen on the road and lay with their already swollen faces exposed to the sun.

Their condition in Aleppo is beyond description. I personally visited several of the places where they were kept and found them starving and dying by the hundred every day.

The British Consulate was filled with these exiles, and from this place the dead were removed almost every hour.

Most of the dead were simply thrown into two-wheeled carts, which made a daily round to all the places where the Armenians were confined.

Many of these suffering Armenians refuse alms, saying that the little money so obtained will only prolong their suffering and that they prefer to die.

I remained in Damascus and Aleppo about a month, leaving for Smyrna on the 26th October. All along the road I met thousands of these unfortunate exiles still coming into Aleppo. The sights I witnessed on this return journey were more pitiful than those I had seen on my outward journey to Aleppo. There seems to be no end to the convoy which moves over the mountain ranges from Bozanti south. Throughout the day from sunrise to sunset, the road as far as one can see is crowded with these exiles.

DOCUMENT 118.

The German Consul at Aleppo, of whom we shall have more to say below, made an extremely significant declaration to the Consul of a Power which has since joined the Allies :

«However painful and deplorable the condition may be to which the Armenians find themselves reduced, the Turkish Government could take no other course towards them, in view of the fact that they have everywhere cast in their lot with the enemies of Turkey.»

Dort Yol presents the same tragic spectacle. Though there have been no massacres here in the literal sense of the word, the arrests and expulsions en masse continue without abatement. The story is already wellknown of the German spy who came to Dort Yol disguised as a British officer, — how he incited them to revolt against the Turkish Government, and the arrests and partial massacre that came of it. The story of this piece of treachery is also confirmed by the Italian Consul from Alexandretta. The village of Dort Yol, once prosperous, is now plunged in frightful misery.

DOCUMENT 119 .

Many women and girls have been outraged. At one place the commander of gendarmerie openly told the men to whom he consigned a large company that they were at liberty to do what they choose with the women and girls.

DOCUMENT 120.

German officers, who came into Aleppo one night on their way from Baghdad to Constantinople, said that they first met this weary train two days out of Baghdad, and that the road the thousands they had met were marching along was marked or outlined by the bodies of their dead.

DOCUMENT 121.

Herr Kunzer went with them to Seveleg and on his return told some friends, among whom were the two Armenians aforementioned, that there was no more deliverance for the Armenians. The deputy for Baghdad had said to him: «It was decided in the Ottoman Parliament that we should massacre all the Armenians. We will not leave a single Armenian alive, and thus we will correct the old Sultan's mistake.»

First, all the Armenians were ordered to get ready to go to Der-el-Zor. When they objected, saying that they had lost everything and had nothing left to take with them, Fakhri Pasha ordered them to be massacred. The massacre lasted 10 days. The German artillerymen destroyed the Armenian quarters, the church and everything, thus putting an end to the Armenian population of Ourfa.

DOCUMENT 134.

«On the 19th August the fusillade began, about five o'clock in the evening. We heard it during supper-time, and it lasted far into the night.

«Next morning Dr. J. Vance Young ventured to make his way into the town to see if he could be of any service. He saw all the streets littered with corpses. He got the impression that there was not a single Armenian left in Ourfa.

«It appeared that the massacres had been organised in advance, for a systematic domiciliary visit was made to every Armenian house; the men were shot or otherwise assassinated while the women were driven from their houses with their children, to be marched away to the desert and perish there of hunger.

«All along the road from Ourfa to the coast Mrs. Young saw hundreds of putrified corpses, and also a few miserable survivors. The latter looked more like wild beasts than human cre-

atures. She described this spectacle as being literally sufficient to unhinge one's reason.»

DOCUMENT 135.

Dr. L. asked whether he might go to the places where needy refugees were, and give them some help, if he could get any money from the United States. This request was most emphatically refused. He said: «Why, they will die.» The answer of the Turkish official was: «What do you suppose they are sent there for?».

DOCUMENT 137.

One sees them in Aleppo on pieces of waste ground, in old buildings, courtyards and alleyways, and their condition is simply indescribable. They are totally without food and are dying of starvation. If one looks into these places where they are living one simply sees a huddled mass of dying and dead, all mixed up with discarded, ragged clothing, refuse and human excrement, and it is impossible to pick out any one portion and describe it as being a living person. A number of open carts used to parade the streets, looking out for corpses, and it was a common sight to see one of these carts pass containing anything up to ten or twelve human bodies, all terribly emaciated. These carts have since been provided with a lid and painted black, and one constantly sees bodies, mostly of women and children, being dragged out of courtyards and alleyways and thrown into them as one would throw a sack of coal. It is impossible to gauge the number of deaths per diem, but in the Armenian Cemetery trenches are dug and the bodies are simply brought there and thrown in indiscriminately.

DOCUMENT 141.

When they were expelled from any of the towns in Northern Asia Minor, all the men between the ages of fifteen and sixty were shot down before the eyes of the women and children, either before starting or some little way on the road.

Never once, throughout their history, have Armenians been accused of treachery by the monarchs under whose dominion they were living.

NOEL BUXTON, M. P.

«HELL WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN A RIGHT GOOD VESTIBULE
FOR ARMENIA»

Lieut. Col. LITTLE :

«... The Sultan has been killing off small nations much longer than the Kaiser. For hundreds of years this has gone on to a greater or less extent. To deflower the maids, to rape the matrons, to slay the young men, to butcher the old, to assemble them together in the Armenian churches and steal everything they have; to burn their furniture, to drive away such as are left from their homes is a most everyday action in Armenia. Hundreds of thousands have so suffered since 1914. I would hesitate about making such a statement on the floor of this House if I were not absolutely satisfied of the correctness of my statement.»

«Fifty-four villages in Bulgaria forty-odd years ago were ruined and everybody in them was destroyed; the massacres in Chios and the other Grecian isles some 90 years ago were awful, but hardly a circumstance to what has been done in Armenia. In 1915 thousands upon thousands of men were slain and thousands upon thousands of women were dishonoured. Slaughter often began by the sound of a bugle, and ended each day by the same signal. Hundreds of thousands of Armenian men, women and children, driven from their good homes, were hurried on foot, without provisions, to unknown destinations, in the hope of extermination. Many women sprang into the Euphrates to escape dishonour; 3000 died in the burned church at Orfa in the massacre of a few years ago. Circumstances have been such in the last few years that hell would not have been a right good vestibule for Armenia.»

«... The rape of Belgium, the murder of Serbia, the collapse of Russia have appalled a world that would stand aghast if it knew the horrors of Christian life in Armenia. »

Extracts from «The Armenian Question
in the American House of Representatives», 1918.

« THE RAVINES IN THE MOUNTAINS STILL ARE FULL
OF THEIR SKELETONS »

As your Lordships are aware, the present Government of Turkey contains a number of men who were partners in the guilt of those appalling massacres which took place in 1915. Those of your Lordships who wish to refresh your recollection may turn to the Blue book which was published by the Foreign Office in 1916, in which you will find an account of the most awful massacres

that are anywhere reported in history - an account which no attempt whatever has been made to disprove or to explain away.

When the great massacres were going on in 1915, and while the men were being taken out of the towns and slaughtered, so that some of the ravines in the mountains are still full of their skeletons, the young women were either seized and appropriated by Turkish officials and Turkish military officers or else were brought into the market and sold to the highest bidder. The older women were driven out along the roads and nearly all perished from hardship and want of food before they reached their destination in the distant Syrian desert. These young women, who were seized to be carried off, and consigned to the most odious kind of slavery in the Turkish harems, are still wearing out their miserable existence there.

I may add that a similar fate befel a large number of young boys. The older ones above the age of twelve or thirteen, those who could be caught, were all killed, without exception. The younger ones were handed over to dervishes and carried away to be brought up in Moslem monasteries as Moslems.

