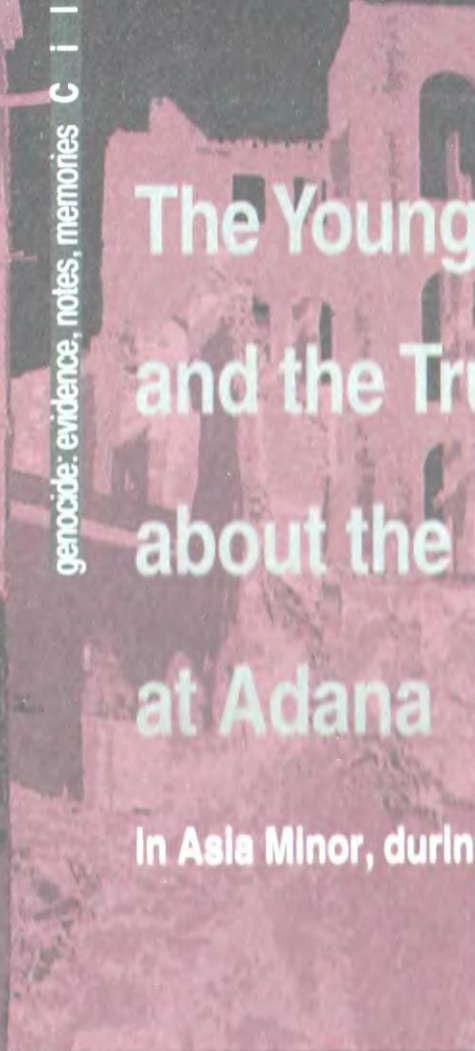


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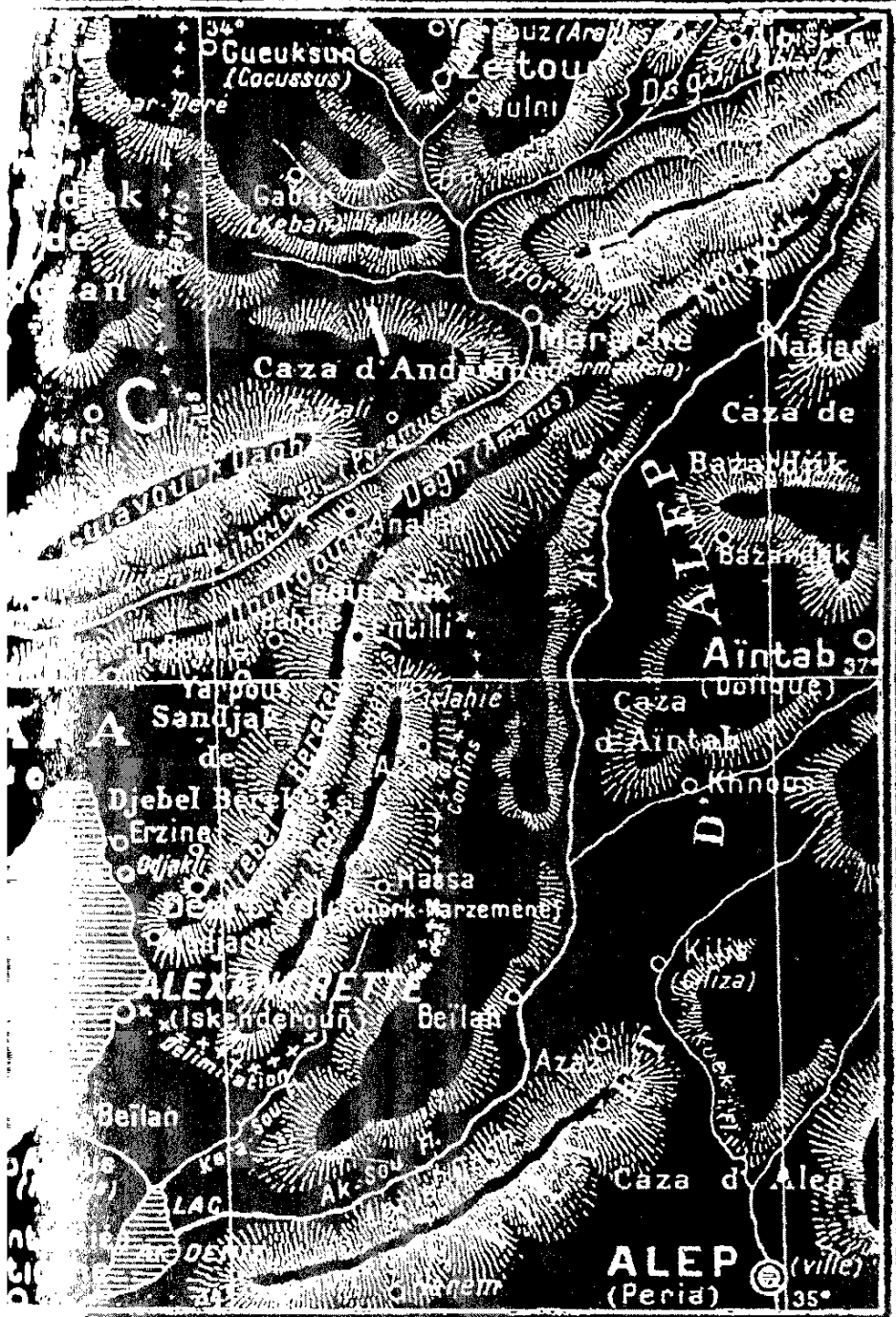
**The Young Turks  
and the Truth  
about the Holocaust  
at Adana**

**In Asla Minor, during April, 1909**

**by the Author of Turkey and the Turk**

Yerevan 1911-2009

# VILAYETS D'ADANA et D'ALEP



E. Fonné dess Paris

ցեղաստղանություն. վկայություններ, նոթեր, հուշագրություն



genocide: evidence, notes, memories C i l i c i a

**Dedicated to the 100th anniversary of Adana massacres**

TURKISH ATROCITIES

The Young Turks  
AND  
The Truth about the  
Holocaust at Adana  
in Asia Minor,  
During April, 1909

By the Author of  
"TURKEY AND THE TURK"

նմանատյություն

**Թրֆական դաժանություն**

**Երիթուրերը**

**և ճճնարսությունն**

**Աղանայի ողջակիզման մասին**

Փոֆր Ասիա, 1909 ատրիլ

Գրվել է 1911 թվականի ատրիլին

**Ֆերիման Դաֆեսի հեղինակությամբ**

Երևան 2009

Դալոգ գեղաստղաճություն թանգարան-ինստիտուտ

autotype


**Turkish Atrocities**

**The Young Turks  
and the Truth  
about the Holocaust at Adana**

in Asia Minor, during April, 1909

Written and compiled in April, 1911,  
by **Ferriman Duckett**

Yerevan 2009

The Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute 

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## P R E F A C E

The book presented to the attention of the reader describes one of the tragic pages of the history of the Armenian nation that were witnessed and documented by a foreigner. It is a unique source to embrace the collective memory of a people engraved with victories and defeats, pain and joy, achievements and failures.

This book is the first of the Cilician Series of the publications launched by the Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute and devoted to the massacres of the Armenians in the region of Cilicia in April 1909. These massacres heralded a new wave of persecutions and mass killings of Armenians in the Ottoman Turkey – this time orchestrated by the regime of the Young Turks.

It is practically impossible to conceal one's emotions while reading those lines in the book. The scenes and episodes of inhuman treatment of human beings just for their otherness show the scope and volume of the great calamity and tragedy of the Ottoman Armenian population. It is equally impossible to read these stories without horror and stress. The stories included in this volume take us a hundred years back to the early 20th century, when my ancestors still lived in the beautiful city of Adana, the center of the Armenian Cilicia. My grandfather was a prominent figure there, whose large family, as the persecutions and killings intensified, spread across the Middle East, with most of them finding refuge in Lebanon.

My memory is closely linked with my family history; my private archive contains many valuable photos of centuries-old scenes and faces of those who made my generation tree and made my personal link with the history and the memory of my people even more vivid.

The support to the publication of this volume and the two more upcoming primary sources on the mass killings in Cilicia is my modest expression of duty and respect to my nation and to the memory of my ancestors, and those who fell victim to the Genocide at the beginning of the 20th century.

Ralph Yirikian  
*December, 2009*

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## F O R E W O R D

The volume by Ferriman Z. Duckett was written circa 1910-1911 and first published in 1913 in London. The full title of the original publication was "Young Turks and the truth about the holocaust at Adana in Asia Minor, during April, 1909". It is a valuable source of information on Cilician massacres, revealing important and previously unknown details of the horrible holocaust of Armenians in Adana and the Cilician region.

The Adana massacres, which occurred in April 1909, a year after the Young Turks acceded to power, had many foreign and Armenian witnesses: diplomats, travelers and missionaries. Some of them published their eyewitness accounts and memoirs shortly after the massacres. Among them are the well known reports of Alexandre Adossides , Henry Woods , George Brezole , Manuel Trigo and others.

The author of this volume is a diplomat and traveler relatively little known in our days who published several volumes, including travel stories and diplomatic memoirs.

This volume is unique in many ways. It is a concise and dramatic representation of the horrible Cilician massacre by fanatical mobs and Ottoman army soldiers, witnessed and documented by a bystander. The author's analytical approach and complex in-depth analysis, and the facts and quotations contained in the volume, make it an extremely important and valuable source for the study and evaluation of the Adana massacres. Very few copies of the original publication have survived, making it a valuable object for collectors and bibliophiles.

Massacres in Adana and surrounding villages came as a watershed between the Hamidian massacres of 1894-1896 and the Armenian genocide of 1915-1922. As Ferriman Duckett concludes, the extermination of the Armenian community of Cilicia was largely driven by mercurial motives. The Armenian population of Cilicia was not affected by the 1894-1896 massacres. Looting and seizing of Armenian property was thus behind the killing and destruction in 1909. Needless to say, the terrible massacres had a powerful psychological effect on the victims and on the Ottoman Armenian population in general.

A year after the 1908 Young Turk revolution that proclaimed equality and brotherhood and established equal rights for Christians and Moslems, the very same Liberation Army perpetrated a horrible massacre of Armenians. The Christians of the Ottoman Empire were shocked by the scope of the massacres; centuries-old mistrust, fear and insecurity were thus revived after a very brief recess.

A member of the Committee of Union and Progress of Salonika centre said, "We have no suspicions about the fidelity of the Armenians and Jews, but because they are far more advanced than the Turks, will do what we can to check their progress, and give Turks a chance to catch them up." Duckett mentions the Turkish tradition of dealing with minorities by pogroms and massacres. He writes that those who are acquainted with Turkey and the Turks will know that "without the suggestion and the consent or even organization of the Government there never were massacres in Turkey."

The use of the term Holocaust to describe the Adana massacres is noteworthy since it is one of the first uses of this Biblical term to describe modern crimes against humanity. The latter expression was in circulation in late May 1915 when Russia, Great Britain and France appeared with a joint declaration condemning "new crimes of Turkey against humanity and civilization".

Duckett almost predicted the upcoming great calamity: the Mets Yeghern of the Armenian people at the hands of Young Turkish government. Under the cover of WWI, in 1915-1922

the Turkish government implemented its plan of annihilating the Armenian population of the Ottoman Empire and establishing a new Turkey under the nationalistic slogan of “Turkey for Turks.”

Disappointed by the world powers’ response, or rather, lack of proper response to the crimes committed by Turkish government, Ferriman Duckett harshly expressed his feelings, “The Turks, once more, succeeded in going unpunished under the very nose of the Christian and civilized Europe, then turned round and laughed, and laughed. Shame to civilized Europe, shame to the 20th century humanity.”

While preparing the new edition, we refrained from changing the original text in any way, apart from minor corrections. The photo documents added to the volume come from the Armenian State Archives.

I would like to thank Mr. Ralph Yirikian for his commitment to assisting the Armenian Genocide Museum in publishing the Cilician Series of documental sources and eyewitness accounts.

Hayk Demoyan  
Director of the Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute  
*December 2009*

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<sup>1</sup> The first publication of the book was titled *The Young Turks and the truth about the hotocaust at Adana in Asia Minor,; During April, 1909* by Z. Duckett Ferriman, London, 1913.

<sup>2</sup> A. Adossidès *Arméniens et Jeunes-Turcs: Les massacres de Cilicia*, P.-V. Stock, Paris, 1911.

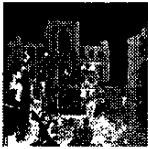
<sup>3</sup> Henry Charles Woods. *The Danger Zone of Europe: Changes And Problems In The Near East*. Fisher Unwin, 1911.


<sup>4</sup> George Brezole. *Les Turcs ont passé là...*, Paris, 1911.

<sup>5</sup> R. P. Manuel Trigo. *Memorias de un Misionero*. Barselona, 1910.

<sup>6</sup> Duckett Z. Ferriman *Turkey and the Turks*, New York: James Pott, 1916; *East and West of Hellespont: Memories of Fifty Years*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1926; *Home life in Hellas, Greece and the Greeks*, London, Mills & Boon. 1910; *Lord Byron by Z. Duckett Ferriman*, 1920. *Greece and tomorrow*. by Z. D. Ferriman. 1918.

## T A B L E O F C O N T E N T S

A FORWORD.....	xiv
INTRODUCTION.....	i
	
<b>CHAPTER I.—The Adana Holocaust.....</b>	<b>9</b>
Before the Constitution.....	9
The Proclamation of Constitution.....	10
The Ramazan and the Bairam of 1908.....	11
Preparing for Massacres.....	14
The First Massacres.....	17
Armistice.....	21
The Second Massacres.....	22
Methods of Massacring and Cruelties.....	24
Prominent Figure of the Adana Massacre.....	27
Those who Protected and Defended the Armenians during the Adana Massacres.....	28
The Loss of the City of Adana.....	28
<b>The Sandjak of Adana.....</b>	<b>29</b>
(Hai Kugh, Indjirlik, Sheikh Mourad, Guemi Suren, Mihmandar, Tanghri Verdi, Palamoud, Davoudlar, the Farms around Adana, Kayerli, Abdi-Oglou, Missis, Hamidie, Karatache, Kara Isalou)	
<b>The Sandjak of Mersin.....</b>	<b>33</b>
(Mersin, Tarsus, Elvanli, Hakim Khan, Koz-Olouk, Lampron, Gulek-Boghaz)	

<b>The Sandjak of Djebeli Bereket</b> .....	36
(Erzine, Yarpouz and Kaipak, Osmanie, Tchok Merzouan (or Deurt-Yole), Touroundji, Ayas, Yourmourtali, Nadjarli, Hassan Beyli, Bahdje, Lapadjli, Koushdjouli, Savranli, Yanik Deirmen, Kizladj, Geuk Tchair and Koyak, Kizladj, Kharni, Isliahae, lyntili, Keller, Kuness, Kurd Baghtchessi, Khassa Ekbesbesh and Sheikhle)	
<b>The Sandjak of Kozan</b> .....	45
(Siss, Sai Guetchid, Izil and Yere Bakan, Hadjin, Feke or Vahga, Kars Bazaar, Nurper)	
<b>The Sandjak of Selefke</b> .....	49
<b>The Sandjak of Aleppo</b> .....	49
(Antakae, Suaydie, Kessab, Beylan, Kirik Han, Iskenderoun or Alexandretta, Aintab, Aleppo)	
<b>The Sandjak of Marash</b> .....	52
(Albisdan, Zeitoun, El Oglou)	
<b>Trouble and Disorder Alarm outside the Vilayets of Adana and Aleppo</b> .....	53
(Kaisarie or Cesarea, Malatia, Kharpout, Yozgat, Van, Beyrouth)	
	
<b>CHAPTER II.—The Loss and Damage done</b>	55
Loss of Life.....	55
Material Loss (Public Edifices, Private Houses, Shops, Insurance Companies)	58

The Victims.....	64
<b>The Approximate List of Sufferers of the Cilician Tragedy...</b>	<b>65</b>
After the Tragedy.....	65
The Relief Work.....	66
The Sick and Wounded.....	68
Grants Distributed.....	68
Orphans and Widows.....	69



<b>CHAPTER III.—Justice.....</b>	<b>73</b>
<b>Local Court Martial.....</b>	<b>73</b>
Court Martial sent from Constantinople.....	75
Third Martial Court	
Desperate Steps	



<b>CHAPTER IV.—Those who are Responsible</b>	<b>133</b>
The Tragedy was Pre-arranged.....	133
Who were then the Persons Responsible for it all?.....	134
The Government is Responsible.....	134
The Ittihad Party (Young Turk Committee) is Responsible for...	136
<b>Voices of Protest.....</b>	<b>138</b>

## A F O R E W O R D

**At the time of going to Press we read the following appeal which appeared in the London Daily Telegraph of 11th Jan., 1913, and has referred to the terrible narrations and documents which follow:**

### **ARMENIAN QUESTION; A PLEA FOR FREEDOM.**

We have received the following communication from an Armenian professor of distinction:

“People are beginning to wonder why, at such an opportune moment, when the destinies of Macedonia are being discussed in the Metropolis of the British Empire, Armenia, her companion in suffering and martyrdom seems altogether forgotten.

“Is it possible that the splendid overthrow of Turkish domination in the Balkan Peninsula is to be followed by a fresh betrayal of unhappy Armenia into the hands of the Turks? If not, why this unanimous silence on the part of Parliament, Press, and Christian Church?

“At such a critical time it would be really criminal for those who care for justice, mercy, and truth not to speak their minds on behalf of this oppressed people—the protégés of England.

“If Austria, without firing a shot, and being bound by no previous treaty obligation, obtained the autonomy of Albania, how is it that England cannot secure the liberation of Armenia, with regard to which she lies under well-known and acknowledged obligations? Let our Foreign Secretary assert before the Conference the same resolute determination with regard to Armenia as Austria enforced with regard to Albania, and the work will be done.

“If the Powers are to bring about a lasting peace between Europe and Turkey, the fate of Armenia must necessarily be



included in the work; of the conference. Anxious as we are for peace to be promptly concluded without the creation of any complications, we protest beforehand against any peace involving a crying injustice to a people so cruelly tried and so many times betrayed in Europe.

#### PEACE A MOCKERY

“Such a peace would prove a mere mockery. The Turk would take up his old familiar work of oppression—bleeding to death the helpless Armenians, denied as they are even the elementary right of self-defense. Even at the present time we know of robbery, torture, and murder, by Kurds and Lazes, the perpetrators going unpunished, and extending their brutalities over increasing areas.

“A unique opportunity for good is once more ours. Is it to be thrown away? Is it in vain that the awful massacres of Sas-soun, Zeitoun, Adana, and the cries of widows and orphans go up to heaven?

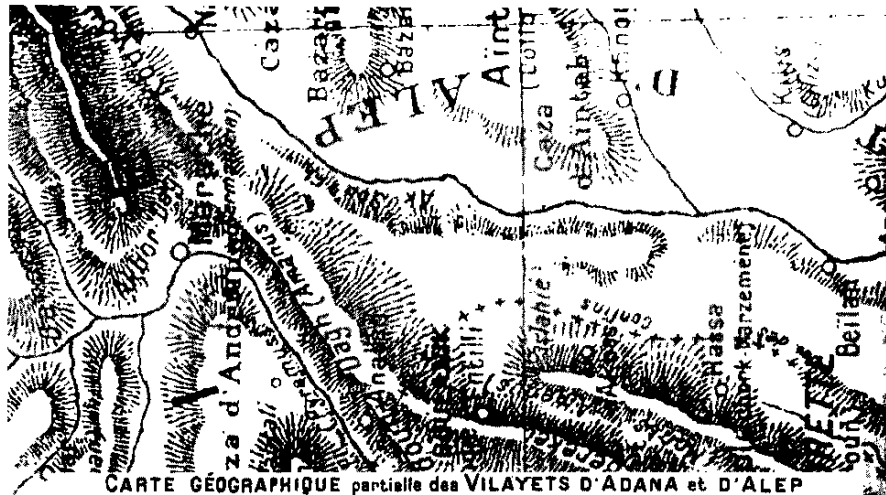
“Much has been done: much is still being done, for these, the helpless and destitute. And more and more is needed, as their men have been driven to fight their fellow Christians and to die in battle or of want in the Balkans. But what Armenia most sorely needs is freedom to work out her own salvation. Here is a proud, though a blood stained history. The ruins of her once splendid towns — of her churches and monasteries now turned into stables by Turks and Kurds—attest this.

“We cannot believe that Europe will once more have her ‘fast bound in misery and iron.’”

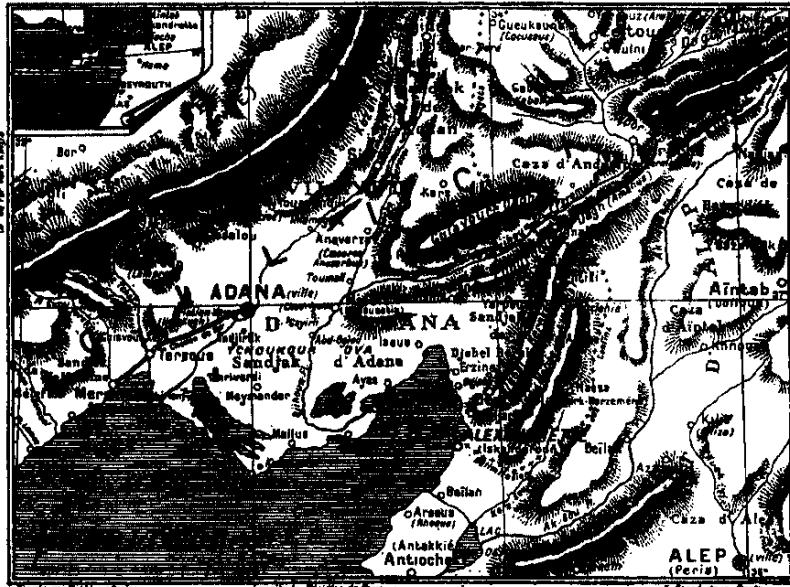
**The reader is also referred to correspondence and illustrations which appeared in the London *Graphic* of the following dates: —(1909)—1st May; 8th May ; 16th June (the Summer number); 3rd July; 10th July; 24th July; 14th August, 21st August,**

*Jan., 1913.*

The EDITOR.



CARTE GÉOGRAPHIQUE partielle des VILAYETS D'ADANA et D'ALEP



THE YOUNG TURKS  
AND  
THE TRUTH ABOUT THE  
HOLOCAUST AT ADANA

I N T R O D U C T I O N

I had heard of the Armenian Massacres in Armenia and Constantinople in the years 1894-5-6 and like many others, I had attributed them to an Armenian reckless revolutionary movement, but being at Adana during the 1909 massacres of Cilicia, I was an eye-witness of the indescribable carnage, unimaginable savagery and monstrous tortures to which the Armenians were subjected. I could not understand the cause as I saw no revolutionary movement, no political agitation on the part of the most unfortunate victims—the Armenians. In spite of my deep emotions and disgust I abstained from an immediate publication of what I saw and heard of those Mongolian atrocities, which are a disgrace to a reasoning humanity. I contented myself by taking notes of what I saw, or heard from other eye-witnesses, consular reports and trustworthy correspondents, and then I carefully followed the attitude of the Ottoman Government, the conscientious investigations of Parliamentary Commission, and the unjust proceedings of Martial Courts.

The innocence of the Armenians is proved beyond all doubt, and the barbarity of the Turks likewise confirmed, and the official communiqués of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, issued on April 23rd, 1909, and that of the Grand Vizier on August the 8th, state our view. If just punishment of the real offenders had followed the ministerial edicts, I should have ascribed all these atrocities to ignorance and fanaticism and would not accuse the Government for its strange conduct, but justice worked in the wrong direction, utterly ignoring the circular issued by the Grand Vizier, that is to say, instead of the principal authors and promoters of the great crime, they punished a few poor ignorant tools, and many innocent Armenians who had to defend

themselves, seven of whom in fact were in no way connected with the disorders, they being at the time hidden in foreign consulates and other establishments and therefore used no arms whatever, as it was proved by strict investigations. All these contradictions and unjust proceedings confused me more and more and I decided to search out the guilty and responsible persons. I did so, and now that I know all, I accuse the Government and the Young Turk Committee, who had the destiny of the country in their hands, and I am now going to show it in this little book.

But how are we to explain the Hamidian Massacres. I wanted to know the truth about that, too, and learnt that neither was there then any revolution or rebellion such as is understood in England. My investigations and inquiries into this part of the question yielded the following facts.

The Armenians despaired of finding any peace and rest under the Turkish Rule, always and systematically robbed and persecuted by their neighbours, the Kurds, the Circassians and the immigrant Moslems from Russia (Caucasus) and Roumelia, rendered desperate by the abduction of the beautiful girls and women, by the complete absence of justice in Courts, they—the Armenians—sent a deputation to the Berlin Congress of 1878 where they sought protection from Christian Europe and an autonomous Armenia under the Suzerainty of the Ottoman Empire, they hoped the Turks would, far from objecting, like the idea of such a state as a Buffer State between Russia and themselves.

The Congress refused to consider the matter and contented themselves by framing and passing the 61st Article to introduce some sort of reform in the Armenian provinces:

Article 61: "The Sublime Porte undertakes to carry out, without further delay, the ameliorations and reforms demanded by local requirements in the provinces inhabited by the Armenians, and to guarantee their security against the Circassians and the Kurds. It will periodically make known the steps taken to this effect to the Powers, who will superintend their application."

Encouraged by this article the Armenian Patriarchs continually appealed to the Turkish Government to carry out the promised reforms, and on occasions they found themselves forced to remind the signatory powers to intercede for them at the Porte.

In 1891 the Armenians organised a great public meeting in the cathedral at Koum Kapou (Constantinople), when they decided to go “en masse” to the Sublime Porte, and through a select deputation appeal for reforms, but before they reached the Porte they were stopped and dispersed by the police.

The Armenians, hopeless of succeeding by legal means or appeals, formed revolutionary Committees (the Hintchakist being the first, then the Droshakist or Dashnaktzutune), in order to defend their people against the rapacious Kurd and lawless officials, and, occasionally, by severe means teach them to respect the lives and the property of the Armenians, but being closely watched and very much persecuted by the authorities, they were greatly hindered.

In 1894 the Government tried to impose taxes upon the Armenians of Sassoun—a mountainous district—who were until then exempt, owing to their geographical position. These impositions being resented, the Government ordered them to give up their arms (exactly like the Albanian Mallisors or Mirdites of this day), the people refused, then 30,000 soldiers, who, after a hard fight asked the Sassounite Armenians to surrender, they did so, but were betrayed and 40,000 men, women and children were ruthlessly massacred. The Government was successful in hiding this hideous crime until the 25th of November, 1894. Europe protested (as per usual) and was satisfied with the Sultan’s good promise to behave better in the future... what a farce.

Monseigneur Ismirlian, the Iron-Patriarch, approached the European Ambassadors at Constantinople to assist him, by using their good offices, in obtaining these reforms from the Porte.

The Ambassadors then drew a plan of reforms which they succeeded in getting signed by the Porte on the 24th of May, 1895. But, as usual, the reforms remained a dead letter. The Armenians, again disappointed and deceived, called a public meeting at the Koum Kapou church (adjoining the Patriarchate) on the 30th of September, 1895. Then they resolved to march “en masse” to the Sublime Porte and insist on the execution of the May programme of reforms. The demonstrators were received at the Sublime Porte with bayonets and bludgeons, hundreds were killed, thousands were imprisoned, exiled or drowned, and some killed in prison cells. Then Sultan Hamid, backed by Russia, Germany (and some say even by Austria)

ordered the general massacres of the Armenians from east to west, from north to south of Asia Minor and Armenia. It was at Trebizond on the 26th of September, on 13th of October at Bitlis, then Papert (Baibourt), Diarbekir, Sivas, Erzeroun, etc., etc., there were over 200,000 massacred by torture, fire and flame. In Cilicia the Armenian mountaineers of Zeitoun, seeing that the butchery was nearing them, and that the Turks, etc., of the surrounding districts were preparing for an attack, retired to their mountains and besieged the Turkish Barracks (opposite the town), the garrison having had orders to bombard Zeitoun. The Zeitouniots fought like lions with their primitive homemade rifles, etc., against 50,000 regular soldiers, besides bashibazouk, and the mob attacking on all sides the Turks were defeated, and upon the intervention of the Great Powers (through their Consuls) the two parties were reconciled. Thanks to this brave deed of the Zeitouniots, the progress of the massacres towards the west of Asia Minor ceased, and the most prosperous city of Cilicia, viz: Adana was saved.

The condition of the Armenians was far from improving, everywhere they were persecuted, massacred, they were not allowed to travel even on business from one town to another, and their commerce was dangerously paralysed. Europe never troubled about them and left them to their fate. The Droshakist Revolutionary Committee, hoping to draw Europe's attention to this sad state of things, and to force them into action in aid of the Armenian demands, entered the Ottoman Bank at Galata on the 26th of August, 1896, and threatened to blow up the buildings with bombs unless the Sultan carried out the promised reforms. Europeans were alarmed at this critical moment as the Ottoman Bank was really run almost entirely with European capital. Then commenced pourparlers between the three parties concerned: the Revolutionaries, the Sultan and the Ambassadors. The result was, through the instrumentality of the Russian Ambassador, the safe deportation of the attacking band to Europe and the signing of fresh engagements by the Porte. Then started on the 27th the awful carnage of the Armenians in Constantinople, where 12,000 perished and 60,000 emigrated; the massacres spread into the interior a second and a third time, this time Van, Eghin, Tokat, etc., were the chief centres of the atrocities, bringing the number of victims to 300,000.

From that date the Armenians began to lose courage and some joined the Young Turk Committee, better known and

more active in Europe (Paris and Geneva) than in Turkey itself. This time they aimed at the overthrow of the Sultan.

The attempt on Abdul Hamid's life on the 21st of July, 1905, was part of the outcome of this policy, and the authors were thought to be the Droshakists. On this occasion many Armenians were imprisoned or killed. This was the last card played by the Armenians.

As can be seen, in all this there was no rebellion, no raising "en masse," no sordid intrigues, as some Europeans were unfair enough to say against their own belief, but protests, complaints and pleadings. Such protests and organizations exist in Europe, where the people, the "agitators," use much stronger language and means, but no Government would ever dream of ordering wholesale massacres. The only two districts where the Armenians did take up arms (because they were able), and that only in self-defence, were Sassoun and Zeitoun, but both these districts, as well as the quietest towns and villages, have been ransacked by the Turks. The Government never tried to use common sense and fatherly language, but only the sword... to settle a simple question of reforms.

The reader will understand by the foregoing statements that the Armenians were the first and the most active and anxious workers for the overthrow of the tyrant, first alone, then with the Young Turks, therefore they were the first and most demonstrative to rejoice and give their heartiest welcome to the Constitutional or New Regime of Turkey.

The festivities and demonstrations of joy and gratitude on the 24th of July, 1908, were specially striking among the Armenians, because it was their sufferings above all that were at an end, but the Turks recommenced the massacres and with greater ferocity than before, because they wished to misinterpret these rejoicings, why?.. Here is the answer given by an enlightened Turk to an Armenian Litterateur: "You must not think that by the fall of Abdul Hamid and by the establishment of the Constitutional Regime the Anatolian Turk will alter from one day to the next and change his attitude towards the Christians, more particularly the Armenians. We must wait at least for another 25 years, until the crass ignorance and fanaticism of the provincial Turks be removed through new and energetic methods of Religious and Political education."

This may be true, but it is far from being an explanation of, or an excuse for, the terrible massacres of Adana. Those who are acquainted with Turkey and the Turks will know that "without the suggestion and the consent or even organisation of the Government there never were massacres in Turkey."

Of what then were the Armenians of Cilicia guilty to deserve this punishment? According to the greatest fiend (Ihsan Fikri, editor of the Adana Turkish Paper, *Ittidal*), the Armenians wanted an independent Kingdom in Cilicia, and to prove this accusation they cite the Armenian free press (under the old Regime being in the clutches of the censorship), buying arms and procuring bombs! in theatres producing plays on the lives of their ancient kings, public meetings and lectures, festivities and gatherings of a national bearing, in a word, doing things which any Constitutional and progressive Regime (rule) permit as a sign of life, mental and moral activity and progress.

The Armenians would be simply mad to dream of Separatism in a district like Cilicia where the Turks, or rather the Moslems, are nearly ten times as numerous as themselves.

This display of literary, artistic and commercial activity on the part of the Armenians was the natural outcome of their ambitions, for a long time checked and kept in chains, and the Armenians took advantage of the new free regime with all the rest of the peoples in the Ottoman Empire, only perhaps a little more enthusiastically, as they were the most oppressed and one of its most progressive and intelligent elements. Yet they, after the advent of the Constitution and before the Adana massacres, that is to say between July the 24th, 1908, and April the 13th, 1909, never mentioned or used the words, "Separatism, *Autonomy*, etc." No Armenian daily or any other publication ever thought of expressing such a dangerous and senseless idea, besides there was no need as all they wanted was a government with a common-sense policy of "live and let live," which they believed had at last come. After July the 24th, 1908, all the Ottomans freely bought arms, as would be natural in such an unsafe country as Turkey, besides there was the constant fear of reactionary movements which happen during any revolution and in any country. If this purchase of arms was considered a crime, why were the Turks left alone who bought far more freely? This was the case at least in Cilicia. As for the imaginary bombs and other explosives, which the Editor of *Ittidal* wanted the world to believe, how is it there was not a sign of



them found during or after the Adana massacres ?

As for dramas and other plays, why was there performance a crime in Cilicia when every nation in Turkey was allowed to produce them, especially in Constantinople, and other big cities? The founders of the "Ottoman Theatre," I mean the Armenians, would naturally be the first to give vent to their artistic desires. They have shone as very good actors in Tiflis, St. Petersburg, Moscow, Vienna and Paris, in their own country (Turkey), and they would have been in the first rank but for the fact that all plays and performances in the Armenian language were forbidden under the Hamidian Rule, so it was only natural that the Armenians should reap the benefit of the new free Regime and pursue their favourite hobby.

At Adana all the public speeches were delivered in Turkish and Turks themselves attended them and applauded. Why was it afterwards considered a crime? No, all this cannot be sufficient explanation or be an excuse for the outburst of the terrible fanaticism in Cilicia; we must seek an explanation elsewhere.

This is what we think on the subject: the local Turks foresaw that the free Constitutional Regime promised much protection to the hitherto downtrodden Ghiaours and a far superior progress to theirs, they even thought the material and intellectual prosperity of the Armenians in a near future might tempt them to rise and be entirely free and independent of the Turk, so they crushed this imaginary seed of a future independent Cilicia. This atrocious ingratitude of the Turks against the Armenians, who had worked and suffered almost alone to bring about the change of regime for the better, is appalling.

Adana which was left intact under the old tyrannical regime, with an old Turk governor as Bahri Pasha, was reduced to a human-made Messina under the Young Turk Constitutional Regime.



CHAPTER I  
THE ADANA HOLOCAUST

Adana is an important inland city of 80,000 inhabitants, connected with the Mediterranean seaport of Mersin by a railway of 42 miles, and is the central point of the important agricultural district of Tchoukour Ova. The Armenians number about 18,000, and are by far the most active element. Forty per cent, of this number were agriculturists, 30 per cent, merchants and shop-keepers, and 20 per cent, artisans, the other 10 per cent, being functionaries. Seventy-five per cent, of the commerce was in the hands of the Armenians, who thus became more prosperous and much better off than the Moslems, and therefore aroused their jealousy.

Every spring and summer there came in addition from the surrounding districts about 20,000 people to assist the farmers, etc., in their heavy work of tilling and reaping, these came from Aleppo, Harpout, Sivas, Diarbekir and Arzeroum, so that the population of Adana in the spring rose to 60,000 Moslems, 25,000 Armenians, 5,000 Greeks, 10,000 Syrians, Chaldeans, Christians.\*

*Before the Constitution*

Adana, as we said before, escaped the 1895-6 general massacres. Thanks to the Military Commander's humanity and wisdom, the mob armed and prepared by the bloodthirsty Bagdodi Zade Abd-ul-Cadez for the odious work was dispersed with the 150 soldiers of the former. Another reason of Adana's safety, we think, was perhaps Abdul Hamid's fear of the sturdy inhabitants of Hadjin and Zeitoun Mountains, because if these were roused and a general conflict ensued, there might have been a European intervention owing specially to the favourable nearness of the sea.

Adana, unmolested, went on prospering materially and educationally, the Armenians were here braver and less submissive and slavish, they were

\* We are much indebted for these details and information to the Archbishop Mushegh's Book, "Les Vêpres Armeniennes," published in Alexandria, 1909.

gradually becoming masters of the market, and financially practically ruling the rest of the inhabitants. This was too much for the Turks, especially to Abdul Cader (a most influential notable), therefore they began in 1906 to accuse the Armenians of various imaginary crimes. It was, in a word, something like the parable of the wolf and the lamb, they (the Armenians) were "Separatists" to say the least, and he poured to Yildiz letters and despatches in this sense. But these communications to Abdul Hamid remained without result and the Turkish mob at Adana lost all patience and became enraged, and in 1907 the rage and excitement reached its climax. The Vali (governor) knowing well the Armenians and their pure minds, on his own responsibility and personal guarantee assured the Yildiz clique of the fidelity of the Armenians, denied all the accusations against them, and for a time calm and peace were restored.

The agitator Abdul Cader was, during the office of Bahri Pasha, exiled but after a few months he was pardoned and allowed to return home.

#### *The Proclamation of Constitution*

On the proclamation of the Ottoman Constitution the Armenians rejoiced beyond measure, made noisy demonstrations, repeated too often that they were now brothers and equals with the ruling elements—the Turks, the solemn Turks, murmured and showed their teeth. They saw now the arrival of the end of all persecutions and robbery, and the Armenians would now progress and enrich them more than ever and therefore started to preach the approach of this new danger. For instance Ahmed and Izzat, the two sons of the Ex Mufti of Hadjin, and Sabri effendi, the provisory judge, published leaflets to this effect and spread them far and wide. "We cannot," they said, "accept the Ghiaours as equals and brothers, this new freedom, very favourable to themselves is decidedly deadly to us. Ibrahim Bey, the chieftain of the Hamidie clan, refuses to accept the Constitution, raise O true believers and massacre the Ghiaours." This agitation was crowned with success.

On the advent of the new Regime the old friend of the Armenians, Bahri Pasha, is dismissed, with the manoeuvre of Ihsan Fikri, editor of *Ittidal*: this was an act of revenge, as he, for his abuses, was dismissed by Bahri Pasha from the post of director of the Handicraft School, Ihsan Fikri, elected president of the Ittihad Club (Centre for Young Turk branch Committees), assumes great Constitutionalist airs, and starts a newspaper "*Ittidal*". Bogdadi Zade Abdul Cader, a sworn enemy to a Constitutional Regime, at the head of blackguards and Softas, forms an anti-Constitutionalist party, opens a club under the name of *Ziraat* (Agriculture) and edits a weekly paper *Rehber i Ittidal*, this was the mouthpiece of his party, and in which was carried on the propaganda of inciting the Moslems

against the Armenians. To give one instance of the Turkish minds and dispositions with regard to Armenians, we will relate the following: a few days after the proclamation of the new regime a captain named Abdullah and a hodja went to Hadjin with the Armenian Guvdereljan Garabet effendi, there to open a club of the Committee of Union and Progress. Abdullah effendi, after having drunk a glass or two at the Episcopate of the Armenian Bishop who was welcoming him, said in front of the public,

"If under the Constitution the Armenians still continue to cherish separatist ideas, we will kill them all to the last of their babes in their cradles." True enough, they kept their word, without however having the slightest pretext, or being able to prove any separatist tendency.

#### *The Ramazan and the Bairam of 1908*

During these holy days and festivals in the autumn the Turks were actively preparing the foreshadowed massacres. Some let out the secret in September, 1908. A Turkish butcher at Payas said to the Christians, "You have only three more days to live." The Armenians communicated this news with a protest to Assaf Bey, governor of Djebeli Bereket, but he took no notice; a certain Silo says, "We must hurry up and sharpen our axes for the carnage of the Christians." Assaf Bey is once more told about it, but of no use. These and other similar warnings become more and more grave and disquieting. The Committee of Union and Progress is communicated with but it remains indifferent. In October the news of preparations for the massacres becomes alarming. It is rumoured abroad that the Armenians are going to empty the Army depôt of ammunition by an underground secret passage, that they have, besides, hundreds of cases of guns and that they are going to proclaim independence. Keur Ahmed, the son of the Ex-Mufti of Hadjin, goes about the province inciting the Turks, telling them to be ready to massacre the ghiaours, to rob all their properties and capture the girls and women. Letters and other proclamations, signed by Keur Ahmed, his brother Izzet and the examining judge Sabri effendi, were sent to the villages. By these letters the villagers were advised to massacre the village Armenians, and then come to Hadjin. One of these letters was seized by the Kaimakam (governor of small district, second to a Vali) and Keur Ahmed was imprisoned, but thanks to the protection given by the Committee of Union and Progress, he was released, and the good Kaimakam was dismissed from his post.

At that time similar threats were made at Baghtche by the Mufti Ismail.

During these preparations and uncertain days, three Armenian muleteers of Hadjin were assassinated, but the murderers openly confess their

deed and state that they were told to kill the Armenians, rob their belongings and assault and violate them. They are thrown into prison, but under the pretence of illness they are transported to the Adana Hospital, one month before the great carnage, and within a week of their arrest they were let free.

Two merchants of Kars, Krikor Dadrian and Eprem Uradjian, suddenly disappeared and in spite of all appeals and protests the Government made no effort to find out their whereabouts. Eighty gipsy families of the Abdul Kerem ashiret (clan) and a number of nomadies of Aidin with 150 tents settle around the farms of Nadjarlou and its neighbourhood, a few days before the Bairam (Turkish religious fete of the birth of Mohamet). These people said to the Armenians, "You go on sowing, we will see about reaping." The Armenians, greatly alarmed, inform the metropolitan bishop (Religious and Civil Head), the Government and the Committee of Union and Progress. A committee is at once formed to make enquiries in the matter, the truth is revealed and proved, and the matter is dropped, no one being punished.

During the Ramazan a Hodja preaches at the Mosques of Sis and district: "The Christians cannot be equals with Moslems, they are serpents, their heads must be crushed, etc."; again the Government are informed, but they turn a deaf ear.

From the 10th to the 15th of October, during the Bairam festivities, the excitement of the Turks was extreme, and the Bishop of Adana was overwhelmed with appeals and reports of their threatening attitude, from the Armenians of Kars, Nadjarlou, and Sheik Mourad. Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries send to their respective Consuls similar complaints. It was reported that preparations for massacres were actively pursued at Tchairli and Ovardjik and the members of the Committee of Union and Progress went to prevent them being carried out.

The Vali, upon receiving strict orders from Constantinople, does all he can, and the danger passes over, for the time being. The evil, however, is quietly carried on, and in fact in November a stranger, named Arab Molla, makes a tour in Cilicia preaching and exciting the Moslems against the Christians. Upon the protests of the latter, this agitator disappears, that is to say is sent elsewhere. Monseigneur Moushegh, prelate of the Armenians at Adana, noticing the daily growth of the excitement and the agitation of the Turks against the Christians, and the terror of the latter, counselling and advising his flock, said:—

"The Liberty which has succeeded to the most terrible slavery, to the monstrous despotism, gives, in a certain measure, satisfaction to our desiderata of Armenians and of Ottoman citizens, but Liberty is worthless without justice and social equality, which are the coping-stones of the edi-

tice of Constitution. Liberty is the first-born of the benefits of the Constitution, we must keep it, bring it up with care, for it is from it that justice and equality will be born, which will bring us the realisation of all our desires, and satisfy all our needs. Do not let us abuse this young Liberty, or act foolishly. On the contrary let us utilize it wisely, and make it serve to our material and moral progress.

“Liberty should appear to us not as an end, but as a means to arrive at ends still higher and nobler—justice and equality.