VISCOUNT BRYCE

No terms can be used which would be too strong in describing the horrors which have been narrated to me by Christians from these regions named, those to which the noble Viscount has referred; the frequent putting up of women and girls to public auction as the troops passed, the old women driven away and the girls sold as cattle.

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

Then, coming to the broad question of Armenia, we remember those terrible massacres in 1895 and 1896, but they pale into insignificance before what has been done during this War. The Germans have been guilty of the most ghastly and unspeakable crimes, but there is no crime so ghastly and unspeakable as the wholesale massacre, under circumstances of the greatest possible barbarity and atrocity, of the Armenians themselves.

SIR GEORGE GREENWOOD

I shall say nothing about massacres. Let the simple consideration suffice that, long as human history has lasted and long as it will last no crimes are so execrable or, I hope, will be so execrable, as the recent atrocities in Armenia.

MAJOR PEEL

«Armenia — Parliamentary Debates»,
House of Lords and House of Commons.
1918 November.



All rights of the Armenians to live and work on Turkish soil have been completely cancelled, and with regard to this the Government takes all responsibility on itself, and has commanded that even babes in the cradle are not to be spared.

TALAAAT.

TO SERVE ARMENIA IS TO SERVE CIVILISATION.
W. E. GLADSTONE.

That such things should be done once is a damning disgrace to the portion of our race which did them; that a door should be left open for their ever-so-barely possible repetition would spread that shame over the whole.

W. E. GLADSTONE.



History moves slowly in Turkey when it is a question of instituting reforms, but fast enough when massacres are in the air.

W. J. WINTLE.

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The Turkish Government began and ruthlessly carried out the infamous massacre and deportation of Armenians in Asia Minor. The clearance of the race from Asia Minor was about as complete as such an act, on a scale so great, could well be.

SIR WINSTON CHURCHIL.

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Les Arméniens, sont un peuple intelligent et héroïque, enclin à embrasser les plus hautes idées du monde occidental, et qui a droit, par son génie autant que par ses malheurs, à la sympathie des peuples d'où sont sorties les idées de justice et de liberté.

ANATOLE FRANCE.



ARMIN T. WEGNER (1915-1916)

THE FIRE BALL

By : Armin T. Wegner

Translated by : Maria Barguidjian

Armenian friends in Italy, in Beirut, in Erivan, Caucasus, have asked me for a contribution in writing about my relations to Armenia during the first World War, in memory of the genocide of their people. It would be impossible to report in just a few words,—so manifold are the threads of fate and friendship that connect me since decades with the Armenian people. May I, therefore, instead relate an experience of my youth that, in spite of its occurrence during my early years of life, proved more important to me than all those that followed.

In 1895, when I counted nine years of age, I approached one Sunday morning the breakfast table of my parents. I had slept long. My parents and my brother had left the room. On my father's place I noticed a newspaper : the flashy head lines attracted my attention. The paper reported about the slaughter that the Turkish Sultan Abdul Hamid the Second had ordered to be carried out through kurdish soldiers, in Asia Minor. Up to then I had never heard of a people whose name was not unlike my own first Christian name. Whoever these people might be, they must be people like myself, my parents, my brothers and sisters, the inhabitants of our little Silesian town Glogau, where I grew up, — mothers, fathers, girls and boys, infants and old people. Tens of thousands had been driven out of their villages and towns. They were robbed and slain. I read, that women had been assaulted in the bath house, a church had been burnt down. One kurdish

butcher had dissected corpses of Armenian victims, and offered the pieces for sale. Like the dream image of a giant, perhaps God himself, that squashed with the stroke of a thumb people like flies, arose out of the report of the newspaper a picture of horror for the school boy. Like a ball of fire, a piece of a comet in the sky, the dreadful news from the mountains of Anatolia came to our Country, and fell into my heart. I glowed with shame and a sense of revolt. I had heard, in School, the stories of the Old Testament, and knew about the Jewish infants that had been killed by the Egyptians, before the exile of the children of Israel into the desert. I thought that this kind of evil and horror had existed thousands of years ago only, but saw that the slaughter of the Armenian people happened under the same sky under which I lived, and at the same time.

At about the same time I had a similar, not less important experience. Glogau, a fortified town, had a constant, though small, assignment of troops, and the town was ruled by a Prussian and military spirit. Early in my life, I heard nasty remarks about Jews, whose sufferings and persecutions I knew through the Bible. It was said, that they had murdered Jesus Christ, himself a Jew. Rumours went that they killed, at Easter time, a Christian boy-child, and painted the posts of their house with his blood. No Jews were accepted socially in my father's house, father being a stern Prussian Civil Servant. As there lived less than about two dozen of Jewish citizens in the town, I had never met a Jew myself.

One day, a new Theatre Manager took over the management of our small theatre. He was a Jew whose son, went to the same school as I. One morning, shortly after his acceptance into the school, I watched my class mates during the recreation interval at play. Not far from me I saw another lonely figure, the only Jewish boy in our school. The sun cast both our shadows onto the school yard wall. «What kind of a boy is that, I asked myself, «that is avoided by the others.» Full of curiosity, I turned towards him. He, too, looked at me and the two shadows moved closer together. Fritz, who, like many Jewish children of his time, bore the name of German Emperor, was a very ugly child, as you meet them sometimes amongst Jews. His face had a negroid expression. His teeth protruded from his tick lips. His hair was shorn off completely, and his jaw line was even more emphasised by that. All the same, he radiated a nostalgic tenderness and his eyes were the kindest eyes that I had seen in my short life. One was compelled to like him. I had hardly spoken to him, and noticed to my surprise how little difference there was between him and the other boys. We became friends, but later, when my father was transferred to the West. I lost contact with him.

A child is constantly attracted by new things and events, and soon I forgot my little Jewish friend, and those reports of blood shed and horror in far away Anatolia, that once fell into my heart like a ball of fire. All the same, the contact with the

suffering of the Armenian and Jewish people, between whom I seemed to discover a secret likeness, had been decisive for my life. Basically, every human being is in a sense grown up at the age of nine. Perhaps my memory was better trained through my literary abilities, — perhaps many people are unaware of the depth of certain experiences, as they have no practice in self-observance. All my later friendships with Armenians, or Jews, had their origin in these early experiences : my fight for freedom and justice, my journeys to Turkey and Armenia, my essays and books, my marriages with two Jewish women, my 'Open Letter' to President Woodrow Wilson about the «Exodus of the Armenian People into the Desert of Mesopotamia», as well as my letter to the then Chancellor Adolf Hitler, containing a warning not to persecute the German Jews. To follow were personal persecution, danger, prison, concentration camps, and a thirty year-exile in foreign countries, that have found no end to this day.

The ball of fire, the piece of the comet, that fell into my heart, hardened to stone. But the heart kept the message alive. Whenever I witnessed an injustice in the world against the Armenians, the Jews, or my own people, the fiery ball burned again in my heart. I had to express my anger, and raise my voice once more. Before I even finished my novel «Shadows before the Sun», whose theme is the fate and extinction of the Armenian people, the Jewish people were again victims of a persecution, and I, by then their brother, husband, and fellow sufferer, shared the fate of all Armenians with them.

Almost half of my life I spent working against injustice, and for freedom and justice, — at times causing the neglect of my literary work. When I look back to those early experiences of my boyhood, it seems that it was destiny. I do not deny that my heart is filled with passion and sympathy, but I should be hurt if someone would praise my dignity or magnanimity for writing these words. I was not magnanimous. You may call it courage, that made me act as I did, but courage always calculates on success. The passion for justice and freedom is a passion like any other. Men and women that distinguished themselves through acts for the well being of the community, famous explorers, heroes, revolutionists and statesmen, were — not unlike lovers — compelled to do so out of an inborn passion, an urge, rather than a noble mind. And which adventure could be more enticing than the one that you enter on behalf of all mankind ? As every passion, even this one resembles more a vice than a virtue. I deny every personal merit of my acts, I was an adventurer more than a virtuous man.

1965

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AN OPEN LETTER TO PRESIDENT WILSON

By ARMIN T. WEGNER

(A German eye-witness of the Armenian Massacres)

Berlin, January, 1919

Mr. President,

In your message to Congress of January 8, 1918, you made a demand for the liberation of all non-Turkish peoples in the Ottoman Empire. One of these peoples is the Armenian Nation. It is on behalf of the Armenian nation that I am addressing you.

As one of the few Europeans who have been eye-witnesses of the dreadful destruction of the Armenian people from its beginning in the fruitful fields of Anatolia up to the wiping out of the mournful remnants of the race on the banks of the Euphrates, I venture to claim the right of setting before you these pictures of misery and terror which passed before my eyes during nearly two years, and which will never be obliterated from my mind. I appeal to you at the moment when the Governments allied to you are carrying on peace negotiations in Paris, which will determine the fate of the world for many decades. But the Armenian people is only a small one among several others; and the future of greater States more prominent in the world's eye is hanging in the balance. And so there is reason to fear that the significance of a small and extremely enfeebled nation may be obscured by the influential and selfish aims of the great European States, and that with regard to Armenia there will be a repetition of the old game of neglect and oblivion of which she has so often been the victim in the course of her history.

But this would be most lamentable, for no people in the world has suffered such wrongs as the Armenian Nation. The Armenian Question is a question for Christendom, for the whole human race.

The Armenian people were victims of this War. When the Turkish Government, in the Spring of 1915, set about the execution of its monstrous project of exterminating a million of Armenians, all the nations of Europe were unhappily bleeding to exhaustion, owing to the tragic blindness of their mutual misunderstanding, and there was no one to hinder the lurid tyrants of Turkey from carrying on to the bitter end those revolting atrocities which can only be likened to the acts of a criminal lunatic. And so they drove the whole people — men, women, hoary elders, children, expectant mothers and dumb sucklings — into the Arabian Desert, with no other object than to let them starve to death.

For a long time Europeans had been wont to regard Siberia as one of the most inhospitable regions in the world; to be condemned to live there was regarded as a most severe punishment. And yet, even in that place, there are fertile lands and, despite the cold of its winters, the climate is healthy. But what is Siberia compared with the Mesopotamian Steppes? There we find a long tract of land without grass, without trees, without cattle, covered with stunted weeds, a country where the only inhabitants are Arab Bedouins, destitute of all pity; a stretch of grey limestone plains several miles in extent, bare wastes of rock and stone, ruined river banks, exposed to the rays of a merciless sun, ceaseless autumn rains, and frosty winter nights, leaving sheets of ice behind them. Except its two large rivers there is no water. The few small villages scarcely suffice to feed a handful of Bedouins, who, in their wretched poverty, regard any traveller as a welcome prey. From the dwellings which their race had held for more than two thousand years, from all parts of the Empire, from the stony passes of the mountain region to the shores of the Sea of Marmora and the palmy oases of the South, the Armenians were driven into this desolate waste, with the alleged purpose of forcibly transplanting them from their homes to a strange land — a purpose which, even had it been the real one, is repugnant to every human feeling. The men were struck down in batches, bound together with chains and ropes, and thrown into the river or rolled down the mountain with fettered limbs. The women and children were put on sale in the public market; the old men and boys driven with deadly bastonados to forced labour. Nor was this sufficient; in order to render indelible the stain on their criminal hands, the captors drove the people, after depriving them of their leaders and spokesmen, out of the towns at all hours of the day and night, half-naked, straight out of their beds; plundered their houses, burnt the villages, destroyed the churches or turned them into mosques, carried off the cattle, seized all the vehicles, snatched the bread out of the mouths of their victims, tore the clothes from off their backs, the gold from their hair. Officials—military officers, soldiers, shepherds — vied with one another in their wild orgy of blood, dragging out of the schools delicate orphan girls to serve their bestial lusts, beat with cudgels dying women or women close on childbirth who could scarcely drag themselves along, until the women fell down on the road and died, changing the dust beneath them into bloodstained mire. Travellers passing along the road turned away their eyes in horror from this moving multitude, driven on with devilish cruelty— only to find in their irons new-born babes buried in the dung-heaps of the court-yards, and the road covered with severed heads of boys, who had raised them in supplication to their torturers. Parties which on their departure from the homeland of High Armenia consisted of thousands, numbered on their arrival in the outskirts of Aleppo only a few hundreds, while the fields were strewed with swollen,

blackened corpses, infecting the air with their odours, lying about: desecrated, naked, having been robbed of their clothes, or driven, bound back to back, to the Euphrates to provide food for the fishes. Sometimes gendarmes in derision threw into the emaciated hands of the starving people a little meal which they greedily licked off, merely with the result of prolonging their death agony.

Even before the gates of Aleppo they were allowed no rest. For incomprehensible and utterly unjustifiable reasons of war, the shrunken parties were ceaselessly driven barefooted, hundreds of miles under a burning sun, through stony defiles, over pathless steppes, enfeebled by fever and other maladies, through semi tropical marshes, into the wilderness of desolation. Here they died — slain by Kurds, robbed by gendarmes, shot, hanged, poisoned, stabbed, strangled, mown down by epidemics, drowned, frozen, parched with thirst, straved — their bodies left to putrefy or to be devoured by jackals.

Children wept themselves to death, men dashed themselves against the rocks, mothers threw their babies into the brooks, women with child flung themselves, singing, into the Euphrates. They died all the deaths on the earth, the death of all the ages.

I have seen maddened deportees eating as food their own clothes and shoes, women cooking the bodies of their new-born babes.

In ruined caravanserais they lay between heaps of corpses and half-rotted bodies, with no one to pity them, waiting for death; for how long would it be possible for them to drag out a miserable existence, searching out grains of corn from horse dung or eating grass? But all this is only a fraction of what I have seen myself, of what I have been told by my acquaintances or by travellers, or of what I have heard from the mouths of the deportees.

Mr. President, if you will look through that dreadful enumeration of horrors compiled by Lord Bryce in England and by Dr. Johannes Lepsius in Germany with regard to these occurrences, you will see that I am not exaggerating. But I may assume that these pictures of horrors of which all the world has heard except Germany, which has been shamefully deceived, are already in your hands. By what right, then, do I make this appeal to you? . . .

I do it by the right of human fellowship, in dutiful fulfilment of a sacred promise.

When in the desert I went through the deportees' camp, when I sat in their tents with the starving and dying, I felt their supplicating hands in mine, and the voices of their priests, who had blessed many of the dead on their last journey to the grave, adjured me to plead for them, if I were ever in Europe again.

But the country to which I have returned is a poor country; Germany is a conquered nation. My own people (the Germans) are near starvation: the streets are full of the poor and wretched. Can I beg help of a people which perhaps will soon not be in a

condition to save itself for a people (the Armenians) which is in even more evil case ?

The voice of conscience and humanity will never be silenced in me, and therefore I address these words to you.

This document is a request. It is the tongues of a thousand dead that speak in it.

Mr. President, the wrong suffered by this people is immeasurable. I have read everything that has been written about the war. I have carefully made myself acquainted with the horrors in every country on this earth, the fearful slaughter in every battle, the ships sunk by torpedoes, the bombs thrown down on the towns by aircrafts, the heartrending slaughters in Belgium, the misery of the French refugees, the fearful sickness and epidemics in Roumania. But here is wrong to be righted such as none of these peoples has suffered—neither the French nation, nor the Belgian, nor the English, nor the Russian, nor the Serbian, nor the Roumanian, nor even the German nation, which has had to suffer so much in this war. The barbarous peoples of ancient times may possibly have endured a similar fate. But here we have a highly civilised nation, with a great and glorious past, which has rendered services that can never be forgotten to art, literature and learning; a nation which has produced many remarkable and intellectual men, profoundly religious, with a noble priesthood; a Christian people, whose members are dispersed over the whole earth, many of whom have lived for many years in your country, Mr. President. Men acquainted with all the languages of the world, men whose wives and daughters have been accustomed to sit in comfortable chairs at a table covered with a clean white cloth, not to crouch in a cave in the wilderness. Sagacious merchants, distinguished doctors, scholars, artists, honest prosperous peasants who made the land fruitful, and whose only fault, was that they were defenceless and spoke a different language from that of their persecutors, and were born into a different faith.