“As long as injustice and partiality, differences of races and religions predominate in the governmental spheres and in the social ranks of the country, the Constitution will not have reached all its promises, it will not have attained its aims.

“The present Constitution is incapable of completely satisfying all the nationalities and races which compose the Ottoman Nation, but we hope that the soon to be elected Parliament will be animated with pure and sincere patriotism, and will endow the country with a perfect Constitution, allowing all the peoples to progress freely and conjointly to develop themselves for the greater good and the higher glory of the Ottoman fatherland.

“The Armenian people, intelligent, active and honest, more gifted than the majority of its neighbours to assimilate the benefits of the civilization, will unfold, we hope, all its historical qualities and will show by its conduct that it knows not only how to sacrifice itself for, but to make an honest and legal use of, Liberty; thus proving that it is really worthy of it.

“Our most sacred duty being to safeguard the Liberty which has created the union and the solidarity of the peoples of the Empire, we earnestly recommend you to show yourselves benevolent and conciliatory in your conduct towards your co-citizen Turks. It is true that they, under the old regime, ill-treated and oppressed you cruelly, but they were not responsible for their actions, which were dictated to them, inspired and imposed upon by the criminal camarilla of Yildiz. Cast away all feeling of vengeance, for it hatred and rancour were the contemptible fruits of tyranny, love shall be the divine fruit of Liberty. Live therefore as brothers, as compatriots with the moslems as long as they remain faithful to the Constitution.

“There will always be round about you, those who intrigue and agitate and those whose interests it is to fish in troubled waters. They will make efforts to sow hatred and discord between the various races and to foment trouble. The present Government and the glorious Ottoman Army, being attached to the Constitution, we are convinced that those conspirators will never succeed in executing their dark designs. Take, therefore, no notice of what they say or do, look after your business, all the while holding your-

selves in readiness to protect your own interests and those of the fatherland.

“Avoid creating any difficulty for the Government, whose task is already so arduous; on the contrary, give it all the help you can to maintain the public order and show by your actions that your love and respect for the Ottoman fatherland and for your co-citizen Turks are sincere and lasting.

“If ever you are the victims of arbitrary acts, of abuse and vexation, appeal without fear to the local authorities, and if your appeals remain fruitless, if your complaints are not listened to, apply to the Metropolitan, which is ready, as in the past, to take in hand the defence of your disregarded rights and your downtrodden interests. We plead and adjure you to speak only the truth in your complaints and your claims and to present matters in their rude simplicity, without exaggeration or alteration.”

Assaf Essad, the mutissarif of Djebeli Bereket, was a sworn anti-Constitutionalist in his district, and had always incited the Moslems against the Christians, as Monseigneur Moushegh, the Bishop of Adana, in his famous report of January the 10th, 1909, tells us. The Vali, to whom this report was sent, took no notice, but, on the contrary, asked the Minister of the Interior to remove this “dangerous” bishop from his diocese.

#### *Preparing for Massacres*

In the beginning of February, 1909, Keur Ahmed, the son of the Mufti of Hadjin, telegraphed to the Vali of the Vilayet that the Armenians were preparing an attack on the Turks, investigations proved the falseness of this manufactured alarm, yet the originator is left unpunished.

On the 10th of March Zor Ali arrived from Constantinople. He was an ex-police Commissary of Adana, dismissed for his abuses, on the establishment of the New Regime. He was very prosperous, declared himself a member of the “Fedakiarani Millet” party, this party was a branch of the “Ittihadi Mouhammedieh,” and said that he had brought with himself people of the same mind and spirit. At the same time, one of these, a man named Selim Avnoullah Bey, made the tour of Adana Vilayet, delivering anti-Constitutional speeches, is arrested and imprisoned at Aleppo.

Early in March, some Turks, with the idea of inciting Moslems against the Christians, covered with refuse the door of Oulou Djami, then accused the Armenians of this sacrilege, they are, however, found out and caught in a similar act, but let go unpunished, and the question is thus closed. The Armenian Bishop lodges protestations with the Governor, but the Government deny the facts. A few days later rumours are circulated that the Armenians are about to attack the Depôt of Ammunitions of the Barracks and are arming themselves, or failing this they will get into the depôt by way of an underground secret passage and then establish an independent



Cilician State. The Moslems get alarmed, but the falsity of these accusations is proved, and the Government, when the Armenian Bishop lodged a protest for these sensational accusations, denied, as usual, all and everything that had passed.

Hodja Moussa Kiazim, a member of the Ittihadi Mouhammedieh, preached in the Mosques of Adana against the new regime and incited the people. The police follow this man's movements and inform the Government of it, but of no avail, and on the contrary relieve the police of watching their club.

The Vali of Marash, an enlightened Constitutionalist, assists one day in the religious service at the Mosque of Oulou Djami, where the Imam reads an anathema against the ghiaours. The people, according to the Moslem rules, answer, "O Allah! make widows the wives of the ghiaours, their children orphans, and let us possess all their belongings. The Vali, on hearing this, goes at once to the pulpit and says, "There are no ghiaours in Turkey, they are all Ottomans, and it is far wiser to stop this sort of prayer, than to hurt the feelings and amour propre of our non-moslem compatriots." The fanatics get excited so that the Vali is obliged to flee for his life from Marash to Aleppo, but on his way he dies of fright at Adana.

The people acted at Adana in accordance with this prayer, so that today there are in Cilicia thousands of Armenian widows and orphans, and the entire property has passed from its rightful owners into Moslem hands.

Thanks to these sermons and speeches, the relation of the Moslems and Christians is greatly strained, and after March the 28th, Turks openly announced their evil intentions, even at Hamidieh, where Turks and Armenians were on the friendliest terms, the Turkish sentiment had suddenly changed by the visit of the Governor of Adana. The protestations and complaints pour from all parts into the Episcopate.

At Adana, in open daylight, the Armenian women and girls are attacked and kidnapped, the men are beaten and wounded, in a word, everything is tried to find some excuse for the onslaught, in spite of the most cautious behaviour of the Armenians, who, knowing what was coming, did their very best not to give any cause and avoid any encounter.

During these very critical days at Adana, the blackest blackguards called the Saldji are enrolled as gendarmes, and those who attack the Christians are made policemen. On April the 9th, a young Armenian, in defending his wife's honour against some ruffians, wounds three Turks, and escapes into Cyprus. Two of the wounded die, and the Turkish anger and excitement is at its highest. The Government distributes arms to the Turks in order to "defend themselves against the Armenians."

The same day, in the evening, Ihsan Fikri and his comrades hold a meeting, and deliver inflammatory speeches against the ghiaours. The Government officials see and hear it all calmly and apparently pleased. On the 12th of April, Carakeusseh oghlou Mahmoud and his comrades discharge revolvers in the air, then go and tell the police that the Armenians have killed two Turks. The false nature of this information is proved in the night of April the 12th, Mr. Chambers (the Missionary), an Armenian Protestant preacher, Hamparzum Ashdjian, and Dr. Hamparzumian pay a visit to the Vali and call his attention to the excited state of the town. The Vali assures them of good faith. On the 13th of April, Ihsan Fikri delivers a speech to the Turks, exciting them against the Armenians and the heads of various Christian communities visit the governor calling his attention to the seriousness of the situation. The Vali, however, tells them there is no need to be frightened, "I have given them all necessary orders." He then dismisses them.

Tuesday is a market day at Adana; the peasants come into the town in the morning and returned in the evening. On Easter Tuesday, the 13th of April, these peasants did not return to their homes. They had received orders to stay in the town and help the massacres and looting.

On the 13th of April news comes in that the Armenians have killed 4 Moslems—2 men and 2 women—in the vine districts, again it is proved to be only a lie. On that day some Turks purposely wore white turbans, to pass for softas, and kill a circumcised Armenian, and then give the alarm that another Islam was killed. A doctor, a health official, is called for the inquest; fortunately he was an Armenian, who declared that the victim was an Armenian, a former patient of his, and that on his arm they will find a tattooed cross. The Doctor's declaration is proved, but useless, and the victim is still supposed to be a Turk.

That same night at about 9 o'clock, the mob, led by hodjas, present themselves to the Vali, asking permission to punish the Christians. The Vali sends them away. They go, only to hold meetings in the office of the newspaper *Ittidal*, at the Medresse (seminary) of Demirdjilar and in the neighbouring streets. The Government looks at them all with indifference.

That night, an important meeting was held in front of the Government buildings, under the presidency of the Vali Djevad Bey. There were present the Military Commander, Mustapha Remsi pasha, the Hakim (judge), Mufti (religious head), the notables of the district, Abdul Kader, Geurguerli Zade Ali, The Post-master, Cadri Bey, the Police Commissary (Chief Constable), Dabbaghzade Hadji Ali, Hamahli Zade Mouhammed, etc. After deliberations they agree and declare that "the time" of massacres has come and that there are plenty of excuses. The Postmaster and the Hakim disagree and protest, but the Mufti, speaking on his religious authority says

that it is in accordance with the Moslem laws and religion to kill and loot the Christians, and gives Fetva (irrevocable official decision).

*The First Massacres*

The next day, Wednesday, the 14th of April, the Easter Festivities are ended, but the Armenians, seeing all around them the armed mob, all kinds of soldiers, cavalry and infantry filling the streets, their excitement, the noise of arms and bludgeons, suspect something fearful, therefore do not venture to open their shops, and the notable Armenians, going to the Governor, ask him for safety and protection. The Governor promises them protection and advises them to open their shops, he specially sends for the Armeno-Catholic Bishop Terzian and persuades him to use his influence to make the Armenians open their shops. But when this Bishop tells the Vali that the armed populace is gathering fast in the market place, the latter replies, "That matters not in the least, when the shops are opened, they will soon disperse." The Bishop goes to the town to carry out the Vali's wish, and in fact many open their business places and nearly all sent their children to school. The police arrested a few agitators, among whom is Karakeusseh oghlou Mahmud, but the mob get him away from the gendarmes and then they circulate a rumour that the Armenians have attacked the Tosbaghi street, inhabited by Turks. The Armenians take refuge in their homes at about 11 o'clock a.m., and it is heard that the Turks, wearing the white turban and well armed are attacking. The Armenian notables at once hold a meeting and send a deputation to the Vali, imploring from him protection, the Vali makes fresh promises and advises them not to give any cause, but be quiet.

"Not to give any cause" in reality meant he was relying all the time on his plan of throwing the responsibility on the victims, as we shall see. The wounded Armenians go to the Bishopric, David Ourfalian, a notable Armenian, president of the Armenian National Council, and a member of the Court of Revision is sent to the Vali to inform him of what was going on. The Vali tries to persuade him that the Turks are giving misinterpretation to the closing of the Armenian shops, it is therefore advisable to open them, nothing will then happen. He sends this said David effendi with Abdul Cader and a few other notable Turks to the Armenian people to assure them of his bona fides and get them to pursue their occupations. The Vali himself goes out to meet the people with the Commander and other officers, and makes them open their shops. David effendi is killed on the way, in the town, by order of Abdul Cader. The assassin was shouting, "In the name of the most Highest, I begin with you," and in fact David effendi was the first victim.

The dragomans of the British, French, German and Russian Consuls,

on behalf of their Consuls, go to the Vali to tell him that the Moslems are beyond measure excited and a hodja has been preaching from the minaret (the tower of the mosque) of Tos-baghi quarter and that the hour of exterminating the ghiaours has arrived, therefore, this must be at once stopped, etc. The Vali gives them a roundabout reply. At that very moment a police commissary comes to tell the Vali of the murder of two Armenians by two Moslems, of their arresting the Moslems, the delivering of them from their hands by the mob, and the unmanageable revolt and disobedience of the people. They ask for military aid with full permission to shoot in case of need. The Vali again gives indistinct answers and sends them off. The dragomans, very dissatisfied with the behaviour of the Vali and without obtaining a satisfactory reply, leave him. The Vali then goes to the Conak (Government Palace), there, in his presence, a Turkish employe kills a notable Armenian, Artin Shadakian, a member of the Municipal Council. The populace, in a body, go to the Town Hall, where they shout, "Long live the Sultan," then disperse in groups in all directions, killing on their way any Christian they meet. The gendarmes arrest and take to prison the wounded instead of the murderers. The chief of the gendarmes, Cadri Bey, seeing this, sends, in his resignation, which is accepted, and in his place, Zor Ali, just returned from Constantinople, is appointed as the Commissary General of the gendarmerie. The mob, under the leadership of Khatib effendi (the son-in-law of Kazaz Zade), of Muzteba effendi and of Dahbagh Zade Ali, made a rush to the ammunition depôt and insist on arms being given them. Their demands are satisfied. With these arms they first attack a Han (Inn), and massacre all the travellers from Hadjin who had put up there.

Zor Ali at the head of a troupe of soldiers under the commandership of Resim Selim Bey, of the head of the court martial, besieges the Shabanieh quarter. The Armenians defend themselves and 50 armed young Armenians close the entrance of the street.

The Governor then goes to the telegraph office and sends orders to all the Sandjaks (districts) in the province of Adana asking them to call in all the reservists, "disturbances have broken out at Adana, which may spread," he telegraphs also to many suburbs of Adana "to protect the foreign subjects," that is to say, massacre all the Turkish subject Christians. He wires to the Minister of the Interior:

"The Armenians have attacked us, the Government buildings are besieged by them, the Armenians are all armed and are massacring the defenceless Turks." He gives at the same time orders to the Director of the Telegraphs to refuse all despatches intended for the Armenian Patriarch and for the Porte. Ihsan Fikri, wearing the white turban for the occasion (ordinarily wearing the fez), a rifle in his hand, stands at his windows encouraging the mob, says,

"Now, my children, courage, kill all the males and spare the beautiful women." Likewise did Abdul Cader, calling out from his window, "Kill all the men, then their women and riches will be yours." Later he and Boshnak Salim were seen on horseback leading the mob of assassins and directing the work of the massacres.

The great carnage begins at about 3 o'clock. On Easter Day and the following two days, as also on the morning of the day of massacres, the Turks had written with chalk on every shop, to avoid any mistake. "Christian's shop," "Moslem's shop."

The Military Commander, Remzi Pasha, had told his men, "Fire in the air when you see the looting Turks, kill straight away when you see the phoours." The Turkish mob shouted with a sneer at every discharge of a gun: "Long lives the Sultan Abdul Hamid," "Down with the Constitution." "There is Liberty for you, there is Equality for you, and there is Justice for you."

Some of the Armenians tried to defend themselves by taking refuge in their houses, others hid themselves in churches, schools, in European houses, private and official establishments, especially in Father Rigal's College Convent of St. Paul, and in that of Bethania of the Sisters of St Joseph, its principal being Mother Melonia. These houses waved the French flag. Another of these refuge houses was the American College, bearing the United States flag. Those who escaped the shower of bullets were safe in those establishments. The Jesuit College gave, the first day, hospitality to 2,000 refugees, the following days their number attained from 5,000 to 6,000. The Convent of Bethania sheltered from 2,000 to 3,000 souls, as numerous were those in the American College. At first, these establishments were respected, but later even they were not spared and were subjected to fearful fusilades, and a Jesuit, who had ventured to open a window before daybreak, was wounded by two shots, and a second after him. There were some wounded in the American buildings. A great number took refuge in Europeans' houses.

In the town the shops were looted, then burnt down. The Armenian quarter still held out, but the scattered houses were singled out and the inmates were killed to the last, the girls were captured and carried away, the women were mercilessly violated, and at last the houses were set on fire. Those who tried to run away or happened to be in the streets were shot straight away. The houses looted by night were afterwards set on fire after having oil poured on them. The Turks attempted to burn the above-mentioned buildings by throwing on them inflammable matter, but thanks to the heroic defence of the inmates, they were saved.

On the first day of the massacres, April the 14th, 1909, the British Consul of Mersin, Major Doughty-Wylie, arrived on the scene, and calling on

the authorities, declared his intention of visiting the town. The Vali and the Commander cannot prevent him from doing so, he then made a tour, accompanied by a handful of soldiers. The next day he went at first to Bethania, said a few words of encouragement and comfort to the Catholic Sisters and refugees, then continuing his tour through the town tries to pacify it and stop the carnage, his horse gets wounded first, then he himself on the right arm. The Redifs (reserves) begin then to work, the fusilade becoming more terrible and effective. The fire approaches Bethania and with great difficulty is overpowered. Thanks to the efforts of the British Consul, soldiers are sent to protect these Christian buildings, but in return the Turks ask the inmates to give up their arms, and they are given up.

During the progress of the terrible fire, whenever an explosion was heard, the Turks ran to the European Consuls and said, "Do you hear the bombs exploding in the Armenians' houses?" To this the British Consul replies: "I am a soldier and can distinguish between the explosions of a gun, a cannon and a paraffin tin."

After these three days' carnage, looting and burning (April 14th, 15th, 16th) the Vali of Adana and the Commander, seeing that the Armenians are bravely defending themselves and that Moslems are being killed, decide to stop the odious work, by using the military force they had at hand.\*

While all this was going on, the Moslem notables and the hodjas (Moslem clergy) were assembled at the Government buildings and held meetings.

On the first day the attack was made only on those Armenians they found in the streets, the second day they attacked the private residences; houses, shops, etc., were set on fire, and people rushing out into the street to escape the fires were met with bullets and bayonets. The military joined the mob from the second day, and Djevad Bey called to their assistance the reservists of Payas and Kara-Isalou, but these, after receiving the arms and ammunition, refuse to come into Adana, saying that their districts are also in a state of turmoil. So much for the military discipline and obedience.

Few private houses are burnt during this first massacre, but the town is completely ransacked. The spoils are transported to Mersin by rail, the managers of the railway company keep the goods and inform the Government, who in reply says, "As there is no one to claim, you cannot confiscate them, they must proceed on their way."

Major Doughty-Wylie greatly assisted in stopping this first massacre, as also Tekeli Zade Osman Bey, who lived in the Armenian quarter, and who, on being appealed to by the Armenians, goes with Kévork effendi Fikri, an Armenian, to calm down the Turks' rage. Some say that Osman

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\* The first massacres and looting began on the 14th of April, at noon, and stopped on the 16th, at about 9 o'clock p.m., that is to say it lasted about 50 hours.

Bey had written a sealed letter to the Vali\*, upon which the carnage at once stopped. (So says the Babighian report.)

During these massacres the Greeks, not only were left alone, but protected, yet by mistake there were many Greeks, Syrian and Chaldean Christians killed.

When the carnage stopped, they began to bury the dead, but most were carted, heaped in open carts, etc., and thrown into the river. It is most difficult to know the exact number of the dead, but about 500 wounded were sheltered in the Armenian schools, turned into hospital wards for the occasion.

Djevad Bey, in his telegram of April the 16th, said that in the beginning of the troubles he had only 300 soldiers, which he found insufficient to utilise and prevent the massacre. But we must not forget that his predecessor had been able to do so with only 150 soldiers and that under the old regime. In Turkey, the people are most obedient and never move without a word on the part of the authorities, therefore, we think that even 100 would have worked wonders, if they had had the right sort of orders, otherwise, how was it that he, the same Vali, was able to restore order with the same soldiers, when he thought it was time.

#### *Armistice*

After these infernal three days the Government announced by town criers, peace and order, the Armenians ventured out of their shelters. Martial law was declared during this armistice. The arms with which the Armenians were defending themselves, or were hidden in foreign establishments, are taken away from them, under the pretext of preventing any excuses on the part of the Turks for attacking them, but the Turks are allowed to keep their arms.

At this time *Ittidat* was published under the joint editorship of Ihsan Fikri and Ismail Sefa, whose articles were of a most inflammatory character which paved the way to the second massacre. The most violent and characteristic of these articles were "A Terrible Revolution," by Ismail Sefa, and "Disorder and Trouble," by Ihsan Fikri. In these articles Ihsan Fikri called the Armenians enemies of the Empire and separatists and said of them: "You must know well, O Armenians, that this is only a momentary armistice." The Armenians repeatedly protested to the Vali, who promised to close the printing offices and stop the paper, but the suspension of the paper did not last more than nine days (from April the 16th to the 25th).

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\* An Ottoman Deputy, sent by the Government to investigate the cause and the result of the massacres, was about to read his report in the House, when he died suddenly (*i.e.* was poisoned) the day before.

*The Second Massacres (April the 25th, 26th, 27th)*

A few days before the second massacres, certain Turks inhabiting Armenian quarters, moved to Turkish parts, for instance, Khatib effendi, the son-in-law of Kazan Zade, and Boshnak Zade Abdulrahman.

At dawn on the 26th of April gunshots were heard and Turks at once invented a story to the effect that 15,000 Armenians, led by Gukderelian Garabet Effendi,\* are attacking the town from the riverside. The Turks, arming themselves, go in that direction and after waiting for some time, seeing nothing, return, and on their way back they loot the paraffin depôt.

On the 25th of April from the second and third regiments, 850 soldiers arrive from Dede Agkatch, under the pretence of restoring order (these same soldiers were already mutineers, who, during the capture of Constantinople were exiled to Roumelia). While taking the train from Mersin, they had said, "If, on our arrival, we find any Moslems killed we shall know what to do."

When these men on the 25th of April, at sunset, were putting up their tents on the outskirts of the town, some Turks fire on them from the neighbouring streets. These shots are attributed to the Armenians in order to rouse the rage of the soldiers, but as the Armenian quarter was far away from these localities, they pretend that the shots were fired from the Church Tower, while later inquiries proved that these tents could not even be seen from the Church Tower. The soldiers themselves pointed out the window of a Turkish house whence the shots were fired.

Kibrizli Oghlou Suleyman and It Ouyoutmaz Ali run to the government palace and say that the ghiaours have killed soldiers and have left not one Turk alive in the Saldjilar Street. Mustapha Remsi pasha, without even enquiring into the matter, officially and loudly gives the orders to strike.

The climax of the agitation and disorder had now arrived. Soon after 4 p.m. soldiers and mob began the carnage and burning with more violence than the first, and this time they were conducted and commanded by the leaders of the Ittihad.

Remzi Pasha had said to the soldiers, "As I am now giving you native guides, enter the few remaining houses, kill the Christians, loot all you find, then pour oil on the buildings and set them on fire." A Turkish soldier has since confessed this in the presence of a dragoman of one of the Consulates.