Every one who knows the events of this war in Anatolia, who has followed the fortunes of this nation with open eyes, knows that all those accusations which were brought, with great cunning and much diligence, against the Armenian race, are nothing but loathsome slanders fabricated by their unscrupulous tyrans, in order to shield themselves from the consequences of their own mad and brutal acts, and to hide their own incapacity for reconciliation with the spirit of sincerity and humanity.

But even if all these accusations were based on the truth, they would never justify these cruel deeds committed against hundreds of thousands of innocent people.

I am making no accusation against Islam. The spirit of every great religion is noble, and the conduct of many a Mohammedan has made us blush for the deeds of Europe.

I do not accuse the simple people of Turkey, whose souls are full of goodness; but I do not think that the members of the ruling class will ever, in the course of history, be capable of making their country happy, for they have destroyed our belief in their capacity for civilisation.

Turkey has forfeited for all time the right to govern itself.

Mr. President, you will believe in my impartiality if I speak to you on this subject, as a German, one of a nation which was linked with Turkey in bonds of close friendship, a nation which in consequence of this friendship has most unjustly been accused of being an accomplice in these murderous man-hunts. The German people knows nothing of this crime. The German Government erred through ignorance of the Turkish character and its own preoccupation with solicitude for the future of its own people. I do not deny that weakness is a fault in the life of nations. But the bitter reproach of having made possible this unpardonable deportation does not fall on Germany alone.

In the Berlin Treaty of July 1878, all the six European Great Powers gave the most solemn guarantees that they would guard the tranquillity and security of the Armenian People. But has this promise ever been kept? Even Abdul Hamid's massacres failed to bring it to remembrance, and in blind greed the nations pursued selfish aims, not one putting itself forward as the champion of an oppressed people.

In the Armistice between Turkey and your Allies, which the Armenians all over the world awaited with feverish anxiety, the Armenian question is scarcely mentioned. Shall this unworthy game be repeated a second time, and must the Armenians be once more disillusioned?

The future of this small nation must not be relegated to obscurity behind the selfish schemes and plans of the great states. Mr. President, save the honour of Europe.

It would be an irremediable mistake if the Armenian districts of Russia were not joined with the Armenian provinces of Anatolia and Cilicia to form one common country entirely liberated from Turkish rule, with an outlet of its own to the sea. It is not enough, Mr. President, that you should know the suffering of these people. It is not enough that you should give them a state in which the houses are destroyed, the fields laid waste, the citizens murdered. The exhaustion of this country is such that by its own strength it cannot rise again. Its trade is ruined; its handicrafts and industries have collapsed. The asset of its annihilated population can never be restored.

Many thousands of Armenians were perverted to Islam by force, thousands of children and girls kidnapped, and thousands of women carried away and made slaves in Turkish harems. To all these must be given perfect assurance of their return to freedom. All victims of persecution who are returning to their homes

after spending two years and more in the desert must be indemnified for the wealth and goods that they have lost, all orphans must be cared for. What these people need is love, of which they have so long been deprived. This is, for all of us, a confession of guilt.

Mr. President, pride prevents me from pleading for my own people (the Germans). I have no doubt that, out of the plenitude of its sorrow, it will gain power by sacrifice to co-operate in the future redemption of the world. But, on behalf of the Armenian Nation, which has suffered such terrible tyranny, I venture to intervene, for if, after this war, it is not given reparation for its fearful sufferings, it will be lost for ever.

With the ardour of one who has experienced unspeakable, humiliating sorrows in his own tortured soul, I utter the voice of those unhappy ones, whose despairing cries I had to hear without being able to still them, whose cruel deaths I could only helplessly mourn, whose bones bestrew the deserts of the Euphrates, and whose limbs once more become alive in my heart and admonish me to speak.

Once already have I knocked at the door of the American people when I brought the petition of the deportees from their camps at Meskene and Aleppo to your Embassy at Constantinople, and I know that this has not been in vain.

If you, Mr. President, have indeed made the sublime idea of championing oppressed nations the guiding principle of your policy, you will not fail to perceive that even in these words a mighty voice speak, the only voice that has the right to be heard at all times — the voice of humanity.

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THE GOOD LIGHT

A SALUTATION TO THE ARMENIAN PEOPLE
IN REMEMBRANCE OF THEIR EXPULSION
INTO THE DESERT IN 1915

By : ARMIN T. WEGNER

If the development of the individual benefits the community, then the development of a people must benefit mankind. **Gregor ARTSRUNI**

Pari Lues! Good Light! Those are the words which are used as a greeting by the Armenians, one of the oldest peoples of the World. Most inhabitants of the Earth wish each other «good days».

The Armenians value light so much because they spend a seven-month winter of clouded skies high up in the mountains. Light is not only a gift of the Sun which revives the world after the darkness of night. It is also a symbol of wisdom and faith. Light is sacred. Therefore I extol it before I go on to recall the memory of the distress and the misfortunes which afflicted you on your trek into the wilderness, of which I was a helpless witness fifty years ago. Light also symbolises resurrection, and not only in the teaching of Christianity, which your ancient kingdom was the first among all peoples to adopt as the state religion. Sanctification by light brings all life to continuous rebirth.

When you, my friends, first asked me to speak of Armenia this spring, it seemed to me that the suffering of my own country and people, captivity, loss of homeland and family and many years of exile had smothered all else within me. But I had hardly begun to think back when the terrible sights which I saw fifty years ago came back to me. They had not been forgotten but had merely retreated deeper into my mind where they had been preserved as a sad but treasured memory. There were the first days of the troubles in the summer in the mountains of Asia Minor when, on orders from the Young Turk administration you were driven from the homes where your people had lived for more than two thousand years. Brightly coloured columns of refugees moved southward along the roads, accompanied by Turkish gendarmes or soldiers. Despair could be seen on all faces. Many farmers had been able to bring their ox-carts for part of the journey. They were curious vehicles, like those used in the earliest days of mankind, and kept unchanged for so long by the Armenian love of tradition. Their two wheels were without spokes and were each cut from a single thick disc of wood. Without hubs they turned on their wooden axle, giving out a melancholy sound which to the Armenian peasant is the song of his homeland. On this flight into suffering the song seemed to change into a dirge of death. «Toil, toil», said the wheels, «work, love, death. How good life is. Why may I not be happy? Vatan! Fatherland! We must always suffer and die for you, sacred Armenia.» When they had passed, and the dust cloud had dispersed, one could see restless babies on the road-side, which Armenian mothers, too tired to carry them further after days of marching, had abandoned in the hope that sympathetic Turkish women would care for them. Quite a few children were saved in this way, although they were brought up as Turks and knew nothing of their origin.

Six months later I travelled with a part of the Ottoman army on the staff of Field Marshal von der Goltz from Constantinople through Konya, Tarsus, Aleppo, Rasul Ain and Mosul to Baghdad. Whenever a rest gave me the opportunity I left my Turkish and German companions and visited the neighbouring Armenian camps

to talk with the refugees, but was unable to give any help beyond a little medicine. Near Aleppo hundreds of men, women and children died of typhus, covering the fields round this great centre of trade with their corpses. It was the mayor of this town who telegraphed to the Minister of the Interior, Talaat Pasha, in Constantinople, «Hordes of Armenian refugees have arrived in Aleppo. What shall be done with them?», Talaat answered, «They are to be despatched into oblivion.»