The method of the huge crime was prearranged: paraffin was poured on the houses by fire engines, those who ran out into the street were shot, and the houses before catching were ransacked. The fire started from two ends of the town.

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\*This gentleman was one of the most prominent in the town, of fine stature, rich, and a very clever lawyer, possessed vast tracks of land, of all these qualities, physical, material, intellectual, the Turks were highly jealous. We shall see more about him later on.



The Mersin correspondent of the *Osmanischer Lloyd* (a Constantinople paper) wrote, as an eyewitness of the soldiers' participation in this second massacre, looting and burning; the same is confirmed in an official telegram sent to Denys Cochin (in Paris), which was afterwards published in the *Journal Officiel*, May the 18th, 1909, Paris, "*Toutes nos informations d'accord avec celles de la Presse, Europeenne, constatent la complicité des troupes dans les effroyables boucheries d'Adana et la province. Le second massacre du 25 Avril fut opéré par les troupes mêmes envoyées de Dedeagatch pour reprimer les désordres, des scènes d'atrocités inénarrables se sont produits. Toute la Cilicie est ruinée, en proie a la famine et la misere.*" The Armenians again run to their churches and schools which were converted into hospitals, and to foreign establishments, to the churches and schools of the American and French Missionaries and to the houses and factories of Europeans. There have been some kindly Turks who also sheltered Armenians. After thoroughly looting the rich and magnificent Armenian churches, in order to be able to set them alight, they were obliged to wrap the fine stone pillars in sackcloth soaked in paraffin. They spared the Cathedral, a beautiful piece of architecture, in order to convert it into a Turkish Mosque.

They burned the school to ashes, where there were 2,000 wounded and sick, as well as the house, turned also into a hospital, of Mr. Shadarevian, with its 300 wounded inmates, 40 people only escaping, who were transported into the Government hospital, from which they never came out, and no one knows what their fate was.

On the 26th they burned the temporary hospital near St. Paul, the patients and refugees are taken to St. Paul's under a shower of bullets. The fathers of Mariste Order carry the patients on their backs. The sick ward is burnt.

The Jesuit school, where nearly 8,000 people had taken refuge, was in great danger, the Armenians made superhuman efforts to save it, but impossible, the bullets were pouring from all sides, and seeing that they will all be burnt, the refugees all rush out and take refuge in the Government buildings and in its garden.

At this time (April 27th) the gendarmes with hatchets, smash to the ground the Triumphal Arch, erected with public subscriptions in honour of the Constitutional Regime, while doing this they were shouting, "Long live Sultan Hamid, long live the old Regime of Tyranny, down with Liberty." The Vali and military and civil officers and officials looking out of their windows were laughing, evidently much delighted.

Those Armenians, now in the Government premises, were not allowed

to remain there more than four hours, and order came for their dispersion. Where were they to go? They had no homes left, no shops, no churches, no schools, and the Palace Garden was already full. Just at this critical moment Major Doughty-Wylie and his courageous wife arrive and heroically conducted the homeless and haggard crowd to the factory of Trepany Bros., which belonged to a Greek, the dragoman or interpreter of the British Consul. A portion of the refugees were taken to the German factories on the outskirts of the town.

The Turkish mob then make for the Jesuit Convent, demanding that the refugees be turned out and be delivered to their hands, but the priest's reply, "Kill us first, before you touch the refugees, who are our guests." The fire was approaching these buildings and the Fathers Rigal and Juse, bravely led the people to the Palace Garden. The same night these convents are burned to the ground. Bethania was also in danger, they empty it too, and the refugees are taken to European factories, the sisters being sheltered in the British Consulate.

On the night of the 1st of May, Bethania was burnt, in spite of protection given by the troops from inside and outside, only the section of the orphanage and sick ward were saved.

These terrible massacres, burning and looting lasted from 25th to 27th April. After which fires was less frequent, one being that of Bethania. This second calamity reduced the once prosperous Adana (one of the richest provinces in Turkey) to a heap of ashes and ruin, and its industrious and intelligent Armenian people were almost entirely exterminated. It was during these second atrocities that European warships were hurried to Mersin, under whose very eyes all happened, as if they were there to see the programme of devastation was carried out. Indeed, we are more civilized than ever, Europe could not afford to be good, nor brave.

#### *Methods of Massacring and Cruelties*

The massacres were organised only against the Armenians. On the first day however, by mistake, some Greek, Syrian and Chaldean Christians were killed also. But the following days the murderers took more care and protected the streets and houses of these latter (Christians). Looting and burning also were intended only for the Armenian properties, thus, in order to leave no shelter for them, foreigners' houses and other buildings were burnt where Armenians had taken refuge. But a telegraphic order from the then acting Minister of the Interior, Adil Bey, came (rather too late) not to touch foreigners and their premises.

Massacre means to kill the men, spare the women, girls and children, who being left unprotected will easily be forced and driven to accept Islamism and fill the Turkish harems, this is what the Mohammedan reli-

gious laws demand and command, and this is their prayer in the mosques as we have already mentioned and cited. But during these atrocities, old women and those younger girls and women who resisted such dishonour were mercilessly killed, after having been subjected to all kinds of ill-treatment. The indescribable tortures and cruelties committed were so ferocious that many eye-witnesses admitted would cause the envy of Nero himself and of the Inquisitors of Spain.

Here are a few instances. They kill the men of a certain Boyadjian family, with their blood the murderers paint signs of the cross on the doors and outside and inside the walls, then violate all the women and girls, whose blood-stained underclothing they hang out of the windows, take their victims, half naked, into the streets, inviting the mob to follow suit.

In the house of Yapoundji Kevork, they kill the fifteen male members of a real patriarchal family (uncles and cousins, etc., living together), open their breasts, take out the lungs and throw them before the victims' mothers and wives and daughters. In hundreds of cases they cut off the breasts of women and the virile members of the men, or cut to pieces the bodies of their unfortunate victims and throw them to others still unharmed.

Several little boys were circumcised in an atrocious manner and when these managed to run away crying and screaming they were shot dead from behind.

A blind Turk, a kababdji (roast outlet seller) of Adana, begs his co-religionists to hand him an Armenian and assist him to kill the victim, so that he too may have part in the holy war. Therefore, he is led to an Armenian, lying in the street half dead. The fiend cuts to pieces the unhappy man and gives thanks to Allah for "his mercies."

They burn alive M. Bouldoukian in front of his wife, whom they crucify, cut her breasts, giving them into her children's hands, and before she was dead, they kill her children, one by one before her eyes, shouting to her mockingly, "Come, save your Children."

They put a knife in the hands of Madame Nadjarian and force her to cut the throats of her own children. A woman was running away in the streets, with her two children, when she encounters the murderers. She puts down the children, and kneels, imploring the devils to spare her little ones, but before the eyes of the mother the children are cut to pieces. Then her breasts are next cut off. She is then put in a sackcloth bag soaked in paraffin and burnt.

They stop an Armenian and force him to make the sign of the cross, he does this, and then his right arm is cut off. He is then ordered to sign himself with the left, he does this, and the left is then chopped off. "Now you

must make the sign with your feet." The unfortunate victim does not succeed, "Then your feet are of no use to you," say they jeering, cut off his feet, then throw him into a well.

Dozens of men, women and children were thrown into the river with their arms and legs bound. Many persons were stopped in the streets, had their two legs split, then left to die as best, and as soon as, they could.

In the presence of many poor women, they have cut the virile members of their husbands, these pieces were then pushed into the women's mouths.

Before the eyes of their parents some children were minced, pieces of their flesh their fathers and mothers were forced to eat. Some having lost their reason, eat like madmen, others refuse, both are afterwards killed in their turn. But what an agony, imagine, dear reader.

According to the Patriarch's official reports, in the Bishop's house at Adana, there were more than 100 murders of children from 10 to 15 years of age, all violated before escaping to the Bishopric. These were seen and photographed by the Consuls and the members of the official Enquiry Commission.

In order to hide the awful number of the massacred, the Turks threw hundreds of dead bodies into the wells.

Let us hear what some of the resident European witnesses have written. Mrs. Doughty-Wylie:

"The Turks leave the men half dead, struggling and crawling in their bloodpool, then in front of them, violate their wives."

Soeur Marie Sophie writes: "I can hear heartrending screams, of those whose bellies are opened and otherwise tortured. We have just heard an eyewitness who tells the terrible sights of men, hanging by their feet, head downwards, their heads then being cut off with choppers. Others are stretched on wooden tables, tied to them and set on fire. Many are nailed alive to the walls, tables and floors."

They invent most cruel and terrifying sports. They bind the fathers, and on their laps, saw or cut to pieces their children.

Father Benoit, the French Missionary, relates that, "Before the bewildered parents, Turks were playing football with the heads of the former's children, they were throwing up the living children, then receiving them on the points of their bayonets or knives. Often the assassins devised special ways of torturing, with a desire of delaying death, and while the victim was groaning or suffering agonies, the Turks sang and danced round them. For instance, they pulled the finger-nails with pincers, after smashing their fingers, and made designs on their bodies with a red-hot iron. They skinned the head, and then threw the body to the dogs as food. Others they smashed the bones, crucified or burned them alive. The crowds of curious mobs gathered around them, applauded these refined tortures, laughed and made merry."

"They cut the extremities of the body of an Armenian, and then forced him to chew them. They choked many mothers by pushing big pieces of the flesh of their children down their throats."

They opened the wombs of some mothers and pushed into them the children they were carrying on their arms a minute before.

The head of a Carme mission, Father Joseph, writes: "Women and children of both sexes were violated, hanged from the trees, or smashed on the racks, and when they could not easily get the necklaces of women and girls, or their earrings and bracelets, they simply cut the head, ears or hands off as the case may be, took the jewellery, then killed the sons and daughters in the arms of the parents."

Mr. Lawson Chambers writes: "They tied the bands of many victims, threw them into the river, and every time they came up floating were shot at."

The Roman Catholic Missionary, Father Rigal, writes: "The Turks have, with a Circassian dagger, gauged out the eyes of an Armenian priest, cut his tongue and broken in his teeth."

An American writes: "They filled an Armenian's mouth with gunpowder, and then fired it."

Forty fellahs have successfully violated a beautiful girl, and when she was unconscious, carried her away and left her in an Armenian street.

The Martial Court wrote in its report, "The Moslems have committed such atrocious cruelties, that even we, soldiers as we are, could bear no more."

#### *The Prominent Figures of the Adana Massacres*

Djevad Bey, the Vali, one of Abdul Hamid's aide-de-camps.

Mustapha Remsi Pasha, the Military Commander, who became notorious during the general massacres of 1895-6, as the organiser of the Maniche Massacres. Ihsan Fikri, the editor of *Ittidal*, whose inciting and inflammatory articles had much effect.

The notable Bagdadi Zade Abdul Cader, the protégé of Tahsin pasha, who, during the 1895-6 massacres tried hard to bring about a massacre at Adana but failed.

Abdul Rahman, the worthy son of the above-mentioned fiend.

Guerguerli Ali effendi, Boshnali Salih and Mehmed Dabbagh zade hadji Ali and his son Raghîb, Deli Mehmed Oghlou Hassan, Zor Ali, the ex-police Commissary of Adana, Pamoukdji Murteza and his son, Bairak Zade Eshraf, Yasmadji Hatibi (hodja), Kara Ahmed, Moustafa (secretary or clerk of the Municipality), Moussa Kiazim, Gipsy Abdul Kerem, Police Djebbar, Kami zade Said, etc.

At the head of these inhuman slaughterers of defenceless men, women and children must be placed Adil Bey. Adviser to the Minister of the Interior, this man was just then temporarily holding office of the Ministry of the Interior and gave orders by telegram "to spare the Foreigners (Europeans) and their premises," in the Hamidian language this means exterminate the Armenians.

Hussein effendi, the architect of the Municipality, was personally directing the incendiary work, and specially attacked the churches and schools.

*Those who Protected and Defended the Armenians during the Adana Massacres*

We must first mention the British Consul, Major Doughty-Wylie and his heroic wife, the French Catholic Missionaries and the Sisters, the American Missionaries, specially Mr. Chambers, Miss Wallis and Miss Webb. The Trepani Brothers who sheltered thousands of men and women in their factory, M. Chartier, the French engineer, M. Grobowsky, the director of the Adana branch of the Ottoman Bank, M. Yanco Arthémi, the dragoman of the Russian Consul. The dragoman of the German Consulate: M. Odiscus, Constantin Tripoli, the owner of the Stockwell and Lux factories, the Inspector of Regie, Mr. Abat, Mr. Chambers, an English subject, and a Greek, Simeon Oghlou, who gave refuge in their houses to hundreds of Armenians.

These protections given were not only and merely kind, but brave, very brave at such a time.

Mr. Flarimard Falanger, an Englishman, the stationmaster of the Adana railway, for days sheltered and fed several hundred Armenians.

There have been also some Turks who protected Armenians. We give the names of the following: Guven Zade, a mukhtar (representative of a ward), kept in his own house 23 Armenians. Memodja saved the lives of 50 others. Khali Aga and his three sons (Osman, Mustapha and Shukri) kept and fed for several days, 45 Armenians.

*The Loss of the City of Adana*

In the report officially published, there were in Adana itself 1062 houses and shops, 819 of these belonged to Christians, mostly Armenians. There were burnt, 6 churches, 5 schools, 1 hotel, and 3 warehouses. 5 Hams, 3 water-mills and 1 cotton factory, without counting the 295 farm houses in the outskirts of Adana. It is thought that the damage amounted to some £T2, 000,000, it is more than £T1, 500,000 in any case.

According to the "official report" says the "Tavsiri Efkiar." the loss of life in Adana was 3,528, 2,730 being Christians (Armenians), but our experiences in "Turkish Reports" compel us to multiply it by four. The "offi-

cial report," which will be given later on, agreed to accept the number of 7,000, this figure, however, was far below the one the Government official gave non-officially, viz.: 20,000. But we think that 30,000 would be nearer the truth. The loss in Adana itself (leaving out the district villages and sandjaks) was 10,000. As for the orphans and widows, what shall we call them? Survivors or victims? Those who know well the actual situation of these poor wretches can alone find a name hitherto missing in dictionaries.

### THE SANDJAK OF ADANA

As we have seen, the massacres began in the town of Adana, thanks to preparation and the encouragement given by the Vali and his telegrams, and they spread as far as Aleppo and district.

The first victims were the Adana villages, inhabited mainly by the Armenians. These are:

*Hai Kugh*, or Ghiaour Keuy (Armenian village) about 5 miles from Adana, a rich, prosperous village on the banks of the Sihoun. The greater portion of the 200 inhabitants was killed and their houses burnt, after being looted.

*Indjirlik*.—About 6 miles from Adana on the road to Aleppo 500 inhabitants half Armenian, half Turk. Most of the former were killed (we must not forget that the victims were at work, and therefore unprepared).

*Sheikh Mourad*.—Nine miles from Adana, 80 Armenian families, few killed.

*Ghemi Suren*.—Sheikh Mustapha, Kurd Memo, Kurd Hadid and comrades, attacked the small number of Armenians living in the village and killed part of them.

In *Mehmander*, *Tangri Verdi*, *Palamud*, *Davoudlar*, and the surrounding towns Sakisli, Kamishli, Eyri Aghadj, Sazak, Innebli, Alodjali, Sari Tcham, Pasha Tchiftlik, Bostan Tchiftlik, etc., where there was incendiarism, looting and killing; in the first two of the villages over 200 were killed.

*Kayerli*.—On the River Sihoun nine miles from Adana, with 1,000 inhabitants, half Armenian, half Turk. The squire of the village is Abdul Halo, a notable brigand and murderer. His married daughter Sinem, an elderly fanatic and Armeniphobe, on hearing of the massacres at Adana, took her three sons (Suleiman, Yakoub, Hussein) and her brother Abdal Kiahiasi Kerim and others and besieged the Armenian houses. This female monster, with the aid of the men she led, burnt many men in bakers' ovens. She ordered others to be bound and carried to the banks of the Sihoun, where they were killed and thrown into the water. As for the women, she

caused them to be taken to her home, where she robbed them of everything, then ordered the men under her command to violate them. After which she selected the best looking of them to be the wives of her sons. The plainer women being loaded on carts and thrown into the Sihoun.

*Abdi Oghlou.*—About 12 miles from Adana, on the Djihoun, very fertile and prosperous, is exclusively Armenian, of about 100 families. It is named after Abid Oghli Agop, who was the most notable Armenian in the village. The organisers of the massacres at this place were Kibar Oghlou Mehmed and his brother Ismail, and the latter's son-in-law Azmi, who were also very notorious in the massacres of Missis.

On the first day of the butchery, Mehmed and Ismail took £T400 from the two sons of Agop (Krikor and Setrak) as well as the four bracelets of Sara (the wife of one of the brothers) and of their sister Loussaper, promising them all protection. They then took Loussaper, her husband and the mother and relatives to Missis, pretending to hide them from attacks. The next day Mouhammed asked Sara to marry him, and Loussaper to marry his brother Ismail. Sara refused and was killed with her one year old child. Loussaper refused likewise and Ismail snatched her child from her and threw it to the ground; Loussaper still refused, Ismail then killed her other boy, Ohanness. Loussaper still refused and then was killed in her turn. They forced Loussaper's husband Krikor and his brother Setrak, to embrace Islam. The commanding Major of Missis took the poor men under his protection and kindly allowed them to do away with their turbans, which were forced upon them, and let them return to their former religion (Christian). Unfortunately, however, by the order of the Vali, this good Turk was sent to Hadjin, whereupon Mehmed and Ismail returned to Abdi Oghlou, robbed Agop of his all (£T600), drove away the cattle and killed Krikor and Setrak. There was no male left alive at Abdi Oghlou.

*Missis.*—At about fifteen miles from Adana, on the river Djihoun, is a large historical village with 300 homesteads, 120 of which are of well-to-do Armenians.

The Commanding Officer (a Major) of this place did not wish to obey his superiors by massacring the people, but protected them. For this, the Vali and Ferik Pasha sent him to Hadjin, thus the Armenians were left unprotected, and on the 26th of April, the influential Turks held a meeting to decide where to massacre.

The officer in charge of the ammunition depot, a certain Shefik effendi, invited the Christians to his house, with the intention of hiding them. The Division Officer at the head of the mob commenced burning and killing. The first victim was a Vartabed (unmarried priest) the Rev. Ashbahian, he was torn to pieces in the Church, and then his head was exhibited through the town on the end of a bayonet.



At this village the cruelties and tortures were indescribable. The most notorious of assassins were the same as those at Abdi Oghlou, namely the two brothers Kibar Oghlou and their brother-in-law Azmi.

Here the weapons mostly used were hatchets, the ferocity surpassed many proceeding ones, for instance, they bound together 15 persons, poured paraffin on their heads and set them on fire, while the fiends danced round to the sound of drums. Then, with an axe, split open the chest of a young man of 21, named Kasbarian Adil, and said to him,

“Let us see where Liberty is hidden,” and plucked out his lungs; his brother Iskender, 23 years of age, was sliced with axes.

In the house of Terzi Ohanness, an Armenian took refuge with 25 others and heroically defended them for some time, but in the end this house with the people inside was burnt. The Turks, seeing their success, danced and sang round it.

They opened the womb of the pregnant wife of Minass der Krikorian, took out the child, cut it to pieces and replaced it in the womb.

The wife of a hairdresser, Gabriel, who had five daughters aged from 12 to 18, seeing all these atrocities round her, tied the five girls' hair together, threw into the fire first the girls, then herself, to escape torture and dishonour.

At Missis, the Turks threw into the furnace, dug in the ground, dozens of little children before the eyes of their parents, and covered it with stones, then the mob beat drums and danced. After this the fathers were killed and the mothers violated.

Again at Missis, one woman is abused by forty Turks successively, she at last dies, but the violation continues...

The Turks bled an old man, with his blood a cross was drawn on the wall, on which the man was afterwards crucified.

Little girls and boys were violated, amongst which was a boy of five named Arsène, the son of Mihran Aznavorian.

Thirty-five Armenians were killed like sheep, about 60 subjected to tortures. All the houses and churches burnt, the idea being to destroy every and any trace of all that had been Armenian.

A baker managed to escape into the mountains, and hide himself in a cave, him, but did not venture to enter the cave, the cowards! And contented themselves by piling wood at the entrance and making a fire, hoping thus to suffocate the refugee. The baker, however, came out three days after, risking his life. Only one boy of 17 is left alive.

*Hamidie.*—This is a district or village formed of Circassians, who immigrated from the Crimea after the war, and here, during the last 15 years,

gradually had come to settle, Armenians from Caesarea, Kharpout, Marash and Hadjin. Sixty per cent, of the commerce was in these latter's hands.

Djevad Bey, the Vali, while on a visit in this village, told the Armenians not to ring the church bell, this was in the spring of 1909. But what an order under a Constitutional Regime, such a thing had not happened even under the old Hamidian Regime!

The massacres in this village commenced in the evening of April the 14th, and were caused as it was reported that a priest had fired on Aslan Bey, but on investigation afterward it was shewn that the said priest was killed in the Government offices, where at the time he was settling the question of a piece of land bought by him.

The principal authors of the massacres were the Mufti (you might call him the Moslem vicar) who had given orders not to spare any Armenians over two years of age. The member of the County Council (Medjliss Idaressi) Hindi effendi, who had shouted loudly, "All good Moslems should kill the ghiaours, it is a virtue." The Kaimacam (Sub-Governor) Abdul Hilmi effendi, the Cadi (judge), Foursi effendi, a member of the County Council and Sari Mehmed. The reservists had also taken part and aided, being sent on the scene by order of the Vali.

Out of 190 Armenian homesteads, 150 were burnt, so Armenians had taken refuge in the house of Ohannes Tchorbadjian, where they defended themselves for some time, but the mob poured paraffin on the building and burnt them all.

Sari Mehmed, getting hold of a defenceless Armenian named Kara Sisli, fills the victim's mouth with refuse, and then kills him. They demolish the Armenian Church and convert the place into a w.c. by way of sacrilege.

At Hamidie there were 200 Armenians, who had come as labourers some time before the troubles began, others in search of a refuge, they were all massacred.

Charles Sabatier and Doté, two French families, protected hundreds of the persecuted people, by giving them shelter and food in their factory premises. Khrimli Zade Mustapha and Tcherkez Zekeria, two Turks, likewise saved the lives of a number of Armenians.

Very few escaped the Hamidie carnage.

*Karatache.*—A coast village, where, by the order of the Mudir (village governor), the few resident Armenians were murdered.

*Kara Isalou.*—In the mountainous districts of Adana. Here there were about 75 Armenian families, the majority of them having been massacred. The Kaimacam, a 70 year old good Turk, was successful in saving the lives of 170 Armenians from the attacks of 3000 vagabonds.

## THE SANDJAK OF MERSIN

In this district the Armenians mostly inhabit the towns of Mersin and Darsin (Tarsus) and the villages of Kozoghlou, Lampron and Gulek Boghaz, in the vieldt of the last-named towns.

*Mersin.*—Of the 1200 houses in this seaport, 300 belong to the Armenians, who are great factors in the local commerce. Osman Bey, the president of Hersin's "Committee of Union and Progress" (Young Turk Branch) and the Commissary of the Railways; did his utmost to incite the Turks against the Armenians. But the Mutessariff (governor of a small town, next to a Vali) Essad Bey, opposed him, and even telegraphed the Vali (his superior) that if he sent the Adana mob to Mersin, he (the Mutessariff) would resign his post. Many praised and admired Essad Bey for his conduct. But how is one to explain his other actions, fanatically giving orders to arrest and imprison this and that Armenian, to search their houses, arresting those who happened to have by them a revolver or knife, giving orders to the gendarmes to stop and without ado imprison any Armenian coming from Adana, causing the police to search for arms on the women seeking refuge in the churchyard; he went furthur, he opened graves and searched for weapons in the shrouds of the dead.

Our explanation of his first conduct in preventing the massacres is that Mersin, being a seaport town, was under the observation of the European warships stationed there, and any disorder might have brought about complications with disagreeable consequences.

Beyrout was saved for the same reason.

Our reflections find a foundation when we remember the telegram of the Vali, Djevad Bey, to the Minister of the Interior, "Mersin is a centre for Consuls and Europeans, it is wise to protect this place with the troops from Beyrout."

When the news of the first massacres of Adana reached Europe, warships were sent to Mersin and other places near. These arrived on the 17th of April: from France, "Victor Hugo," "Jules Ferry," "Michelet": from England, "Diana," "Triumph," "Asia"; from Italy, "Piemonti," "Francisco," "Perruccio"; Austria sent "Zenda"; Germany "Lorelay." All these were too late for the first massacre, and only looked on during the second, which were far more terrible than the first, as they had no power to act.

"In his first article he describes his visit to Tarsus, and what he saw and heard there. A very noteworthy and significant point in his story is the description of the inaction of the Powers of Civilisation waiting and looking on while the Powers of Barbarism were enacting their fell work.

The second and far the worse massacre at Adana happened 'after the warships of the European countries had arrived at Mersina.' The men were burning to act, but the various Powers who held the strings did not dare to move. Each was waiting to see what the other would do, and policy was allowed to smother humanity." ...Mr. J. L. C. Booth, (Special Artist Correspondent). *The Graphic*, June 26th, 1909.

The German Director of the Mersin Railways refused the petition of the (delegates) deputation, sent by the Armenian Patriarch, with the object of transporting food to the survivors, free of charge. He (this Director) said. "Thanks to these massacres the Company sustained the loss of £1000, if I, in order to please the Armenians, render this service I shall offend the Turkish Government, and get no compensation."

There were at Mersin over 1000 refugees from Adana, Tarsus, etc. They were sheltered in the Armenian Church and School, in the French College of Franciscans, and in the buildings of American Missionaries.

Hundreds were fleeing from this inferno to Cyprus and elsewhere. The Government put no difficulties before the women and children, but the men were much harrassed.

For some time no Armenian was allowed to enter the ports of Mersin, Beyrout and Iskenderoun (Alexandretta). For a long time it was forbidden for any Armenian to travel inland by rail from Mersin.

*Tarsus*.—The birthplace of St. Paul, and once the capital town of Rubinian dynasty of independent Armenia, counts 5.000 houses, 550 being Armenian.

On hearing of the Adana massacres, a portion of the Armenians fled to Mersin, and took refuge in foreigners' houses and establishments. The notable Turks and Armenians undertook the defence of the town.

On the 15th of April, the town crier called on the Turks, shouting loudly, "True Moslems, lovers of the Islamic religion, are requested to go at once to the barracks." The same announcement was made by the bugle. In the barracks, these people were told to be ready to massacre.

On the Thursday there came from Adana, some hodjas (Moslem clergy), crying out. "O Moslems, the Armenians have completely destroyed Adana, how much longer are you going to linger?" Thereupon the mob made a rush to the military depot. Shevket Pasha, the health officer and at the same time the president of the Committee of Union and Progress, with the Vali's telegram in his hands, joined the mob, pushed and knocked down the major who was trying to calm the mob and turn them away, opened the Depot and distributed arms and ammunition. The Christians\* who saw

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\* Rev. Samuel, Keupelian Simon, Kantzabedian Sarkis, Nacashian Kerope, Baronian Hadji, Sarafian Hamparzum.

all that passed, sought safety in the American school, where the Principal at once put up the American flag. Some went to the French Mission Houses, where the tricolour flag of the Republic was flying.

The first victim at Tarsus on Thursday, was Karpik, a carter from Caesarea. On Friday, the 16th of April, the Turkish blackguards cried out,

“We will commence when the train arrives. You must not touch the Greeks, neither their persons nor their property.” In fact, when the train came into the station those Armenians, who were trying to flee to Mersin were killed. Then the mob entered the town, and all the Armenians found, in the streets were killed. Most of the latter, however, were safe in the foreign buildings, but their houses were left unprotected, these were first looted, then set on fire. Hodjas, with Islamic flags (which means a great deal, a terrible thing) in their hands, led the mob, crying, “Long live Sultan Hamid.”

Two hundred reservists at Adana, without the heave of the Commander, forced the stationmaster to start a special train for them for Tarsus. The poor man, after resisting and refusing for some time, consented and sent them off (where they did their “duty”)

A rich Turk made a gift of 60 tins of paraffin to facilitate the work of incendiaries. The incendiaries each carried a gun upon their shoulder, in one hand a paraffin can (Bidon, ibrik), in the other a broom, with which to spread the oil upon the walls, then with a match lit them. All this was done coolly as a sport, and no one hindered them. Out of the 550 Armenian houses only one was saved, and that because it happened to be in the Greek quarter.

The fine and rich Church was looted and the interior much damaged, but was not burnt. They saved it for the purpose of turning it into a Mosque. The shops and business quarters were not burnt. The massacres of Tarsus lasted 20 hours, and 96 Armenians were killed. Many hid themselves among the rushes of a neighbouring marsh, thus escaping certain death.

Ten Turks in succession abominably handled a 70 year old woman, at a farm about three miles from the town.

The leaders of the massacres and fire at Tarsus, were Shefket, the president of the Young Turk Committee of Union and Progress, and the President of the Arabs' Club, Yughdji Aziz. To the drama of Tarsus were specially invited the peasantry of Yenidje.

Here the brave protectors were Mr. Christy, the principal of the American College, his wife and daughter (thousands owe their lives to them); and the Jesuit Sisters and Priests, who sheltered in their convents hundreds of Armenians: the Dutch Consul, a Greek, fearing for his own life, was obliged under threats, to turn out his protegés.

Among the Turks who were kind and hospitable to 200 Armenians, were Abeddin Zade Shukri; and Kurtukli Zade Essad (the former sheltered 200 Armenians and the latter rescued 30 from the flames and kept them in his house).

*Elvanli.*—Armenian houses looted and burnt.

*Hakim Khan.*—The Mudir (governor of a small village) and the Cadi (Judge) protected 62 Armenian families.

*Kos-Olouk.*—24 miles from Tarsus, a beautiful village in the woods, 400 homes, 77 being Armenian the rest Turkish. When the news of the 14th of April massacres reached them, the Armenians, terrified at once retired into their homes. The Kaimacam of Tarsus sent the gendarme, Abdul Azim, to organise the massacre. This man and the Mufti invited the people to the village green. The Hodja preached reconciliation and proposed to them to give up their arms. They thought it prudent to trust this advice. After this, the gendarme said. "For your own safety and protection you had better go with me into the town, where you will be looked after." In this manner they succeeded in getting the wretched folk into their clutches outside the village, away from everybody, and massacred them. Some of them managed to escape to the next Turkish village (Boudjak). The head of the village proposed to them to accept Mahomet, wear the turban, and then leave the village. The mob followed and commenced persecution and massacre. Sixty Armenians were driven into the Turkish village (Yanik Kishla) where they were surrounded by the villagers and pursuers. A beautiful woman of 17, the wife of Abraham, son of Saradj Sarkis, at the sight of the mob nearing, prayed her husband to kill her, in order that she might not fall into the hands of the Turks after he was killed. He did kill his wife. The squire of the village, a venerable old man, was laid down, his head covered with dry leaves and straw and set on fire. While he was being roasted, the assassins enjoyed themselves singing and dancing. Then they made a bonfire, poured paraffin on it, and when the flames were high they bound 40 victims and hurled them into the fire.

They forced the women and girls to marry there and then the Turks, those who refused were violated before the eyes of their families and relatives.

Some were abused on the half-dead bodies of their husbands, or of their mothers and brothers. The screaming children were taken up by the legs and dashed against stones and trees.

The wombs of pregnant women were filled with gunpowder and fired.

On the laps of mothers were sliced their children, fathers were slain in the arms of their daughters, brothers in the arms of sisters, husbands were tortured before their wives, even seven year old girls did not escape violation.

Needless to say the houses of Koz-Olouk were looted and the cattle

driven away, 69 out of 77 Armenian buildings were burnt to the ground, and very few persons escaped death.

*Lampron (Nemrouh).*—The summer resort of Tarsus, about 175 homes, a great many were burnt.

*Gulek-Boghazi.*— Summer resort for the inhabitants of Adana and Tarsus. In winter there are no Armenians to be seen. Christians' houses burnt in this village and the people killed.

#### THE SANDJAK OF DJEBELI BEREKET

This district is also called Ghiaour Dagli (Hai Ler: Armenian mountain). The old Greek historians called it Amanus Mountains.

The organiser and promoter of the massacres of this sandjak was its bloodthirsty governor, Assaf Essad Bey. This fiend, on hearing of the Adana tragedy, at once wired to all the Mudirs and Kaimacams in his vieldt (district) to the effect that the Armenians of Adana had revolted and were attacking the Moslems, and adding, "You must therefore be ready."

On the other hand he telegraphed the lie to the Vali of Adana and to the Minister of the Interior, that the Armenians in his county were in revolt and asked permission to arm the people (Turks) and the prisoners (all Moslem criminals) of Erzin and Payas.

He then set free the prisoners, hundreds of them, all ferocious and wild (only those who have seen them can form an idea of their desperate character). He arranged with these beasts to kill the Armenian political prisoners and those recently arrested, and then fell on the people in the town, killed, looted and burnt. Deurt Yole begged for protection and assistance against the invading Turks, but he, the governor, on the contrary, tells his men to besiege Deurt Yole.

With forged signatures of the notable Turks of Erzine, he sent a wire to Hadji Hussein, an influential Turk of Osmanie, and to its people,

"All the people here have been sent on to Deurt Yole, to oppose the invading Armenians who were coming on us. The Armenians have killed many Turks. The Armenians of Hassan Beyli are joining those of Deurt Yole. Send us help at ones."

He wired to the Vali of Aleppo and to the Mutissarif of Marash, saying that "Djebeli Bereket is on fire and in flames, that the Vilayet of Adana is in danger, etc." This means, do as we are going to do, kill and destroy. He telegraphed to the Kaimacams of Osmanie, Hamidie and Khassa to send to his assistance, 300 to 400 men each, and from Adana and Alexandretta he asked in all urgency for ammunition.

He wired all round in his districts, "Gukderelian is coming with 1,500, 2,000, 3,000 ghiaours," this he did with the intention of exciting the minds of all. Why? Gukderelian was at that time in the monastery at Siss.

On the 16th of April he telegraphed to the Minister of the Interior. "The Armenians of Hassan Begli and Zeitoun have conjointly massacred every Moslem in my Sandjak and are now marching on Adana." These and similar monstrosities were committed by this fiend, and were afterwards discovered during the sittings of the Official Enquiry Commission sent from Constantinople (see Chapter III, "Justice.")

The efforts of this monster were most successful, the entire Armenian population of his Sandjak was destroyed, with the exception of a few who managed to escape into Suaydie and Lebanon.

Let us now give a more detailed, but short, account of each village and district, and expose some of the methods of cruelty.

*Erzine.*—Erzine is the centre of the Sandjak of the same name, nine miles from the sea. Three hundred Moslem and 30 Armenian families composed its population. The Mutissarif Assaf sent a band of brigands to Erzine to exterminate the Armenians. Of the natives, Hadjinli Keusse hodja, the ex-Mufti Mustapha, and Marachi Dede Deli Oghlou Ahmed met the invading mob with a Koran in their hands, and persuaded them to return without touching anyone. But Assaf does not despair, he liberates the dreadful Turkish prisoners from Erzine prison, who with their hands exterminate first the Armenian prisoners, and then proceed to the massacre of the peaceful citizens.

*Yarpouz and Kaipak.*—Two villages were subjected to terrible atrocities, houses burnt and all looted.

*Osmanie.*—This is a big village of 2,000 homesteads, 200 only being Armenian. The Turks in this place are most fanatical and barbarous. Under the old regime the Armenians were not allowed even to ride a horse, and only on Sundays were they permitted to ring their church bell (the custom being elsewhere to ring with every service, held twice a day).

The equality proclaimed by the Constitutional Regime was too much for the intolerant Turks, who repeatedly declared to the Armenians that "no ghiaour can be equal to Moslems, if you go too far we will punish you.

In the evening of April the 14th the news of the Adana massacres had reached the vali by wire, and the mob clamours for arms from the authorities; they are given them. Then starts a terrifying procession in the streets. The Armenians appeal to the Government for protection and are given assurances. The next day, however, the armed mob was much bigger. The Armenians seek refuge in their homes and churches, and some venture to trust themselves to their Turkish neighbours. The Armenian quarter was besieged and set on fire, and those who tried to flee were shot. Of the 200 in the church, only a few were saved, the rest were roasted. Those in their



Turkish neighbours' houses are treacherously slaughtered, only a few kind Turks protecting their charges. Many were forced to become Moslems, and some were abducted.

There were 69 Protestant Armenians in the chapel at Osmanie, 27 being ministers (pastors), and were holding a service. All the 69 were killed. Within two hours all the Armenian houses and churches were looted and burnt, the people being entirely wiped out. The total number of killed in this place was 2,000, many of these being agricultural labourers and artisans who had come on business from far-away districts. There remain now only a few elderly widows.

The several thousand Turks of Osmanie and district, after wiping out their Armenian neighbours, in much smaller number, attacked the surrounding villages (Sagh Guetchid, Kishnish, Kaipakli-Bani, Koulfali, Sari-lar, etc.); they massacred all the Armenians and left only the women, and boys and girls of 10 to 12 years of age. The handsome woman and girls were abducted. At Kishish. 40 houses were looted and burnt, 34 people being killed.

The principal actors of the Osmanie atrocities were Hodja Zade Abdullah, Zabtie Selim, Arabadji Nouri. Here the soldiers (reservists) were far worse than the mob itself. *Tanin*, the Turkish jingo paper, itself admits it. The Kaimacam of Osmanie, Ahmed Bey, has saved many Armenians.

*Tchok Merzouan or Deurt-Yole.*—This district lies six miles from, and between, the seaports of Payas and Erzine. It is a conclusively Armenian district with 1000 homes and the people are engaged in commerce and agriculture. To this centre belong the villages of Odjakli, Yozurli and Bukhurli. Odjakli is about a mile distant and has about 900 families; Yozurli, 2 miles with 600 houses. The populations of these two are mixed, one half Armenian, the other half Turk.

The Armenians of Odjakli, Yozurli and Bukhurli, on hearing of the massacres of Osmanie and Erzine, left their homes and took refuge at Deurt-Yole. The Turks naturally, finding no opposition, looted and burnt these houses, schools and churches. About 40 people who had not been able to flee were killed.

The Armenians of other villages surrounding Deurt-Yole fled also to this latter centre. We wish specially to mention Nadjarlou, which defended itself heroically for 24 hours, then, exhausted, the people were obliged to take flight, walking for 9 hours, fighting as they went on their way, when attacked. Thus there gathered 12,000 Armenians at Tchok-Merzuan.

Assaf Essad, the blood-thirsty governor of Djebeli Bereket, after massacring the Armenians of Erzine and Osmanie, now led his men (mob

and reservist troops), after distributing among them plenty of ammunition from the depôt of Arghin, to Deurt-Yole. In obedience to his orders, the 500 Turkish prisoners of Payas, liberated by him, first massacred the Armenian prisoners in their cells\*, then they went to join those who were blockading Deurt-Yole.

According to Assaf's own confession, only 150 arms were distributed by him, but it was found that of the 12,000 Martini rifles, and cartridges in proportion, none were left. This monster wired to the Minister of the Interior, "The Armenians of Deurt-Yole, armed with Martinis, have besieged the Government Palace at Erzine send us help at once," and to the Vali of Marash, "The Armenians of Zeitoun are preparing to attack us, do your best to prevent their advance."

The number of blockaders was (mob and tramps, some of the latter from Alexandretta) 35,000. Then began shouting and attacking, and even guns were fired, but the worst was, however, the cutting off of the water supply. Then another telegram was sent to Constantinople, "The ghiaours of Tchok Merzuan are bombarding us with guns, which they made out of waterpipes."

The receivers of such rubbish knew perfectly well the value of it, but it served their purpose to believe it.

The besieged were in great distress for want of water. They tried several times to protest to the Governor of Iskenderoun (Alexandretta) and explain their position, by sending a deputation of 10 men; one alone reached the destination alive, and was imprisoned, the others being killed.

On April the 20th the English missionary, Mr. Kennedy, with the dragoman of the Consulate, Ashdjian effendi, went to see the position of the Armenians, and finding them without food and water returned, after a half hour's tour, to the Mutissarif, who was with the besiegers, made him promise to let them have water, at least, but the coward broke his word and redoubled the firing.

During this blockade there were 22 Moslems among the Armenians, who were well looked after by the latter, and were given food and water. The Mutissarif, thinking these Turks were killed, proposed to the Armenians to let the Turks come out in exchange for water. The Turks came out safe and sound, but the water supply remained cut off.

Major Nedim, the man who blockaded Deurt-Yole, had (contrary to the orders given him) ordered 300 shots and 6 cannon shots to be fired on the town by night and had driven the people from the village into the open, to have them massacred. On the 25th of April, by the orders of the Go-

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\* One officer alone strangled many poor prisoners, and each time he took hold of a victim, said, "There is for you Justice. Equality. Fraternity."

vernment, 500 troops arrived to release Erzine, at the request of Assaf. On board the ship bringing these men were Mr. Kennedy and the Armenian prelate of Alexandretta (Rev. Krikor Minassian), who explained the facts to these troops. They, on learning the truth, that the Armenians were not the besiegers but the besieged, insisted upon Assaf raising the siege, and giving the Armenians water. Assaf tried to persuade them to join his men and attack the town, but the commanding officers then threatened to fire upon Assaf's troops if he did not obey them and release the men.

The fiend then obeyed, water was let in, and the people freed. During the 12 days' siege only eight men died and as many wounded, but there were over 500 of the refugees of Nadjarli, Odjakli and Uzurli killed, who had fled to Deurt-Yole.

On June the 2nd the arms of the Armenians at Tchok-Merzouan were confiscated.

*Touroundjli.*—In this village 42 Armenians and a priest had taken refuge. Assaf ordered them to be bound together and shot one by one. These Armenians sought refuge in this village, composed originally of Cretan Turks, whom they had once sheltered and fed for three days, and therefore they had expected gratitude and the same treatment in return.

*Ayas.*—Eighteen miles from Tchok Merzouan, once a very renowned seaport. Of the 30 Armenians families in the town, several were destroyed by looting and burning and killing. Of the 77 Christians, killed 71, were Armenians, the remainders were Greeks. Turks kidnapped a young Armenian woman, married to a Greek. She implored her husband to kill her rather than be left in Turkish hands. The wretched husband could not refuse the request, he killed his wife, and then in his turn, he is killed by the kidnapper.

A certain Artin fell to the ground wounded, his wife hurried to him; Turks on seeing them together, brought a cord, tied it to the feet of the man and dragged him through the streets. The poor man implored, "I am not yet dead, kill me first, kill me first for God's sake," but they still dragged him, afterwards throwing him into the sea.

*Youmourтали.*—A seaport, about 100 farms and five hans, all belonging to Armenians, were destroyed, and the people slaughtered.

*Nadjarli.*—Nine miles from Deurt-Yole, a prosperous Armenian village, the home of 160 families. Fifteen thousand Moslems surrounded this village, and the inhabitants, after defending themselves for 24 hours, fled to Deurt-Yole, as we have said before. The leader of this siege was Marashli Mustapha Tchavoush. These were the Armenians who were accused of making cannons out of water pipes!

The following good Turks gave protection and food to the Armenians: Hadji Hassan Agha, Toplama Oglou, an officer of the gendarmie, and Khir Oghlou Ahmed, who kept and fed in his house 35 Armenians, of Hadjin, and opposed and repulsed the attacking Moslem mob.