Several days later I had to go on towards Mosul with the Field Marshal's staff which was made up of a dozen German captains, colonels and officials. Just inside the desert, near Rasul Ain where there was a spring, I passed through a large Armenian refugee camp in the early morning. The memories of this place are the saddest of all. Certainly, I saw no dead or dying. Most of them still had some money, and even had some food at the beginning of their journey of death. But in one part of the camp there sat a group of children of between seven and ten years, whose parents had been killed by Kurds or had died of exhaustion on the way. They huddled together, shivering in the cold desert night, crying and whimpering. The adult refugees had enough to cope with, with their own children and their own problems. Nobody cared about the orphans. Germans kept out of the refugee areas, either through fear of infectious diseases or because the Turks were suspicious of everyone who showed interest in the fate of the Armenians. Undeterred by personal danger, I continued to seek them out although I could not help them. Hopelessly I shuddered over their misery and distress. Full of shame, I turned and fled from the camp, cursing the cruelty and crudity of mankind. After the War, when my daughter was born, I gave her the Armenian name of Anush, meaning sweetness, in memory of these innocents.

We soon reached the Tigris, on whose banks the following incident occurred at about this time. Armenian women and girls stood on the bank which sloped steeply to the river. To prevent themselves from making a last-minute rescue attempt, each bound her wrist to that of her neighbour, thus forming an unbreakable chain. Swaying rhythmically and singing, they reached a climax of ecstasy and leapt together to a sacrificial death by drowning in the river. With the same proud courage with which the heroes of classical times faced their death, they preferred to leave the world rather than be dishonoured, mishandled or forced to die slowly of hunger in the desert and be eaten by jackals.

A year later, after a serious illness, I went with five comrades in an old pilgrim wagon from Baghdad along the bank of the Euphrates and on to Aleppo and back to Constantinople. Only a few hundred remained of the thousands of refugees I had seen crowded into the camps on my outward journey. Everywhere in the desert lay bones and skulls. When we stopped for the night at rest-houses, we often had to remove the parched

bodies of refugees, from the doorways or from inside. In the last camp before we left the desert, near Meskene not far from Aleppo, I sat up late at night thinking about the tenacity of those remaining, which had just enabled them to survive. Some who had been able to bring Turkish gold coins had swallowed them and had recovered them later from their excreta. Others had started trading in food and had kept their stocks buried in the ground. The Turkish soldiers guarding the camp distributed flour given by American Quakers. In the middle of the camp a wretched woman was cooking. Her suffering had caused her to lose her reason. The soldiers poured out the flour into her open hands; the woman heedlessly let it fall to the ground, and then played with it with her finger. A priest told me that he had buried many hundreds of refugees in the desert, among them 30 priests. «Une fois j'étais un prêtre», he said to me, «maintenant je suis un mouton, qui va mourir». He gave me a letter to relations in America asking them for money. I carried it hidden under my belt and passed it to the American Embassy in Constantinople a few weeks before the United States entered the War. How incredible and amazing were the individual destinies of the refugees. A young man who had managed to survive in the desert by working as a herdsman for the Arabs, came to Aleppo after the War and went to a brothel. As he was leaving the girl he had visited he noticed a birth-mark on her arm. He asked about its origin and found out that he had slept with his own sister. Now that fifty years have passed and I am an old man, I disturb perhaps for the last time until I myself am with them, the shades of these martyrs.

My friends, in recalling these memories I will not only speak of the misfortunes and grief of the Armenian people. When right has triumphed, when the verdict has been given, when fear has fled, all life returns to its origins. On the summit of Ararat, the highest peak in Asia Minor, so says the ancient legend, Noah's Ark grounded after the Flood. Noah sent forth a dove to find whether the World was dry again, and the dove returned bearing an olive branch of peace in its beak. Can there be a more beautiful symbol for a people than Ararat, which has always been the emblem of Armenia. From its summit shone out over the world the good light with which I began. Light is associated with many aspects of the Universe, with fire, with wisdom and with vision. Its blessings may turn to a danger if people are subjected to too strong a fire, and thus it appears to me when I think to the sadness of that time that it was particularly tragic that this people were, in the sunshine of the desert, overcome by an excess of the very thing which they valued most highly: light.

Today the Armenians possess again a country of their own where they can speak their own language. The other half of the people live exiled from their homeland, more than ever scattered throughout the world by their expulsion from the mountains of their birth. As merchants, scholars, statesmen, generals, poets,

teachers, conductors of orchestras, actors, sculptors, Armenians, by their hard work and skill, contribute to the reputation of their people in the countries where they live, as they once did in their homeland. Talaat Pasha, in his message to Aleppo said the refugees could go to oblivion, to no-where. This no-where has become everywhere, into which not only everything goes, but from which it returns. Suffering generates great powers. It leads the pious to humility and gives free spirits insight into pitiless laws of life and death. Would that all peoples might learn from your misfortunes what is the result of humiliating people in the way that the Armenians were humiliated at the beginning of the Century and as were the Jews two decades later. It seems, does it not, as if a new darkness is coming over the Western world? He who disregards the life, freedom and dignity of mankind for the sake of power and selfish ends will not only destroy others but will also bring distress and destruction on himself. We all have within us seeds and roots of regeneration. Incredible miracle of life which gives power to resurrect that which has been destroyed. The good light, which the sons and daughters of Armenia use as the greeting «Pari Lues», shines from the countenance of those who use it. With smiles of joy on their lips they savour it like honey. Beneath its radiance corn sprouts from the earth and grapes ripen their juice for wine. It grows late as I sit in exile writing these lines, far from my country as from yours. It seems to me that I hear once more the creaking of the wheels of the ox-carts as when you surged forth into the desert from the mountains of Asia Minor. The song is no longer sad, but is one of life. «Toil, toil» say the wheels on the highway, «How good is life. Vatan! Fatherland! We went there; we are resurrected by the good light. We will always testify and live for you, sacred Armenia.»

1965

ARMIN T. WEGNER.



GENOCIDE OF THE ARMENIANS

By SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

(Chairman of the West Bengal Legislative Council
From 1952 to 1965;
National Professor of India in Humanities)

The Armenians are celebrating a great national calamity which befell them some fifty years ago — the massacre of thousands of them by the Turks who wanted to retaliate upon them for their sympathy and support for the allies in the First World War. Massacres of this type have been fairly common in human history and mankind has to admit it with shame and sorrow. In the earlier literature of the nations and their historical records, we read stories of en masse slaughter or sacrifice of peoples. In many cases it was not outright slaughter, but it was bringing a people to ruin and destruction by economic pressure, by religious persecution, by removing their children from their care, and by various other means which are no less cruel than actual physical destruction. In the modern world, this kind of suppression of one people by another is still continuing without let or hindrance, and the conscience of humanity seems now to have become almost callous about it.

The term Genocide is very frequently used in recent times. It is a Latin compound made up of two words gens meaning people or race, in Sanscrit janas, and the root caed - or cid meaning «to destroy», which can be rendered in sanskrit as sat, Genocide thus means the slaughter of a people or race, which we might translate for our use in Indian language as jana-sata. There are the words patricide and matricide, and compounds of the same nature occur in Latin. It would appear that in modern times the word has been first employed by Dr. Raphael Laemkin in 1944, and he used it to characterise the attempted exterminations of the Jews in Nazi Germany. Similar attempted exterminations of whole peoples have taken place in other parts of the world, and are continuing during this century too. The most outstanding of this which shocked the whole civilised world in the present century took place as the aftermath of the First World War when such a large number of the Armenian people were destroyed by the cold, callous and calculated policy pursued by the rulers of the Turkish People. The average Turkish individual is just as human and as kind and friendly as any other person. But when a nation

comes under the control of a small ruling minority which is unscrupulous as to the lines it follows for the attainment of its aim, they can find enough people to assist them in carrying out their policy of cruelty and of destruction.