*Hassan Beyli*, or *Hai Ler* (in the Boulanik district).—18 miles from Osmanie, 500 families, mostly Armenians. On the 16th of April armed Turks arrived here under the pretext of offering their assistance and protection. They at first abstained from attacking the village, satisfied themselves by cutting off all communication with the outside world, and waited the arrival of other bands of assassins. At last, came these forces from all parts, even from Marash, needless to say, all armed to the teeth. The attack begins. The Armenians stand firm for two days and manage to repulse the onslaught, but the Mudir of Bahdje brings fresh arms and ammunition from the Osmanie Barracks, and distributes to the mob. The resistance becomes harder and the village is set on fire. The Armenians find it necessary to flee to the mountains, to Marash and Islahie. The Turks pursue them, all the while firing on the fugitives, of whom some were half naked and knew not where they were going, the men are killed, and the handsome girls and women are carried away and violated. Some women beg their husbands to shoot them, thus to release, and the request is responded to by many, who afterwards kill themselves to escape torture. Many women and children, after wandering for days in the hills and dales, hungry and half dead, arrive at Bahdje, where they manage to hide in the church; here they were obliged to stand, owing to lack of space, for three days without food and drink.

In the mountains here and there were killed 300 Armenians. The 3 priests of the village were shot. The Rev. Nersess was not quite dead when the mob arrived, but they knocked his teeth in and smashed his head with stones. His daughter, seeing this, fainted into the arms of her mother, the latter was killed and the daughter was forced to marry Abbas Oghlou, the Kiahia (squire) of the village Caipak. The Rev. Ohannes had his mouth filled with gunpowder, which was afterwards exploded.

The policeman Sarkis, an Armenian, who was on duty in the village, was taken by the Turks to the square of Osmanie, where he was told that those present there were to eat a bit of his flesh, hundreds of brutes immediately rushed on him and each cut a slice off the poor man's body; here he died in agony impossible to describe,

The houses of Hassan Beyli being spread among gardens, the mob was obliged to loot one by one and burn them. This work of destruction lasted 12 days. The number of these buildings was 468 shops, 3 schools and 2 churches. Thus was completely wiped out this most prosperous village of Hassan Beyli, only one-half of one family being able to escape annihilation, by safely reaching Marash and Findidjak.

The principal authors of these massacres were the Mufti of Bahdje and the officer Kel Agha.

*Bahdje.*—About 30 miles east of Osmanie, on the road to Marash, 500 homesteads of which 136 were Armenian. On April the 16th, under the leadership of the Mufti, armed Turks surrounded the Armenian quarter. The priest Der Vahan and a member of the Court of Justice, Boghos Effendi, went to the Kaimacam Mehmed Said Effendi, who assured them that nothing could happen. But the sly fox sent a messenger to the Governor of Islahie, to tell him that, "The Armenians of Hassan Beyli, have revolted, and are marching on Bahdje." This formula was drawn up before the Vali of Adana, and sent all round. So tells us Mustafa Effendi, the lieutenant (sub-governor) of the vali of Marash, who was then at Islahie.

The Kaimacam from Boulanik had telegraphed to the Vali of Adana and the Governor of Djebeli Bereket, "The Armenians of Hassan Beyli have attacked us, we are in danger, save us."

The attack on the Armenians had begun while the priest and his companions (the two delegates) were still with the Kaimacam. The Ex-Mufti, Ismail effendi, incited the Turks to attack the Christians in their houses and shops. These fled to the German Sisters' Mission House, but the missionaries, fearing for their lives, refused to take them in, consequently the refugees were all killed before the very doors.

The Kaimacam went forward to protect the missionaries. The priest and Boghos effendi took refuge in the Mosque, where no one can be touched, according to *Sheriat* (the Moslem religious law). Presently the Mufti and the Kaimacam returned and asked the two refugees to accompany them to the Mission House. The poor wretches believed, and no sooner were they out of the Mosque than they were killed. The priest's head was cut off and played with, the body being thrown into the sewage.

The prisoners at Bahdje were killed in their cells. The woodcutter Heukkesh, of Marash, slaughtered with his axe 36 Armenians, afterwards drinking their blood, even licking it. The bodies were generally hurled into the Armenians' wells, the three wells of the Armenian quarter being full up to the brim.

Of the 130 houses and 78 shops of Bahdje, 115 and 26 respectively were looted and burnt, 759 natives and 51 refugee Armenians being massacred here.

The most savage of all the criminals were the Mufti and the Kaimacam. The first was hanged at Erzine, with his twelve accomplices, in Dec. 1909, the woodcutter Heukkesh being one of them. Here the Armenians found friends and protectors in Nikola Nudjar, the Director of Regie; and Poyras

Oghlou Keusse Mehmed effendi, gave shelter and protected in his house 168 Armenians.

According to Dr. Shepherd, there were at Bahdje 4000 women and children, from the surrounding districts, who had not ventured out of their hiding places, and dysentery was making ravages upon them.

*Lapadjli*.—Not very far, 124 Armenian families. All were looted, burnt and 146 killed.

*Savranli*.— Eight Armenian homesteads five were, plundered and burnt.

*Koushdjouli*.—Twenty-three Armenian houses, 20 plundered, 12 burnt, no one killed.

*Yanik Deirmen*.—Twenty-nine Armenian houses, 28 plundered, 27 burnt, as well as three shops, 20 killed.

*Geuk Tchair and Koyak*.—Forty Armenian homes, all plundered, and 38 persons killed.

*Kizladj*.—Six Armenian homes, one shop, all plundered, two houses burnt, no one killed.

*Kharni*.—One hundred and seventy-five Armenian homesteads, 45 Armenian shops. When the news of the massacres reached here Tashdjian and his son Samuel effendi offered £T80 to an agha (chieftain) to buy his protection. The Turk accepted the money and kept them in his house for two days, then proposed to them to accept Islam. On their refusal they were killed. Then the attack on the village began. A band of Armenians took the defensive, and for two days managed to keep the enemy in check, but the third day hundreds of Turks arrived to the assistance of the mob, the Armenians lost the battle and were massacred. One hundred and eighty-six men and five women perished, all the houses and shops being plundered and burnt. A number of young men had sought refuge in the mountains, seven of these thinking the storm was over, returned six days after to their ruined homes at Kharni, and were caught and butchered like sheep.

There were 27 Armenians in a neighbouring village, and a Turk kindly gave them shelter in his house. The mob heard of this and insisted, by threats, on these men being handed over to them. The poor benefactor found himself in a fix, gave them up, and they were all slaughtered.

ISLIHAE.—In this district the principal centers of the Armenians are:

*Iyntili*.—Thirty-six Armenian houses, owners of many farm houses, all were plundered and burnt, 26 killed.

*Keller*.—Forty-four Armenian houses, three shops, all looted and burnt, the people succeeded in escaping, excepting 12, who were killed.

*Kuness*.—Twelve Armenian houses, all looted and burnt, 14 killed.

*Kurd Baghtchessi*.—Eight Armenian houses, all looted, 3 burnt, 8 killed.

Farms.—In Islahie there were 22 Armenian farms, the majority being plundered and some burnt. Small loss of Armenian life, nearly all escaping.

Khassa or Eyri Boutchak.—The Armenians' houses were plundered and burnt.

*Ekbesh and Sheikhle.*—The Armenophile French Consul at Aleppo, M. Fernand Roque Ferrier, who, in 1895, during his office as Consul at Erzurum, so very bravely protected the French Institutions, wherein Armenians had taken refuge, and for his courage had obtained from his Government the Cross of the "Legion d'honneur," as well as a gold medal, and now, since 1896, was the French Consul at Aleppo, could not possibly remain indifferent in face of the present atrocities. On the 29th April he therefore left Aleppo for Ekbesh, where he arrived on the 2nd of May (Ekbesh is between Aleppo and Alexandretta). Firstly he relieved the besieged Lazaristes' Convent (the Father Superior was Pere Delange), which for 17 days was crowded with 1,600 people. He then went to the Trapistes' Convent of Sheikhle (the Father Superior was Pere Etien Labourtaine), he relieved also this place and on the 27th of May arrived at Adana.

#### THE SANDJAK OF KOZAN

This Sandjak is composed of the towns of Siss, Hadjin, Garapazar, Feke, with their districts:

*Siss.*—North-east of Adana, 55 miles distant. This place was for a long time the capital of the Rubinian Dynasty of Independent Armenia, a mountainous and impregnable region. Now it is the seat of the Cilician Armenians' Cathoticos (Archbishop), and has a historical monastery, the population consisting of 1,000 families, 800 being Armenian.

On April the 14th in consequence of a Greek wrestler beating a Turkish one, the Turks, much annoyed, declared that the ghiaours had only one more day to live. It was then understood that the massacres were to begin next day. The next day the populace of Kars and Hamidie, some from Adana, and the Circassians from the districts of Siss, a crowd of mounted Afshars and Tetchens, after looting 20 Armenian farms round about Siss, driving away the cattle, killing the men, violating the women, burning all that fell into their hands, besieged Siss itself.

The Mutissarif of Kozan, Hassan Fehmi, the public prosecutor, Ziaddin Terfiy effendi, and the judge, together liberateo the criminal prisoners (70 of them) and order them to plunder the Armenians' property and kill the owners. The Armenians take up arms and defend the town, the Major of

the gendarmerie, Hadji Mouhammed, a kind good Albanian, took the leadership in the defence of the town. After a five days' siege, the mob retired, but they had, however, succeeded in burning on their way many houses and causing small loss of life. At that time many people had fled into Siss. The Monastery sheltered hundreds of refugees; from Hadjin and Vahga alone there were 400 souls, who, after peace was declared returned to their 'homes'!

Hundreds of farmhouses round about Siss were burnt; hundreds of Armenians were killed in the same parts, mostly men of Hadjin.

*Sai Guetchid.*—An exclusively Turkish village. On April the 17th there arrived persons from Hadjin. The peasants robbed them first and then killed them, only a wounded woman escaped and succeeded in getting to Siss.

*Izil and Yéré Bakan.*—The Armenians in these villages, too, had more than their share, and were plundered and killed.

*Hadjin.*—Hadjin, about 60 miles north-east of Adana, Armenian population 25,000; 50 families only being Turks. The town is well protected by its mountainous position, but the people are very poor. They therefore go every summer to Adana, and elsewhere, in search of work (Adana is more flat and most fertile and almost always in need of extra labourers).

A reservist sergeant, Tebes effendi, a month before the Adana massacre, making a tour of the Hadjin and Maghara villages, incited the people against the Armenians, telling them to get ready to attack Hadjin, a certain Hassan of Albistan calling out from his window, "O Moslems, be ready, the last days of the Christians are at hand."

The surrounding Armenian villages and Roumli were attacked, plundered, and burnt, and the people were killed. Many managed to escape into Hadjin.

For the Adana massacres on the 17th of April, the same sergeant, at the head of 1,200 to 1,500 assassins, composed of the Turks of the villages round, of Circassians from Azizié, went to Hadjin, and with them were the troops of Féké and the reservists of Siss. By the order of the Vali, he, this sergeant, left the mob and troops outside the town and taking with him a gendarme and a tax-gatherer, all mounted, tried to enter Hadjin on the 18th of April. The Armenians guarding the town refused admittance and invited them to go to the Barracks. He then uses force to enter, but is killed, his companions flee, and the town is besieged by the force outside. The Armenians still take the defensive, and protect even the Turks inside the town, their Mosque and the Barracks. A portion of these Turks, however, preferred to seek shelter in the neighbouring Turkish villages.

The churches were filled with women and children, the men still defending the town. On the 7th day of the seige, the Turks tried to cut off the water pipes, but the Armenians prevented them by firing heavily. Then



the Turks tried to set the town on fire, three houses only, however, and the monastery of St. Jacques was burnt. On the 12th day at last comes Major Lutfi Khurshid Bey with 380 troops, who disperse the mob, and relieve the town. The town Hadjin itself, in fact, sustained practically no loss of life, but many labourers of Hadjin estimated at 3,000, were killed in the fields of Adana. Today there are quarters of Hadjin where there is not a single male left. Hadjin looks more like a city of widows and children. There are over 2,000 widows, of whom a great many are very young, from 18 to 30 years of age, the number of orphans is over 1,500. Here are the figures given:

At the Armenian National Orphanage .....	318
At the Ottoman Orphanage .....	115
At the American Orphanage .....	350
In various places .....	100
With their mothers.....	600

Miss Rose Lambert (an American lady missionary) rendered splendid services during and after this siege.

The beautiful villages of Shar-Déré and Roumlou, as well as Bahdjé, Bagh Kulubessi, and Davar Kishlari, all these round about Hadjin, were plundered and burnt, although most of their population succeeded in escaping into Hadjin.

*Féké or Vahga.*—Between Hadjin and Siss, 500 homes, of which, 300 were Armenian. The Armenians were fortunately protected and saved by the kind efforts of Nouri Bey (the Kaimacam) and the officer Ibrahim. The besiegers demanded, at first, 12 handsome girls, and on being refused, they began the attack, during which 14 were killed outside and 2 inside the village.

The villagers of the neighbourhood of Féké (Gurumdje, Yere Bacan, Karakeuy, Tashdji, Bash Kardash, Sati, Yenidje, etc.), mostly escaped to Féké, but the houses were burnt down, and many who lingered were killed. The leaders of these massacres were sub-police officer, Captain Suliman, and the Major of the reservists of that place, these massacred and looted and burnt the whole Kaza (district) during ten days.

*Kars Bazar.*—Eighteen miles south of Siss, 400 homes, half Moslem, half Armenian. The organisers of atrocities at this place were the Lt.-Captain Husni and his friend Nouri Tchavoush.

The assistant Kaimacam (sub-governor) gave a letter to the Police Commissary to take round to the villages and read it aloud to the people. This police officer took with him too gendarmes, one being an Armenian. Djin

Toros. In the first village they reach the paper is read: "The ghiaours have revolted in Adana, come to Kars Bazar to help us to exterminate them." Djin Toros, hearing this, is bewildered... The Commissary grasps the situation and finds Djins Toros "most unsuited" for this mission. Therefore, next morning, he takes his rifle away from him, saying, "A Martini is not a fit weapon in an Armenian's hands." The other gendarmes obtained permission to follow Djin Toros and kill him outside the village, but he escaped on his horse to Kars Bazar. On reaching the village he said he has brought important papers, and in this manner managed to enter safely. He then gave the news to the Armenian notables and advised them to appeal to the assistant Kaimacam for help and protection, thus to seek shelter in the Government Palace and in the Mosques, where, as we have said before, according to Sheriat, no one can be touched. The appeal was made, meeting refusal and the official suspecting Djin Toros, arrested him, and had him beaten. The victim effected his escape from prison, obtained a Martini rifle, and advised the Armenians to leave their houses and seek safety in strongholds. The people then crowded the schools and stone buildings (Karavan Serail, etc.). There were 800 families, of whom 600 from the neighbouring villages, 4,000 souls in all. They supplied these buildings with plenty of provisions, but they had only 26 Martinis, and a few old fashioned weapons besides.

When the mob from all round (the Turkish peasants) arrive at Kars, they are advised by the above-mentioned leaders to return the next day, Friday the Moslem Sabbath; and in a greater number; the mob obey. By the orders of the Mutissarif of Kozan, in the night of April the 15th, 25 well-armed reservists arrived, at their head, the Lieut-Major, Emin Bey. The next day the peasants came again in greater force, and with the reservists, first attacked the shops and plundered them. They afterwards attacked the places of refuge, but finding them well defended deemed it wise to retire, leaving behind many dead. For three weeks the Armenians remained in their shelters, coming out only when peace was declared and the relieving force of troops arrived.

Many Turks had kept numbers of Armenians and fed them: these were Moussa effendi, Veli effendi, an officer, Hussni effendi, Poyraz Oghlou Keusse of Bahdje, Karaban Oghlou Mehemd Bey, Garman Soumba, Arif Agha (the son of the Mufti of Kars). The latter two especially were worthy of all praise and gratitude for having saved hundreds, among who were Djin Toros, who had saved 6,000 lives.

Ahmed Beshir effendi (a gendarme) and a cavalry officer, Ahmed effendi, were at the head of the defending forces.

All the farms and villages round about Kars were plundered and burnt.

*Nurper.*—In the vieldt of Kars the hodja saved 200 Christians, having with him a certain Nouri Agha. Hundreds of assassins surrounded the vil-

lage, at the same time trying to persuade the hodja to give up his protégés, but he swore by his religion to resist his utmost, and even took up arms. The mob, however, retiring, managed to plunder and burn 20 houses and one church. Two Armenians were killed, having gone too far out of the village.

#### THE SANDJAK OF SELEFKÉ

Very few Armenians are to be found in this Sandjak. The Mutissarif had also received telegraphic orders from the Vali of Adana to massacre his Armenians. When the Mutissarif showed the despatch to the commanding officer (a Major), the latter said, "This order comes from Abdul Hamid, show me an order from the Army Headquarters and I will execute it at once." He protected the Christians.

#### THE SANDJAK OF ALEPPO

Only in two places at this Sandjak were the Armenians massacred: at Antakia (Antiok) and Beylan.

*Antakia (Antiok).*— The historical home of John Chrysostome, has a population of 20,000, only 800 being Armenians.

On the 19th of April there was some uneasiness in the town, they having heard of the Adana trials.

The Armenians closed their shops and went home. A deputation of three clergymen went to Rufal effendi, the Kaimacam (the brother of the Ottoman deputy, Hadji Refat effendi), and begged for the protection of the authorities. The Kaimacam gave them assurances and dismissed them, then he went with a few officials to the Armenian bishopric, where he invited the notable Armenians, and again assured them of peace and security, therefore "they can now open their shops." The Kaimacam had only just left when the mob rushed into the church and killed first the prelate (Bishop) Arsene Haroutunian, the priest Armenak Donatosian, the old Vartabed (unmarried clergyman), Daniel of Gdoutz, who was there on a visit, and all the notable Armenians, 14 men in all. They gouged out the Bishop's eyes, then laying him down, put on his chest a cross and a Bible, and burnt him, after roaring paraffin on him. The bodies of the notables killed were dragged out into the streets. The church was afterwards plundered, the shops were attacked and the houses looted and burnt, those of the people trying to escape were shot, the women and girls met with worse treatment, and the children were strangled. Some children they ordered to kiss the end of their guns, while they did this the guns were fired!

The two Armenian churches, the protestant chapel, and all the houses and shops were looted and burnt. A large number of Armenians had sought refuge in the French Monastery of Capucines. Of those left in the town there are now only 20 persons over 12 years of age, and these are mostly wounded. The organisers of the Antakia atrocities were Husni Agha, Haledj Agha, Vahid, Bereket Zade Refet and Rashid, and the executors of the loot and massacres were the reservists and the populace. According to *Tanin* itself, the most jingo Turkish daily and the mouthpiece of the Young Turk Committee, the number of victims was 200.

*Suaydié*.—Eighteen miles north of Antakia, there is a group of five villages, the principal industry being silk-worm rearing. Many people go from other parts to these places for that purpose. Suaydié was saved by the efforts of its Mudir, Halid effendi, unfortunately, however, only a very few of the 500 who had then gone to Antakia. The murderers of these poor peasants were hodjas (Moslem clergy) aghas, the rich landowners or employers of labourers, and Government officials.

*Kessab*.—Thirty-five miles from Antakia, with a population of 1,000 families, 700 being Armenian. This prosperous town had always caused jealousy and envy among the Turks of the neighbouring districts.

On the 22nd of April, 15,000 Circassians, Kurds and Turks, attacked Kessab and set the houses on fire; the besieged, after a hopeless, but desperate resistance, were obliged to flee with their families to the mountains. Some managed to go down to Bassit, a coast district.

Père Sebatino, Father Superior of the Franciscan Monastery, arrived at Lazkie by night, and with the French Consul, M. Edgar Geoffroi, entered the Niger, a Messagerie boat, which had come from Cyprus, en route for the harbour of Bassit, they helped to embark 2,500 refugee Armenians, and took them to Lazkie. Two warships, the "Jules Ferry" and "Vérité" arrived, which in their turn took the rest of the refugees to Lazkie.

One of the principal authors of the massacres, and the most savage, was a gendarmerie captain, Sarhan Agha a major was sent from Antakia to protect Kessab, but he does the usual 10-hour journey in three days, thinking to himself, "I hope by the time I get there, the ghiaours will have already been massacred." A young woman, seeing the Turks are coming on her, begged her husband to kill her. A young girl, not wishing to leave her sick father, was burnt with him. Numbers of men and women take refuge in a cave, where the Turks pursue them, but do not succeed in finding out their hiding-place. Just then, a baby cries, its mother, in order not to be discovered by the baby's voice, strangles it and thus saved all their lives.

These Armenians in refuge at Lazkie, were protected by the Mutissarif Mehmed Ali Bey, who helped his protégés to hide themselves in the Armenian Monastery, in the garrison and elsewhere; equally kind were the

Carmelite Friars. After peace and order were restored, Mehmed Ali Bey took them to their homes under his protection.

The loss of life at Kessab was 200, material loss was estimated at £200,000, and houses burnt at 530.

*Beylan*.—Nine miles south of Alexandretta, of which it is the summer resort. Round this place were the Armenian villages of Alik, Kanli Déré, Sari Tchinar, Soghanli, Mizghit Eunu, Hadji Mussali, all were plundered and the people massacred.

*Kirik Han* (Sandjak of Beylan).—Eighteen miles from Alexandretta, on the road to Aleppo, here live, as country inn-keepers (not public-houses), 20 to 25 Armenian families. Many Armenians from round about had sought refuge in this place. On April the 17th a mob of 400 Circassians, Cretan Moslems and Kurds, attacked this village, plundered and burnt it, massacred the men, abducted the girls and women, leaving only the old women and children who fled to the mountains.

[We might here say, by way of explanation, that, during these troubles, the Moslem immigrants from Caucasus, Crete, etc., etc., were more cruel than the natives of Turkey, It is rightly supposed that they were unable to satisfy their savage desires in their former countries, on Cretans, Russians, etc., and avenged themselves on the more defenceless Christians, viz. the Armenians.]

The Kurds took a number of Armenians of Kirik Han to the Tekke (Moslem monastery) of Sheikh Eumer Agha. The old fiend cries out, "Do not bring here those ghiaours." The men of this group are then killed, young women and girls are carried away by the Kurds, and the rest of the women and children are kept by the Sheikh, who afterwards sends them to Beylan.