Genocide has been recognised as one of the greatest evils of the present age, and the UNO as well as the UNESCO naturally are striving to remove this canker from human society. Genocide has been defined by a UNESCO Convention in 1948 to mean «any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy in whole or in part a national, ethnical or religious group as such:—

- (a) killing members of the group:
- (b) causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group:
- (c) deliberately inflicting upon the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part:
- (d) imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group and
- (e) forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.»

It can be easily seen that through all these operations, this kind of barbarism is being continually perpetrated. There is Genocide of the Tibetan people, of which everybody knows, by the Chinese who have now control over the country of Tibet, and they give as their reason the establishment of the new order of communism for the benefit of the Tibetans themselves. This is taking place against the non-Muslims in Pakistan, where life destroyed, also their family life and they are reduced to the leave the country because they cannot continue there under conditions of severest torture and torment, in having their economic life destroyed, also their family life and they are reduced to the condition of paupers, who are being forced into India. These things are going on continually in different parts of the world, as I said before. But they do not entail complete massacres, and hence they escape the notice of Humanity at large. To our shame we have to confess that even in India, the land of the Buddha and Gandhi, there are some sections, condemned by the general mass of the people, who are not free from this barbarian mentality.

In case of the Armenians, in 1915 the situation was so very shocking for ordinary human sensibilities that it became immediately noted and condemned as something inhuman. Hundreds and thousands of people for the mere fact that they were Christians and Armenians, and that they were harbouring sympathies for the allies as against the German and their friends the Turks, were either killed outright or were made to suffer terrible punishments, or they were finally forced into the deserts and other places to be slaughtered far away from human habitation, or left to their fate to die of thirst and hunger in the desert. A large percentage

of this small but gallant nation was in this way totally destroyed.

We in India did not have any direct knowledge of these happenings. But during the time when this thing was going on, we read in the papers, and that was half a century ago, about what were happening in Turkey. During this war, quite a number of Indian soldiers who were fighting the Turks and the Germans under the British in Mesopotamia, fell prisoners to the Turks. The Indian military personnel who were being kept as prisoners by the Turks, in some of the country district in Northern Mesopotamia and other parts of Turkey, in those days narrated their experiences of what was passing in front of their eyes. It was described in the Indian papers how Turkish soldiers were marching large batches of Armenian prisoners—men and women, old and young, as well as small children, and they were being taken to unknown destinations. They sometimes passed beside the camps of these Indian prisoners, where the Indian soldiers could see the misery and the cruelty that was in evidence before their eyes. These unfortunate Armenians, all of them tired and hungry, and weary and foot-sore, and hardly able to drag themselves on, were being forced by frequent beatings with the butt ends of rifles, to proceed. Some of the prisoners were stolid and had prepared themselves for the worst, and others, particularly the women and the children were weeping and wailing, and little toddlers were sometimes being dragged on by their mothers, and this was a sickening sight. It happened in many instances that mothers, who could not speak a word with the Indian soldiers—mostly Sikhs as well as Hindus and Muslims, and there was no common language between them—with abject imploration in their eyes would leave the little toddlers and babies nearby the Indian Camps, silently pleading with them to look after them as their children, whom they were forced to leave behind in these tragic circumstances. I heard in Calcutta that some of these children were allowed to be taken charge of by the Indian soldiers who adopted them as their own children and brought a few to India, and they of course in a short time forgot everything about their nightmare childhood and became absorbed in the country in which they found asylum with their adopted fathers. Naturally these boys and girls became Sikhs or Muslims or Hindus and were absorbed in the communities in which they were placed. I have heard of at least one case in Calcutta; but here the boy who was rescued in this way was not an Armenian but an Assyrian Christian. The Assyrians were a small community in Northern Mesopotamia who spoke some old form of Syriac but were Christians, and they suffered in the same way as the Armenians. A very distinguished Bengali doctor who was in the Indian Army brought this child and now he has become a good Bengali, not remembering any thing about his past, and he has been married and has become fully absorbed in an Indian Community. This of course has been a saving for the boy, but certainly a great tragedy for his relations and for his people.

The Armenians suffered similarly from thousands of such tragedies. It was in fact like the whole Armenian nation being crucified — and they had to suffer like their Master Jesus. The Armenians were perhaps the oldest people in the World who accepted Christianity as their national religion, and this religion has been the cause of many of their sufferings at the hands of people who were hostile to them and to their religion. But nevertheless their religion has been as history makes it quite clear, a great source of strength and hope for them. It is only fitting that the Armenian people all over the world, after half a century of this great tragedy, would try to keep the memory of their fellow nationals of 50 years ago who suffered so much and who gave their lives only because they were Armenians. The memory of these Martyrs will certainly be a sustaining thought for them in their corporate or national life and endeavour; and I can only repeat for the Armenian people who have faith in themselves and in their culture and religion these lines from an old hymn from their Christian Liturgy:—

Vor Apavened es Nel'elotz...
Ler ognakan Azkis Hayotz.
Ter vol'ormia.

«Refuge of the afflicted, Thou...
Be helpful to the race of Haik.
Lord, have mercy!».

Suniti Kumar CHATTERJI.

Calcutta, February 23, 1965

THE ONE GREAT TRAGEDY OF WAR

«Surely, surely, my brethren, when the one great tragedy and crime of war has been the pitiless massacre of the Armenian people, it would complete, even exceed, the crime, if now freedom were to be denied them. We can hardly bear even to think of such a possibility.»

BISHOP BURY

(In St. Paul's Cathedral, 26th Nov. 1918)

■

THE MAJESTY OF SORROW

«I bow before this higher majesty of sorrow. I take the crown of Thorns from Israel's head and I place it upon Armenia's».

ISRAEL ZANGWILL

(Extract from «New Armenia», New-York, March, 1917)

HOW LONG ?

Heaped in their ghastly graves they lie, the breeze
Sickening o'er fields where others vainly wait
For burial: and the butchers keep high state
In silken palaces of perfumed ease.
The panther of the desert, matched with these,
Is pitiful, beside their lust and hate,
Fire and the plague—wind are compassionate,
And soft the deadliest fangs of ravening seas.

How long shall they be borne? Is not the cup
Of Crime yet full? Doth devildom still lack
Some consummating crown, that we hold back
The scourge, and in Christ's borders give them room?
How long shall they be borne, O England? Up,
Tempest of God, and sweep them to their doom.

WILLIAM WATSON

From "The Purple East".

*

AN OPENMINDED, TENDERHEARTED, HELPFUL PEOPLE

I speak for centuries of travellers
Who went as scholars or as businessmen
From distant Sweden to the Middle East.
In journals by their hands I often read
Quite vivid stories of those foreign lands
Where they were sometimes happy, sometimes suffered
Depressing hardships or ill-omened dangers
That almost ended in complete disaster.
But they survived and gratefully reported
How this was due to help from friendly men,
Known to these Journals as Armenian.
Men of Armenian stock were to their knowledge
An openminded, tenderhearted, helpful people,
To be relied upon in times of peril,
And to command respect for what they did
To world exchange of wealth through trades and crafts
And to the growth of their own longlived culture
Through frequent masteries in arts and letters.
So, when we heard of terrors and oppressions
That kind Armenian men had undergone,
We did not fully grasp how this could be.
Too distant and too few to do much more,
We would remind a world of nations :
« You must, as we know the Armenian people
To be a nation of good will and progress,
You may, as we have unpaid debts to them,
So let us help them to regain at last
A life of freedom and security. »

1965

CARL ELOF SVENNING

“The Forty Days of Musa Dagh”

The author of this article is a London publisher who in 1962 published a paperback edition of Franz Werfel's *The Forty Days*.

I remember it well, reading it for the first time. That was in the 1930s. *The Forty Days* by Franz Werfel. It shocked me, horrified me, just as it shocked and horrified so many others. I had been too young to know what «Armenian Atrocities» meant in earlier newspaper headlines, but Werfel picked me up by the scruff of the neck and threw me in at the deep end and it—well shocked.