The Kurds wish to carry away the wife of Ekili Housep, she resists, they tie her to a horse, and she manages to get away, but is caught and killed under terrible tortures.

The villages of Amoukhi and Deyirmen Déré did not escape the honour of being massacred!

*Iskenderoun or Alexandretta*.—There was no massacre here. At the age of Tchok Marzuan, a few of Alexandretta's sons were killed and houses burnt. Arsoni Zade Dervish effendi protected and fed 43 young and old Armenians for several days on his farm at Assur. Missionary Kennedy sheltered and kept 100 in his house.

*Aintab*.—The Turks of this important town, an educational centre, were also very much excited at this time of anarchy, but its Kaimacam. Kemal Bey, prevented all disorder, and no one was hurt.

*Aleppo*.—Here also the Turks were very much excited and many European families fled to Lebanon. The shops were closed on the 1st of May.

#### THE SANDJAK OF MARASH

The Turks of Marash and *Albistan*, on hearing of the Adana massacres, also prepared to organise in their districts [you see they all wanted to have a finger in the pie] and, in fact, 50 Armenians were killed in and around Marash. The *Zeitouniots*, hearing this, crowded the telegraph office and wired to the Bishopricks of Albistan and Marash [here we must explain, if not too late, that, in each town, there are clergymen almost always a Bishop (sometimes an Archbishop) or a mere Vartabed (unmarried priest) who govern the civil, religious and educational affairs of their dioceses, and are representatives of their flock at the Porte], "Let us know by wire, how the Armenians in your districts are faring; whether they are treated by the Turks in a friendly way and are on good terms, as we are treating here our Turkish neighbours." They received the reply "We are comfortable and unmolested." The exchange of these telegrams works a salutary and magical effect on the Turks of Marash and Albistan, and the massacres are nipped in the bud.

We learnt from trustworthy sources, that without this exchange of messages, massacres would have been unavoidable and that the 17th of April was fixed for Marash and the 18th for Albistan.

During the critical days of Marash, M. Maurice Grappin, the French Consul, rendered splendid services.

In the Marash villages of Findidjak, Kishifli, Dere Keuy, and ten others, there were massacres, looting and burning. A great number of men from Marash, who were at that moment in the fields, were killed.

The organisers of the Marash troubles were Khourshid of Kéferdiz village, Emirza of Eloglou, Hadji Fakini of Yeshil Dere, Hadji Mestil of Unse. Their efforts were unfortunately crowned in their respective villages.

Until the 20th of April there were 450 killed or died later of their *El-Oghlou*. —Encouraged by the establishment of Constitutional Regime, 36 poor Armenian agricultural labourers of Kharpout (who were before more like prisoners in their villages, as all travel and communication was forbidden them) started for the Adana fields. They left their homes on Good Friday, and after walking for 8 days arrived at El-Oglou, a village 18 miles from Marash. Here the mob attacked them and killed 30, the other six managed to escape in the direction of Aintab. On their way, they met other murderers and lost five, the last and only survivor, a young man of seventeen, Melkonian Mihran, reached Aintab, and thanks to Dr. Shepherd's kindness was sent to America.

TROUBLE AND DISORDER OUTSIDE THE VILAYETS OF ADANA AND ALEPPO:

*Caesarea or Kaisarie.*—On April the 25th, between 4,000 and 5,000 Turks rushed to the Government palace and asked for arms to oppose the Zeitouniots, who were marching on Kaisarie! The Governor tried to persuade them of the falseness of this report. The Turks became excited (and they have nothing else to do), threatened the Governor, Djemal Bey, who showed a great deal of anxiety for the Armenians' safety. This state of agitation and restlessness lasted three days, but Djemal Bey was fortunately able to quell the disturbance.

*Malatia.*—[Again, reader, we call your kind attention. This desire of general plunders and massacre spreads among the Turks like an epidemic of cholera, and they all must take a hand in it.] Here also a state of restlessness prevailed. Major Kadri Bey kept a strict watch over the town, and nothing happened. [We, however, think that these places were not in the "programme" drawn up at headquarters.]

*Kharpout.*—On the 26th of April the town was in a state of panic, and shops were closed.

*Yozga.*—May the 15th, panic, shops closed.

*Van.*—May the 17th, panic, shops remained closed for a week.

*Beyrout.*—Many Armenian families fled to Lebanon.





CHAPTER II  
THE LOSS AND DAMAGE DONE

THE Turkish Government, the new Constitutional Government, following the footsteps of the old, learning nothing and forgetting nothing, tried at first to show that the damage done was very insignificant, and even went so far as to show that the Turks' loss in men and money to be greater than that of the Armenians; the official and unofficial inquiries, however, brought the real facts to light.

*Loss of life*

The mouthpiece of the Government, *La Turquie*, at first published the loss of life as only 1,000; 250 being Moslems. The Vali of Adana, telegraphed on the 14th of May as follows: Moslem, 533 wounded, 1924 killed; Armenian, 383 wounded, 1456 killed. But when the Armenians and Europeans said that, according to the reports they had received, the number of the Armenian victims was 30,000, the Government declared that the entire population of the Vilayet was 350,000, of whom 48,447 were Armenians, this however was sheer guess work, there being no census in Turkey, such as it is understood in Europe.

Ferid Pasha, the then Minister of the Interior, said, "How can 30,000 be killed, if the whole of the Armenian population in Cilicia did not exceed 40,000, and now, according to our census, there are 25,000 living, and many more are at present at Lazkie, whom we will send back to their homes."

But the census of the Armenian bishoprics (much more reliable and regular) show that in the Vilayet of Adana there were 94,500 Armenians, to this we must add at least 20,000 labourers out of the total 50,000, who, as has been said before, at that season from other Vilayets. Thus we have 114,000 Armenians.

At Antakie, in the Aleppo Vilayet, according to Aleppo correspondent of *Puzantion* (see the issue for May the 19th, 1909), there were 3,620 Armenian families, or 22,000 people. If we reckon at the same rate, in pro-

portion, there would be 200,000 Armenians at Aleppo, Aintab, Marash, Ourfah etc. Ferid Pasha is certainly wrong.

The Government, who at first said only 1,000 perished, a little later admitted 7,000 (see *Tasviri Efkiar*, a Turkish daily, August 12th, 1909). We quote the following table, the one by the *Tasviri Efkiar* for the Vilayet of Adana, the other given out by the Government for the Aleppo Vilayet.

Table of *Tasviri Efkiar*, for Adana:

			Total
Armenians:	Gregorian	1771	
	Catholic	173	
	Protestant	149	
			<hr/> 2093
Greek		33	
Chaldean		133	
Syrian		418	
Assyrian Catholic		63	
			<hr/> 2740
Moslem		782	
			<hr/> 3522

	Christian	Moslem	total
Adana (town)	2732	782	3521
Bahdjé (Boulanik)	752	9	761
Hamidie	378	175	553
Tarsus	463	45	508
Osmanie	372	66	438
Erzine	208	12	220
Siss	114	1	115
Hadjin (town)	15	78	93
Gars-Bazar	60	17	77
Islahie	50	0	50
Kara Isaloli	44	0	44
Khassa	33	0	33
Ilvanli	13	1	14
Fekke	2	0	2
<hr/> Totals	<hr/> 5243	<hr/> 1186	<hr/> 6429

The Government Table for the Aleppo Vilayet:

Marash (town)	43
Enderin (suburb)	25
Antakie	172

Kessab	9
At various places	205
Total	454

Baban Zade Zihni Pasha, the Governor, was at last obliged to admit 20,000 people in his Vilayet. Of these 620 were Moslem, 19,400 Christian (418 Syrian, 163 Chaldean, 99 Greek, 210 Armenian Catholic, 655 Protestant. The rest were Loussavortchagan (or Gregorian) Armenians).

Mr. Mosditchian and Faik effendi, the two officially appointed members of the Enquiry Commission, specially sent from Constantinople, wrote in their report (see Chapter III of this book) that in the Vilayet of Adana alone, there were 1487 Moslems and 4196 Christians killed (according to the local Government figures at any rate), and added,

“It is impossible for the victims to be under 15,000, with and without the registered cases, not counting the Aleppo Vilayet.”

Babikian effendi, the Armenian member of the Parliamentary Commission of Enquiry said, “Considering the 20,000 labourers flocking annually into Adana, it would be impossible to admit the number of Armenians to be under 20,000. One had only to remember, that of the 20,000 immigrant labourers, 3,000 were killed at Cadjin alone.”

To our mind, the most trustworthy and conscientiously prepared table was that prepared by the Enquiry Commission sent by the Patriarch:

Adana and the farms round.....	9870
Ilai Kugh, Indjirli, Sheik Mourad, Kairly, Ghemi Suren, Miymanter, Tanri, Verdi and farms.....	1280
Missis, Abd-Oglou, Sai Ghetchid.....	850
Hamidie, Kara Issalou, Karatash, Nal Koulak, Issa Hadjili.....	1558
Osmanie, Erzine, Tchok-Mersuan, Odjakli Keuy, Euzerli Nadjarli.....	1171
Yarpouz, Kaipak, Kishnesh, Ekbez, Eyriboutcnak, Hadjilar, Kuredji, Demirek, Teyek, Kaya-Bashi, Baghtche Kuey, Keller, Entili, Kuness, Pasha-Tchiftlik, Bostan-Tchiftlik.....	1577
Baghtche, Koushdjou-Moustafa, Kiziladj, Hassan Beyli, Safranli, Lapadjli, Kharmi, Guk-Tchayi, Gourdlar.....	2623
Total Armenians killed: 18839	

Greeks.....	1250
Syrians.....	850
Chaldean.....	422-2522
Total: 21361	

To this total, we must add those victims who belong to the immigrant labourers from all parts, as far as Diarbekir and Van, etc., and whose number is not yet verified. To believe the report and census of the Hadjin Bishopric, that town had 2,500 victims, thus the number of killed is over, and not under, 25,000. We firmly believe that between 4 and 5,000 perished, after peace was restored, of fright, sickness, hunger and wounds, cold and heat, being left uncared for, without protection, and always under threats and fears of fresh outbreaks.

A telegram received by the Patriarch on the 12th of July, announced that until that date (from April the 15th to July the 12th), 532 died at Adana for want of food and general care, and through sickness, etc.

The Patriarch's Enquiry Commission reported, that in the summer of 1909, following the spring, when massacres occurred, about 2,000 children died of dysentery. Dr. Shepherd reported that at the Protestant Chapel of Baghtache, where were sheltered 3,000 widows and children, there daily occurred deaths among them, especially the children. Thus, during this Infernal, or Turkish Tragedy, 30,000 Armenians lost their lives.

#### *Material Loss*

Zihni Pasha thought the value of the houses burnt at Adana amounted to £T96,000. The Government organ, *Tasviri Efkiar*, valued it at £T100,000. Both these figures are ridiculously below the real value when one remembers that the insurance value on the buildings insured (not including furniture and shop goods) was £T80,000, and not more than about one-fifth of the buildings were insured.

Zihni Pasha states that two-thirds of the wealth of the Vilayet and one-sixth of the buildings were ruined.

The Government official Enquiry Commission, M. Mosditchian and Faik Bey, wrote in their report of the Adana Vilayet, the number of buildings (houses, shops, churches, schools, farms, etc.) as 4823, only 386 belonging to Moslems. Here is the table, as given in *Tanin* (Young Turk Organ) of June, 1909:

	Christian	Moslem
<u>Adana:</u>		
Houses	554	140
Shops	265	103
Mesdjid (Moslem Chapel)		3
Churche	6	-
Schools	5	-
Hotels	1	-
Warehouses	3	-
Hans	2	3

Truth about the Adana Holocaust

	Christian	Moslem
Mills	3	-
Cotton Factory	1	-
Farmhouses	104	5
Farm Cottages	165	25
<u>Davoudlar (village):</u>		
Farmhouses	5	-
Houses	6	-
<u>Christian Keyu:</u>		
Farmhouses	3	-
Houses	37	-
<u>Indjirlik:</u>		
Farmhouses	6	-
Houses	20	-
<u>Palamout:</u>		
Farms	4	-
Houses	21	-
Farm Cottages	55	-
Various Farms	8	-
<u>Missis:</u>		
Houses	49	-
Cottages (villas)	15	-
<u>Karabash Group of Villages:</u>		
Farm Buildings	15	-
Shops	1	-
Huts	2	-
<u>Hamidle:</u>		
Cottages	13	4
Houses	5	2
Café	-	1
Shops	-	3
Farms	6	-

The Young Turks and the

	Christian	Moslem
<u>Kara Issalou:</u>		
Shepherd's Cottage	1	-
One Room (Council)	1	-
<u>Tarsus:</u>		
Houses	158	22
<u>Elvanli (village):</u>		
Chamber	1	-
Houses	64	1
<u>Tarsus (neighbourhood):</u>		
Summer Residences	15	1
Farms	9	-
Shops	8	-
Warehouses	1	-
Schools	1	-
<u>Sis or Siss:</u>		
Houses	32	-
Cottages	320	-
Huts	128	-
Mills	7	-
<u>Kars:</u>		
Houses	32	-
Shops	61	-
<u>Hadjin:</u>		
Houses	102	2
Churches	1	-
Schools	2	1
Cottages	394	22
Stables	6	-
Farms	3	-
Pressoir (Wine-press)	5	-
Bakeries	5	-
Mills	4	-
Shops	18	4
Cottages	94	-
Huts	634	25

	Christian	Moslem
<u>Deurt Yole, Odjakli,</u>		
<u>and Bouk-harli:</u>		
Houses	973	48
Cottages	289	-
Shops	76	-
Warehouses	10	-
Factories	1	-
Hans	2	-
Churches	4	-
Schools	7	-
Farms	97	-
 <u>Youmourtalik:</u>		
Hans	5	-
Farms	97	-
 <u>Khassa (village):</u>		
Houses	7	-
 <u>Ekbesh:</u>		
Houses	3	-
 <u>Osmanie:</u>		
Houses	16	-
Cottages	65	-
Churches	2	-
 <u>Islahie:</u>		
Houses	29	-
Huts	13	-
Totals	4437	386

This table shows the Christians' losses much smaller. The Moslems' losses (386) were not the work of either party, but unavoidable, being mixed or joined to Armenian property. Those who know the district know also the difference between Christian and Moslem properties. The Christians form large old-fashioned patriarchal families and live in much bigger and solid houses, while the Turks, because of their harems, live apart in smaller buildings.

As is seen, this table does not contain the Aleppo losses.

The estimate of losses in national buildings (churches, schools, hospitals, etc.) was made by the Armenian Authorities (Bishop and Council) with the co-operation of Government officials. Unfortunately, however, we do not possess any official table of losses in private property, our table was drawn by the information obtained from those who had lived there and knew the place well. We have reason now to accept their figures.

To give an idea of the value of property in the various districts, at Adana, a private house, with a shop and the furniture and other goods, is said to be worth from one to two thousand pounds (Turkish). At Tarsus from £T1,000 to £T1,500, and in villages from £T25 to £T100, though there are, even in villages, many buildings worth thousands of pounds, but this is the average. As to farms looted and burnt, on an average these were worth from one to five hundred pounds.

At the peoples request there was formed an Enquiry Commission, whose duty it was to investigate the losses at the Aleppo Vilayet, of which the following were the damaged districts:

1. Beylan; Alesandretta;
2. Antakia; Kessab; and
3. Marash.

But the members of this Commission were all Moslems, no Armenians being allowed to take part, therefore we interviewed impartial and well-informed persons.

	£T.
Public Buildings. The Government estimated the buildings and contents (schools, churches, and other national property) burnt at Adana.....	10,500
Eight shops built on the grounds of an ancient cemetery, with an annual rent of £T166 .....	2,000
At Merden Hamami, 2½ shops, with a rent of £T15.....	200
Thirteen shops near St. Stephen's Church, with a rent of £T156.....	2,000
Forty-one shops in the New Market, the annual rent of which was £T360.....	4,650
Eleven houses (rent £T150).....	3,800
The value of the public properties, (church, school, Bishop's house, etc.) of the Armenian Catholics.....	17,000
Those of the Protestant Armenians.....	4,400
Tarsus. The plundered church.....	2,000
Boys' and Girls' Schools.....	310
Bishopric or Episcopat.....	150
Five houses (Church property).....	1,700
Armenian Catholic Public Buildings.....	1,750



Do. Protestant Do. Do.....	650
	£T.
National Property, churches, schools, etc., at Missis, Hamidie, Osmanie, Koz Clouk, Indjirlik, Sheikh Mourad, Baghtche,* Odjakli, Euxurli, Kharni, Tslahie, Hassan, Beyli, Abd-Oglou, Hai Kugh, Hadjiler, Nadjarli.....	6,000
Armenian Catholic public losses at Hamidie, Ekbesh, Terek.....	1,000
Armenian Protestant public loss at Koz-Clouk, Indjirli, Missis, Hamidie, Osmanie, Hassan Beyli, Euzurli, Bahdje, Yarpouz, Ekbesh, Mapadjli, Kharni, Antakie, Kessab (school, church, etc.).....	6,500
	Total: £T64, 610

If we reckoned also the foreign public establishments (for instance, the Jesuit School and Church at Adana, the Roman Catholic Sisters' Convent, and those of the Syrians and Chaldeans) this number would attain, perhaps, a total of £T100,000.

Private houses and shops:	£T
Adana; Houses and furniture.....	1,000,000
Shops and goods.....	500,000
Larus; Houses and furniture.....	200,000
Shops and goods.....	100,000
In the vilayets of Adana and Aleppo:	
Houses, etc., burnt and plundered.....	1,000,000
Shops, etc.....	500,000
500 farms, cottages, and milles.....	200,000
20,000 cattle stolen.....	100,000
	Total: £T3, 600,000

Then comes the wholly or partially ruined crops. One example: the annual yield of cotton of these districts was 60,000 bales, while this year (1909), in spite of the extraordinary crop, they realised only 40,000. Some estimate the loss in various crops (agricultural produce) as £T2,000,000, others as much as £T5,000,000. We however will accept the former, the smaller, as an average. Thus the total loss amounts to £T5,700,000, at least.

*Insurance Companies*

The amount insured at Adana against fire, was about £T80,000. All the com-

\* Babukian, in his report of Baghtche, values each of the 1,000 burnt houses at least £T25, not counting their worth from £T250 to £T500 (The reader will remember this Deputy Commissioner, who was deported).

panies were European, the one with the biggest share being L'Union, a French company. None of these, however, wanted to pay anything to the victims, their objections being that "The Companies were not liable in such *Emeute* cases (riots)." The Armenians took proceedings against the L'Union, the company, being European, the case was brought before a special tribunal, where the dragoman of the French Consul was present. The complainant's won the case, but L'Union still refused and the Ottoman Government were unable (perhaps unwilling) to make the company pay. The other companies followed the example of L'Union and paid nothing.

*The Victims*

According to the Report of the Government Enquiry Commission (see Chapter III. in this book), the number of homeless and starving widows and orphans of all ages was 30,000 in the Vilayet of Adana, in that of Aleppo 6,797. These figures, to our mind, are far below the facts. The following figures taken from an English paper, received from its special correspondent, are nearer the truth:

Starving and Homeless	
Adana (town).....	25,000
Tarsus.....	4,500
Mersin.....	800
Larnaka (Cyprus).....	1,200
Villages of Djebeli Bereket .....	5,000
Marash.....	14,000
Hadjin .....	11,000
Deurt Yole*.....	3,500
Alexandretta .....	3,000
Latakie, Lazkie and neighbourhood.....	4,500
	Total: 70,500

There were, besides, the following places left out of the reports (see *Pu-  
zantion*, May 25th, 1909): —

Antakie, Kessab, Hadji-Nabibli.....	10000
Beylan.....	800
In the churchyard of Alexandria, Egypt.....	500
	Total: 11,300

\*This number seems to us, below the fact, as, according to Dr. Shepherd (see *Manzume Efkiar*, May 31st), who had made a tour in those parts and had seen the sufferers himself. There were 3,000 Widows and Orphans in the Protestant Chapel of Baghtche, all hungry, without clothes and mostly wounded, and among them there was not one man.

Thus the number of sufferers was 83,800. Those who fled further still (Constantinople, Smyrna, etc.), are out of these totals.

The Catholicos, Archbishop of Cilicia, in his report to the Constantinople Patriarchate, gives the following table:

THE APPROXIMATE LIST OF SUFFERERS  
OF THE CILICIAN TRAGEDY

Adana.....	20,000
Marash.....	2,825
Hadjin.....	15,000
The peasants of DjebeliBereket in refuge at Tchok Mersuan.....	16,000
Alexandretta, natives and refugees.....	15,000
Mersin.....	1,500
Antakie (Kessab, Hadji, Nabibli).....	10,000
Lazkie.....	4,000
Tarsus .....	4,000
Belen.....	800
Cyprus.....	700
	<u>Total: 89,825</u>

The number of sufferers at Siss, Albistan and Aleppo are not included in this total, their number not being yet verified. If we take into account those who fled further away from Adana, undoubtedly we shall obtain a total of 100,000. The sum total of the Adana Tragedy is therefore the following:

Loss of life.....	30,000
Material loss.....	between £T5, 000,000 and £T6, 000,000
Surviving Sufferers.....	100,000

*After the Tragedy*

It was hoped that after the tragedy, the Government, in order at least to hide its complicity, would do something to comfort the survivors, by giving them sufficient food and shelter, by providing for the sick and wounded, and by punishing the criminals, or at least the authors and organisers. Nothing was done. All it cared to do was to invent means and lies to misrepresent the dreadful facts, and declared a state of siege, thus preventing the Armenians from travelling and spreading the truth in its details. The Railway Companies, or rather the stationmasters of Adana, Tarsus and Mersin, had strict orders not to issue tickets to Armenians. Those who had already succeeded in

reaching seaports met with great difficulties when wishing to embark. The refugees at Mersin were not officially harassed, their women and children could get away more ea of pretexts imprisoned. Those who escaped went to Cyprus, where gathered 2,000 refugees, mostly women and children, who belonged to the most prominent Armenian families of Adana.

Orders were sent to the port town authorities (Mersin, Alexandretta, Beyrout. etc.), not to give access to any Armenian.