The Forty Days was fiction, but it was not hard to see that it was based on terrifying fact. It led me to read other works about the Armenians and their treatment.

Late in 1960 I started my own paperback publishing company, May Fair Books Ltd. One of the books I was determined to publish was *The Forty Days*, but it proved somewhat difficult to track the copyright owners. It had been published by Jerrolds, a London publishing house, in 1934, but they had so far forgotten it that it was some time before they were able to determine the contractual situation and find a tattered old copy from which I could produce my edition. But I bought the rights and eventually published an edition at the lowest possible price so as to give it as wide a readership as possible. Incidentally the cover illustration was acclaimed at a Scottish Book Exhibition as one of the best of the year.

During this time I had also acquired slight film interests: with two well-known film producers we had set up a film company, and I proposed that we make a film of Werfel's book. We approached the London copyright holders and asked, «Are the film rights free?», and they said, «Yes», so we made an offer for them. The offer, we were then told, would have to be submitted to the legal advisers of Franz Werfel's widow in America, but that appeared to present no problems and my film producer colleague began to set up the film.

I remember writing a film treatment, after re-reading the book. Reading the book after an interval of almost thirty years made me realise how noveletish the romantic approach had been, yet how tremendously dramatic the story still was.

The film treatment immediately brought an offer of £150,000 from Italian sources, and my colleague said he would have no difficulty in raising a million pounds, the sum required to film this mighty story to the standard demanded by an epic,

Weeks passed. And then everything seemed to come tumbling down. Suddenly from America came news that shattered us after all our work. The film rights were not free, after all. They had been sold to Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer in 1932, but in London they had not been aware of the fact. Everyone, I suppose, had forgotten about it, with no film progress having been made in all those years.

We then approached M-G-M with a view to purchasing the film rights. Another long silence. Then one day I read in a film Trade magazine that M-G-M had engaged Carl Foreman (who wrote and directed such big films as *The Guns of Navarone*) to script *The Forty Days* at a record fee for such work—he would receive over £90,000. M-G-M also announced that their film would be the biggest, the costliest they had ever produced.

Well, that was that. We were out of the running. A pity, because anyone who makes a film of *The Forty Days* will make a few million pounds profit—it is that kind of drama. But I was able to console myself with the thought that a good company, would ensure that a good film would show the world the tragedy that is barely known to us today.

It appears to have been delayed, this film, but a recent announcement suggests that a start might be made this year. I wonder. The film world whispers of political pressure holding up the production. It might continue.

But the Armenian tragedy must be filmed. It is history and is not tied to the copyright of Franz Werfel's romanticised version.

London, 1965

GORDON LANDSBOROUGH.

*

The Armenians are an oppressed and a noble nation, which has partaken of the proscription and bondage of the Jews and of the Greeks, without the sullenness of the former, or the servility of the latter. This people has attained riches without usury, and all the honours that can be awarded to slavery without intrigue; but they have long occupied, nevertheless, a part of the house of bondage, who has lately multiplied her many nations. It would be difficult, perhaps, to find the annals of a nation less stained with crimes than those of the Armenians, whose virtues have been those of peace and their vices those of compulsion. But whatever may have been their destiny - and it has been bitter - whatever it maybe in future, their Country must ever be one of the most interesting on the globe; and perhaps their language only requires to be more studied to become more attractive.

LORD BYRON.

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LE MARTYRE DU PEUPLE ARMÉNIEN

1915 - 1918

DOCUMENTS

Avril 1916.

Même lors de la sinistre période des grands massacres (1894-96) ordonnés par Abdul-Hamid, même au moment des hécatombes d'Adana (1909), sous les Jeunes-Turcs, jamais le peuple arménien n'avait connu un martyre comparable à celui qu'il vient de souffrir et qu'il souffre encore actuellement.

La prise de Trébizonde par les Russes m'a permis d'apprendre ce qui s'est passé dans cette ville lorsque, fin juin 1915, les Turcs, froidement et délibérément, se mirent à leur œuvre d'extermination.

Dès les portes de la ville, en effet, près du village de Djévizlik, ont lieu des scènes d'indicible horreur :

Les hommes sont séparés de leurs compagnes et de leurs enfants, dont les cris d'effrois emplissent la campagne. A coups de sabre, à coups de couteau, à coups de fusil, avec mille raffinements de cruauté, on les massacre. La terre, l'herbe sont trempées de sang. Les enfants, les yeux agrandis par la terreur, poussent de longs hurlements; les femmes se tordent les bras, supplient, s'évanouissent. L'odeur fade du sang répandu se sent à plusieurs centaines de mètres à la ronde. La sinistre besogne est bientôt finie. Quelques derniers coups de feu retentissant isolés indiquent que, de loin en loin, un Turc achève un blessé qui s'obstine à ne pas mourir.

Les bourreaux s'avancent alors vers le lamentable troupeau que forment les femmes, les jeunes filles et les enfants. A moitié folles de terreur, serrant les petits contre leurs poitrines, les mères regardent venir ces Turcs, dont quelques-uns sont rouges de sang des pieds à la tête. Les voici au milieu d'elles : leurs yeux luisent... ils ricanent... Les femmes, qui viennent de voir mourir leurs maris, leurs pères et leurs fils, ne sont de leur martyre ! Déjà, les barbares ont saisi quelques enfants et, les emportant jusqu'aux rochers voisins, les ont jetés dans la mer. A présent, ils dénouent furieusement les bras maternels qui ensèrent des bébés. Les yeux secs, des mères étranglant elles-mêmes leurs petits, pour que le Turc ne les torture pas. Des cris déchirants, des cris de terreur montent vers le ciel, des supplications ardentes, des clameurs de folie et d'agonie...

Les enfants, les uns après les autres, sont arrachés à leurs mères. Les bourreaux les tenant par les pieds, leur brisent le crâne

sur les rochers (1), ou bien, les saisissant à deux mains, d'un seul coup, leur cassent les reins sur leurs genoux.

«Pitié ! Pitié ! ». Les tigres ont-ils pitié ? Par endroits des scènes terrifiantes, que l'imagination peut à peine se représenter, se déroulent. Dans un coin, deux Turcs, ivres de carnage, se sont emparés d'un même enfant, l'un par une jambe, l'autre par un bras... Ils ont tiré ensemble, en sens contraire, avec tant de violence que le bras de l'enfant, arraché, reste aux mains de l'un d'eux. Un cri de souffrance, horrible entre tous les autres, a traversé l'air... La mère qui, folle de douleur, s'est jetée sur les monstres, est assommée d'un coup de crosse. Mais alors, pour les bourreaux, cela devient un jeu : il semble qu'ils se grisent de leur propre barbarie. A deux, à trois, à quatre, ils écartèlent de pauvres petits êtres dont ils jettent ensuite les membres et les corps pantelants aux quatre coins de l'horizon !...

Quand les petits sont tous morts, la horde passe aux femmes. La plupart meurent égorgées à coups de couteau, éviscérées à coups de sabre... Les hurlements des victimes sont si effroyables qu'on les entend de Trébizande.

Un médecin grec, le Dr. Métaxa, témoin de ces scènes d'épouvante, en devient fou sur place.

*

Faut-il donc rappeler la tragédie arménienne, pourtant si récente ! En deux mots la voici, pour ceux qui l'ignorent ou qui l'ont oubliée et qui sincèrement veulent la justice.

La vieille nation chrétienne arménienne, vivant en Turquie, a été, depuis le siècle dernier, la victime d'une politique de destruction qui l'a anéantie.

En 1915, à la faveur de la guerre mondiale, le gouvernement des Jeunes Turcs n'a fait que reprendre l'ancien projet du sultan Abdul Hamid de se débarrasser de ses sujets arméniens en les massacrant.

«On vous recommande expressément de ne pas vous laisser aller à des sentiments de pitié en présence de leur état lamentable, et, en mettant fin à leur existence, de travailler de toute votre âme à la suppression du nom arménien en Turquie.»

Tel est l'un des ordres officiels. Nous en possédons beaucoup d'autres. En voici encore un : «Activez la déportation de telle sorte que ceux qui ne sont pas en état de mourir tombent morts à quelques heures de la ville. Le lieu d'exil de ces gens-là est le néant». Ces ordres sont tous signés par le **Ministre de l'Intérieur**. Ils émanent du gouvernement lui-même. La destruction de la nation arménienne est un acte politique officiel.

Les puissances politiques et financières de l'Europe et des

(1) Le consul des Etats-Unis, à Trébizonde, a relaté, dans son rapport, cette série d'atrocités inouïes : « ... On tuait, a-t-il écrit, les enfants en leur brisant le crâne contre les rochers ; les hommes ont été exécutés en masse, etc... ».

États-Unis avaient l'habitude d'utiliser le sort des Arméniens opprimés comme prétexte pour leurs interventions et leurs ingérences dans les affaires de l'empire turc; le sultan et ses successeurs jugèrent bon, pour supprimer le prétexte, de supprimer les Arméniens.

Un million et demi de morts ! Voilà le bilan des massacres et des déportations de 1915 et 1916. Tel est le crime commis par la Turquie, avec la complicité plus ou moins officielle et avouée de ses alliés, les empires centraux.

« L'Arménie a connu toute l'honneur des déportations en masse et, plus encore que les nations en guerre, la race arménienne se trouve aujourd'hui cruellement décimée. Le gouvernement Turc n'a pas caché son intention de poursuivre l'anéantissement de ce peuple chrétien et son expiration de l'Asie Mineure, il n'a reculé devant aucun moyen pour réaliser ce monstrueux et sanguinaire dessein. »

« Orphelins Arméniens »

Rapport du Comité Central, Comptes de 1915-1916
Neuchâtel 1917

« ... Non content de verser le sang des femmes et des enfants, le bon et brave Turc a pillé, volé et saccagé les biens de ces populations : il a enfermé les jeunes filles et les femmes chrétiennes dans ses harems, il les a islamisées de force et a assouvi sur elles sa passion bestiale. Cette guerre fut, pour le gouvernement Turc, une occasion favorable pour assassiner plus de deux millions de ses propres sujets non-Turc. »

Genève, 1915

« Le Châtiment de la Turquie ». Par un Diplomate

« En 1915, c'est le gouvernement de Constantinople qui décrète l'extermination de la nation Arménienne ».

1926 Genève.

« Exil Arménien ». A. Krafft-Bonnard

Ce que nous voyions à Alep n'était que le dernier acte de la grande tragédie, une petite partie de l'horreur qui régnait dans les autres parties de la Turquie. Les ingénieurs du chemin de fer de Bagdad, en rentrant de leurs voyages, des voyageurs allemands qui avaient rencontré sur leur route les caravanes des déportés apportaient des récits beaucoup plus affreux. Plusieurs d'entre eux ne pouvaient pas manger tellement ils étaient frappés d'horreur.

L'un d'eux (M. Greif, Alep) racontait que le long de la chaussée du chemin de fer vers Tell Abiad et Ras-ul-Ain, des cadavres nus de femmes violées étaient étendus en masse. Un autre (M. Spiecker, Alep) avait vu les turcs attacher ensemble des hommes arméniens, tirer dans le tas des coups de fusil et s'éloigner en riant tandis que leurs victimes mouraient lentement dans d'horribles convulsions. A d'autres on avait attaché les mains derrière le dos et on les faisait rouler le long de pentes escarpées. Au bas se trouvaient des femmes qui les achevaient à coup de couteau.

Le Consul allemand de Mossoul raconta en ma présence au casino allemand d'Alep qu'en venant de Mossoul à Alep il avait en plusieurs endroits de la route, vu tant de mains d'enfants coupées qu'on aurait pu en paver la route.

Dr. Niepage «Quelques documents sur le sort des Arméniens en 1915-1916» Genève 1916.



La vieille nation chrétienne arménienne, vivant en Turquie, a été, depuis le siècle dernier, la victime d'une politique de destruction qui l'a anéantie.

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Un million et demi de morts ! Voilà le bilan des massacres et des déportations de 1915 et 1916. Tel est le crime commis par la Turquie...».

«Et L'Arménie ! ». by A. Krafft-Bonnard et Roger Bornand. Lausanne.



L'Assemblée comptant plus de 2000 personnes, réunie le novembre 1915 à la Salle de la Réformation, à Genève,

« Considérant que des rapports d'une véracité incontestable attestent les souffrances cruelles infligées au peuple arménien,

« Considérant que les Arméniens dans leur grande généralité se sont montrés fidèles et loyaux envers le gouvernement Turc et que les actes isolés de légitime défense, qualifiés a tort d'insurrection ne justifient en rien les barbares traitements infligés à la population arménienne, hommes, femmes et enfants, sur toute l'étendue des régions qu'elle habite.

« Proteste contre l'extermination systématiquement ordonnée d'un peuple chrétien,

« Invite le peuple Suisse à donner au peuple arménien la preuve de sa profonde sympathie par l'envoi de secours qui pourront sauver beaucoup des Arméniens survivants,

« Exprime le vœu que, dans tous les pays, l'opinion publique pousse sans retard ceux qui peuvent exercer une influence à Constantinople à prendre en mains la sauvegarde des restes de la nation arménienne».



Au commencement de 1915, il y avait en Turquie deux millions d'Arméniens, il en survit aujourd'hui à peine 900.000. Et l'assassinat de ce million d'hommes a été perpétré avec la cruauté la plus honteuse. Ces hommes sont morts, « par étapes ». On ne les a pas tous envoyés au peloton d'exécution : ceux qui ont été fusillés ont été les moins malheureux, parce que leurs souffrances furent courtes. Plusieurs centaines de mille ont été déportés et ont fourni ces sinistres caravanes de mort, dont la Turquie, alliée de l'Allemagne, portera à tout jamais l'opprobre, lamentables troupeaux qui s'en sont allés dépouillés, épuisés, poussés par leurs bourreaux vers l'exil, la faim ou la pendaison».

Paul Deschanel

Président de la Chambre des Députés

Extract from « Au pays de l'Epouvante »

by Henry Barby, Paris, 1917



Les plus effroyables massacres, dont l'homme ait gardé mémoire, n'approchent pas des massacres qui viennent, une fois de plus, d'ensanglanter l'Arménie, dont la population presque toute entière a été victime de féroces exécutions en masse.

Henry Barby, « Au Pays de l'Epouvante ».



CREATIVE LOVE IN ACTION (I)

By : E. ST. JOHN CATCHPOOL,

C. B. E., Chevalier of the Order Oranje Nassau

Armenia kept the Faith and no persecution could quench the Christian Spirit of its people.

There can be few places on earth more beautiful than the luscious valley of the River Araxes - the traditional site of the Garden of Eden - with the twin snow capped peaks of Mount Ararat standing guard over its people.

Here, close beside the river, is the lovely old cathedral church of Etchmiadzin. Perhaps the oldest Christian Church in all the World, with its historic library containing many volumes of the earliest Christian writing in Aramaic and other languages of by-gone days.

Etchmiadzin is the Mother Church of the people of Armenia. Through centuries of cruel persecution these gentle hard-working people have died for their faith or been driven into exile, and in spite of these dreadful separations, those who survived have kept their heads high above despair and have remained a gracious people united in the love of their Motherland.

The story of the real Armenia has yet to be given its rightful place in the history of all Christian people, for we who live in America and England do not know the debt we owe to these brave defenders of the faith.

I was privileged to be in their midst during some of the darkest days of their persecution and no words can express the gratitude I owe to those who died valiantly for all that they held dear.

Let us now praise God's faithful servants.

(I) E. St. John Catchpool has served for many years in «The British Armenia Committee», London. In 1923 «The Committee» consisted of the following members:

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See «The Case for Armenia». London 1923.

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