Bishop Aloushegh (of Adana) who was then in Egypt, on the 26th of April, returned to Mersin to be with his flock, but was sent back.

The boatmen of Mersin publicly said to Armenians,

“We have received orders not to carry you, else we shall be imprisoned or have to pay heavy damage.”

At Beyrout, the boatmen rushed on the Armenian passengers, and many pilgrims returning from Jerusalem were victims. Even under the Hamidian Regime this had never happened.

Armenian pilgrims of Hadjin and Kaisarieh, returning from Jerusalem, were imprisoned, their crime being that pictures of ancient Armenian kings and generals were found in their possession.

Correspondents to English, French, American, and Italian newspapers were pompously received by the authorities, who gave them guides and interpreters... the duty of those men being to dictate the Governments' version of the events. But, to their credit, we must say these correspondent, all the same wrote only the truth. Hog-Ter, the young correspondent, had himself saved many lives from the flames at the Adana conflagration.

### *The Relief Work*

When the Relief Committee of the Constantinople Patriarchate arrived at Mersin, there were 1,000 homeless, who were housed in the Church and school, in the Franciscan College, and in the American Mission Buildings. These people were fed by the grants of the General Benevolent Armenian Association of Egypt, and of other local Christians and Missinaries. The Government rendered no assistance.

In the American College garden of Tarsus, there were 3,000 refugees, and about 1,000 in other European establishments and private houses. These people were fed by Dr. Christy's funds; here the Government gave, every other day the sum of £6 13s. 4d.!!

At Adana there were 20,000 sufferers, many of whom had come from suburbs and villages. These were sheltered in the churchyard, in Europeans' factories, in the public garden, or in the street near the railway station. Some were housed in the buildings, which escaped fire. They were cared for by the gifts of the British, American and German\* Consulates, the Government gave daily 800 pound-loaves of bread.

Dr. Chambers, the chief of the American Mission, said in his letter of the 1st of May, addressed to Reuter's Agency of London, that "After the massacres, on Wednesday morning, after three days fasting, the people received, per head, 5ozs. of rice and 4ozs. of bread!!

With the intercession of the Patriarchate Deputation (Relief Committee) and of Consuls, early in May (three weeks after the carnage), the Government at last supplied tents, the number of which gradually reached 500.

Small and large relief committees were formed to relieve the sufferings of the homeless. These committees were composed of native or local Christians, their principal resources being subscriptions received by the Patriarchate and the said Benevolent Association of Egypt.

Although the Ottoman Parliament at first voted £T30,000 (£T1=18/) to be given to the distressed, and later raised it to £T100,000, the Adana Authorities formed a Relief Committee of the very authors of the massacres, who dealt with the money most fantastically and unfairly, mostly benefiting the Turks...and, in fact, only one quarter of that which was voted, has been distributed on account the rest still owing!

Patriarchate Commission supported 6,000 souls by national subscriptions, the American missionaries 6,000, the English Consulate 8,000. The German Consulate also supported some.

On the 4th of May, there was formed an International Relief Committee in Constantinople, under the Hon. Presidency of the Sultan, Mehmed V., the present Sultan. This Committee collected about £T16,000 (about £T27,000 arrived from all parts of the world to Adana besides). All these funds were disposed of by International Relief Committees.

The Government Relief Committee at Adana distributed relief only to women; to men below 18 and over 60 years of age, 2½d. per head. This is the relief that amounted to £T25,000 (it may be a little over) as we said before.

M. Rocque Ferrier, the French Consul of Aleppo, a most devoted worker and organiser of Relief Work, arrives at Adana on the 15th of May, and relates the terrible things he saw at *Hai Ler*. At once a caravan of Relief Committee is formed by clergymen only, who went to the mountain villages, and distributed food, clothing, medicine and tents to the refugees. After he sent off this caravan, he proceeded to Mersin, Alexandretta, Antakie and returned to Aleppo. He was so touched at the sight of this intense suffering and misery, and so exhausted, that soon after he died there. The American Missions and the Commissions of the Patriarchate likewise worked very hard to relieve the misery whenever possible.

\* The Germans threw bread to the refugees, in the Trepani factory, just as one does to a crowd of street dogs. When the poor wretches stretched out their hands to catch the slices of bread, they were photographed in that attitude.

*The Sick and Wounded*

On the 5th of May the French religious Orders opened a hospital ward, and a few days later instituted a Relief Fund; on the 10th they opened a second ward. The Americans opened infirmaries. Early in May there arrived from the Patriarchate, Armenian doctors and nurses, who also opened a ward. The Government remained utterly indifferent in this respect, besides, who would have trusted their doctors, who would naturally have been Turks? In the memory of Cilician Armenians it was still fresh: was it not the most merciful Sultan Hamid, the shadow of Allah, who sent as a special favour Turkish medical doctors to Zeitoun, to vaccinate free of charge the poor Armenian children of whom 580 died. They were poisoned. Forty Armenians, who had escaped from the fire of Adana School, were taken to the Municipal Hospital! These poor men were never more heard of!

Then broke out an epidemic of dysentery, typhoid fever, and measles, over 60 deaths being the daily toll, but the arrival of doctors checked this calamity. The Patriarchate Commission reported that, during the first month 2,000 children died of measles and diarrhoea alone.

This Armenian Medical Commission, and the caravan of French orders and American Missions, worked wonders at Mersin, Tarsus, Tchok-Mersuan, and Djebeli Bereket and districts.

*Grants Distributed*

As bread-money, the Ottoman Government voted £T100, 000, but as said before, only a little over £T25, 000 was actually spent.

The International Relief Committee at Constantinople collected and sent £T15, 842. Other sources were: Direct from America, £T9, 877; Beyrout Branch, £T6, 418; Collected by Mr. Peet in America, £T11, 000; Total £T43, 137. The Patriarchate collected £T17, 000; of these sums, £T2, 053 was given to the International Committee, the remaining £T15, 000 sent direct to the Adana Committee.

The Armenian Benevolent Association sent £T5, 000. Therefore, besides the Government Funds, and the above-quoted sources, nearly £T63, 000 has been spent in the Adana Relief Work.

For some time the people remained in the open or in tents, and later, with the £T130, 000 voted by the Parliament (Aug. 10th, 1909) there were some cottages built, others hired rooms or houses. The Government gave £20 to those who once had a house worth £500, that is to say, one year's rent! the compensation for lost (destroyed or stolen) furniture was at the rate of 10%, and that not in actual cash: nothing was given to the peasants who lost their crops. Even in this most inadequate compensation, the authorities acted most unfairly, by giving a much higher per cent age to the Moslems: needless to say only a portion of this voted money was spent.

For the ruined commercial men the Government voted £T100, 000, the conditions being that the merchants were to repay in five years by installments.

*Orphans and Widows*

After the atrocities, those who had near relatives found protection and homes, but these fortunate ones were very few indeed. The Americans opened an orphanage at Hadjin, the English at Aintab and Marash, and the Germans at Marash. An American lady, Miss Price, opened one at Aintab. The Government opened others at Adana, Hadjin and Tchok Mersuan. The Patriarchates also formed a local Committee for orphan work, and opened orphanages at Hadjin, Tchok Mersuan, Hassan Beyli and Marash, but there were besides a great many orphans with their widowed mothers, needing help.

Below we give the table of these orphanages:

	Children	Total
Government Orphanages:		
Adana	233	
Hadjin	115	
Tchok-Mersuan	101	
	<hr/>	449
This last one has been closed.		
Armenian Patriarchate Orphanages:		
Hadjin	18	
Tchok-Mersaun	294	
Hassan Beyii	251	
Marash	274	
	<hr/>	1137
Foreign Orphanages:		
Hadjin (American)	350	
Aintab (English)	100	
Aintab (American: Miss Price)	145	
Marash (German)	727	
Marash (English)	200	
	<hr/>	1522
	<hr/>	3108
To these should be added, those with their mothers:		
Boys	2501	
Girls	2338	
	<hr/>	4839
	<hr/>	7947

There were some orphans sent away; 25 to Rodosto, 43 to Constantinople,

**The Young Turks and the**

under the care of special bodies, who were responsible to the Patriarch, and 26 in the German Orphanage at Smyrna.

For widows, the Patriarchate formed a special Committee in Constantinople. This Committee has branches, who find work for the women, or open work-rooms and look after them.

According to the Committee's report there were 3851 women and adult girls:

		Total
Gregorian Armenians	3191	
Catholic Armenians	106	
Protestant Armenians	554	
		<u>3851</u>
Syrian Catholics	22	
Syrian Old Church	83	
Chaldean	38	
		143
		<u>3994</u>

The Patriarch has been the last two years in obtaining from the Government an annual grant of £T10,000 in aid of these widows' and orphans' relief, and this sum is handed to and administered, by special Committees.

Before closing this chapter we feel it our duty to add the following table, which reached us too late for giving in its proper place:

	Widows	Orphans
Adana (town)	606	1174
(Mostly strangers were killed here)		
Tarsus Kozolouk	32	150
(The carnage was most appealing)		
Deurt Yole	73	96
(Saved by self-defence)		
Odjakli	54	129
(Great many losses)		
Euzerli	5	14
(Few losses)		
Hamidié	16	31
(All the strangers, more than 800, killed)		
Osmanié	27	63
Baghdjé	49	105
(The massacres were most terrible of all in these two places)		
Hizladj Savranli	6	16



Yanik Deyirman	17	6
(No male left here)		
Lapadjli	74	161
(Very few males left)		
Kharni	83	250
(Very few males left)		
Kholak	8	29
(No males left)		
Guk Tchair	14	37
(Only a few old men left)		
Kushdjou	2	2
Kuncesler	10	18
(Only a few males left)		
Keller	6	—
(Little suffering)		
Kashnez	15	34
(Few males left)		
Entelli	14	42
(Only two males left)		
Easill	17	34
(Only six males left)		
Hassan Begli	187	423
(Mostly saved by self-defence)		
Missis	69	96
(No males left)		
Hai Kugh)	19	25
(Mostly massacred)		
Indjirli	22	21
(Mostly massacred)		
Abd'Oghlou	8	20
(Mostly massacred)		
Gheikh Mured	8	10
(Majority saved)		
Teumuk	18	20
(All massacred)		
Kurd Baghdié	}	After killing all the men, exterminated also all the women and children.
Arpali		
Ghemi		
Abidin Pacha:		

Saint Armenian Protestant  
Church of Adana



## CHAPTER III JUSTICE

### LOCAL COURT MARTIAL

Directly after the Tragedy, a state of siege was declared in the Vilayet of Adana, and Martial Courts were formed (one branch being at Tarsus), under Mehmed Ali Bey.

These courts had assistant Enquiry Commissions (Hiyeti Tahkikie), upon whose suggestions arrests were made. Both these bodies were composed of the authors and organisers of the massacres. The result of this kind of procedure can better be imagined than described.

In fact, the state of siege was only directed against the Armenians, who were prevented from travelling, as said before, in order not to spread the news of what had been happening. They were insulted, beaten and imprisoned, practically for no reason whatever. In the prisons they were subjected to all sorts of tortures to extort imaginary confessions. A few boys were given sackcloth and paraffin, dragged to spots where a conflagration had devoured a building, and then arrested as incendiaries.

A correspondence in *Azatamard*, a Constantinople daily, issued on the 4th September, 1909, gives the readers an idea of the forced confessions: we quote the article from the copy in "Les Turcs ont passé la..." page 321 (by Georges Brézol, Paris):

"...On the 13th of April, 1909, a policeman Kieur-Djebbar, arrested me with other Armenians and subjected me to atrocities special to these places. They stood us on a line in front of the police station, the Gendarmery Commandant, Ahmed Bey, the police Commissary, Shakir of Ourfa, and the chief inspector, Zulfoun effendi, counseled together about me, and gave orders to the police and soldiers. I was taken to prison and beaten with the butt of a rifle, they threatened me with death, they chained my feet and passed another on my neck, robbed me of all that I had on me, took my watch and threw me into a prison cell. Once in it, ordinary criminal prisoners were let loose on me and beat me. Some condemned co-citizens who were there

(Keta Oglou Ahmed, from the village of Telbelar, near Aintab, and his friends) came to my assistance. I was on the verge of fainting, my lips were bleeding, my finger nails nearly torn away, and if these good people had not rescued me till one more moment, I should have been killed.

"Then my captors brought me ink, pen and paper, and ordered me to write what I knew of the Metropolitan (Bishop) Moushegh and also of others of my countrymen. They were beating and martyring the other four Armenians in their cells. They were driving spits in the face and ears of a certain Meguerditch (a brass founder) and his blood was streaming, I was trembling to death. The son of Muheddine, an official at Saatkhane was there, so I asked him what I was to write. I then put down anything and everything, however false or illogical, and added on my part things that had no meaning at all. The above named persons signed the confession.

"This 'Confession', which was of great value in the eyes of the functionaries, was sent to the authorities...

"A few days after your arrival, you gave orders for my liberation, as I ask me if all I said were true, I myself dared not to tell you so.

"I had, for a moment, to confess you all, because I noticed the famous *Mustantik* (the examining judge) worthy of the *Last Judgement*. All I wrote was, under threats, contrary to the truth; I declare it to your tribunal, in order to calm remorse and my conscience here in this life and the life to come. In future I will tell so officially. I prefer to kill myself rather than to live one minute more at Adana. The horrors and atrocities, which have been perpetrated there have for ever poisoned my life...

"I hope your inquiries will correspond to my assertions, and if there are suffering innocent ones among the condemned, and are being tortured by my *forced calumnies*, may your impartial justice penetrate and reach them, and give them liberty, to console their mourning families."

The Authorities imprisoned twice as many Moslems as Armenians, but, while the latter were of the notables and belonged to the best class, the former were peasants and other poor wretches, who are almost as free and at home as if they were not arrested, while the Armenians were subjected to severities. Zor Ali was also imprisoned, but only as a spy, and gave continual orders to the Armenian prisoners. The criminals were free and unhurt.

This strange Court Martial accused the Armenians as the real cause of the disorders. They were accused of dreaming of an independent Cilicia, and to prove their suspicions, the accusers constantly talked of the Armenians' excessive rejoicing at the establishment of the Constitutional Regime. The Court Martial goes further and says that it was the Armenians who fired the first shot and threw bombs!.. and that the Turkish loss, in men specially, far exceeded that of the Armenians.

The monstrous Vali of Adana was called to Salonica by the Young Turk

Committee, and to him succeeded, on the 1st of May, Baban Zade Mustafa Zihni Pasha.

It was hoped that the Ittihadist Committee would subject Djevad Bey to a strict examination, and punish him accordingly... Everybody was, however, greatly disappointed (naturally, except a few cute Armenians), when they saw Djevad Bey arriving via Salonica, at Constantinople, to enjoy the delights of the Bosphorus.

On the 6th of May, Rifat Pasha, the Foreign Minister, through the Turkish Consul at Geneva, announced to the Armenian Dashnaktzutune Committee: "*Les Armeniens ne sont aucunement fautifs dans les derniers troubles, qu'il aurait été possible de prevenir les massacres, si les troupes avaient pu arriver à temps, et en fin ou peut avoir pleine confiance dans le gouvernement actuel qui a pris des mesures sévères, pour punir les fauteurs des troubles*"\*— ("Stamboul" 28th Mai, 1909). [The Armenians are in no wise to blame (guilty) in the last disorders, that it would have been possible to prevent the massacres, if the troops had arrived in time, and after all you must have full confidence in the present Government, which has taken strict measures to punish the guilty].

*Court Martial sent from Constantinople.*—The abusive proceedings of the local Court Martial were protested against by the Consuls and the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople. The Government found it advisable to send from the Capital a Martial Court of five members, under Youssuf Kenan Pasha. They went on the 6th of May, but commenced work some long time after their arrival. This Court did not have a "*Hiyeti Tahkikie*" (Enquiry Committee), but acted on the accusations of the old one, and this lasted until nearly the middle of September. The branches of this Court Martial sat at Tarsus, Erzine and Marash.

On the 15th of May, a Deputation from the Armenian National Council presented them to the Sultan, asking for protection and justice—this was promised them.

The religious heads of the various Christian Communities at Adana, having at their head the Armenian Catholic Bishop Terzian, addressed to the Court Martial a detailed description of the Tragedy. Here we give the copy:

**"To the court martial of Adana.**

"We have the honour to bring to your notice our witness and to inform you of our observations on the regrettable subject of the 'Events at Adana.'

"On the 14th of April, 1909, at the hour when the Christian people were in their farms and vineyards, pursuing their customary occupations, another

\*Which was not carried out.

party of the population, who were on their way to their shops, noticed that the Moslems were armed and were provided with cudgels. This fact frightened them, and they returned to their houses.

"Thereupon, the ex-governor Djevad Bey, sending for me, told me there was nothing to be frightened of, and that the Christians must open their shops and be at their businesses. I thought it advisable to draw the Vali's attention to the threatening attitude of the armed populace, who was gathering at the market square. *'That is nothing' repeated the Vali, 'they will disperse as soon as the shops are opened.'*

"Relying on the words and promises of the Vali, I went straight to the Bazaar, and recommended the Christians I met to open their shops, according to the Vali's suggestion. At this moment two wounded Christians were carried to the Konak (Government Palace), while no one seemed to be concerned about the Moslems who had wounded them.

"This state of affairs lasted for some time. Then in different parts of the town and at the same time (about 5 o'clock Turkish time: about 11 a.m.) began the fusillade, the massacres and pillaging. David effendi Ourfalian, a member of the Court of Appeal, who was working, by the order of the Vali, to persuade the people to open their shops, and Artin effendi Chadrikan, a member of the Municipal Council, were the first killed, the one in the market square, the other in the very grounds of the Municipality. Then commenced the general massacre, pillaging of property, and incendiarism.

1. The fact of marking (with chalk, etc.) of Christians' shops, in order to distinguish them during the pillage from those of Moslems, forces us to believe that the events were prearranged.

2. The general wearing of the white turbans (even by those who at other times did not) as a distinctive sign, during the whole time of the massacres, by the civil and judicial functionaries as well as by the whole of the Moslem population, astonished us at first, very much, but later, we understood it was another arrangement, and had its meaning.

3. The pillage, the fire and massacres, which lasted from the 14th to the 16th of April, had already almost ruined the Christian population, as much in men as in property, as a result of the steps we took, and the intervention we attempted at the local Authorities, the Vali, Djevad Bey, the divisional general, Mustafa Remzi Pasha, as well as the notables and the ulemas of the town, promised *upon oath* that nothing more should happen and that the conflagration would cease. Nevertheless, the actions of these personages, contrary to their formal promises and to the oath, as well as the renewal of the massacres, made the unhappy Christians very uneasy, who knew no longer where and to whom to appeal.

4. A few days after the events, Kalib effendi, the son-in-law of Cazazade and Bochnakzade Abdul Rahman effendi, who lived among the

Christians, got their houses empty and went to live among the Moslems. Does, not this fact prove that these men knew beforehand of the events brewing amongst the Musulmans?

5. Encouraged by the promises and the assurances given by the Government, 25th of April, while we were officiating Mass in the church, the second massacres commenced with a heavy fusillade in different localities of the town, and brought about most awful disasters. The massacres and the fires lasted until Monday morning, and gave the town an aspect of a ravaged cemetery. The local Authorities had put the Christian population in the vast gardens of the Konak (Palace) and had promised to get the massacres and the fires stopped. But quite the contrary, the conflagration having assumed fearful proportions, completely swept away the remainder of our churches, shops and dwelling places. This fact, too, leaves no doubt whatever of the origin of the events.

6. The Constitution Memorial Monument, erected nine months ago by means of public subscriptions by the efforts of our soldier brothers, was destroyed by gunshots and hatchets, and in the very presence of the officials of the State, of the soldiers and the Moslem population. Deafening shouts of "Long live the Sultan," and "Down with the Constitution," showed the aim and the extent of these events.

7. Calumniators, who by way of lies and false accusations, intentionally deceived the Moslem people during the regrettable events, and incited them against the Christians. These calumniators are, we repeat, not only the chief enemies of the country and of the nation, but the cause of their complete ruin. For this reason, we draw the serious attention of the ex-governor, Djavad Bey, to the lying and provocative articles of the paper *Ittidal*. The Vali assured us that he would have that paper suspended and finally stop its publication, but he did nothing in that direction, on the contrary he allowed it to play its old role. This conduct crowned our misfortune.

8. Ruined by pillage, fire, by massacre and other atrocities, the poor Christians are imprisoned on false accusations, and they are subjected to all kinds of tortures. They are not allowed to travel even in the boundaries of the Villayet (province), and this measure is taken exclusively against the Armenians (Christians). Now, all these calamities, grafted on so many others, we submit to your serious attentions.

9. Deprived of all means of living, in need of their daily bread, the Christians possess neither clothing, dwellings, nor furniture. Such a state of affairs proves clearly the gravity of the losses they have sustained, and the depth of misery, and amply justifies the repugnance they have for life. To what end, and for what purpose, were all these horrors committed? We

refer the case to the Honourable Martial Court so that it may make this the object of its thorough reflections.

10. During our visit to the *Konak* where we were invited by the authorities, we met there on several occasions the notables and ulemas of the town in the midst of consultations; does this not prove that these people had acted in agreement with the local authorities, during the organisation of the events?

11. After so much calamity and suffering, we had every reason to hope to be defended by the liberal soldiers, protectors of the Constitution, our only and unique refuge after God. But, unfortunately, the soldiers were also equally deceived and incited by the Moslem population, and took part in the pillage, fire and massacres, which naturally further increased our misfortune.

12. Considering the facts that the regrettable events began at the same time and with the same method at Adana as well as its districts, and continued under the same conditions, we are led to think that they were organised with an evil intention. Inasmuch as the events at Constantinople in the same days, points out that there was some connection between them.

13. During the first regretted events the inhabitants of the surrounding villages were all massacred, and their farms, worth some thousands of pounds, as well as the implements and machines with all their accessories, were ransacked and burnt. The losses of this kind were enormous. In addition, the labourers, who had come from far and near to work in the Adana fields, were ruthlessly massacred; such a thing no conscience could ever pardon.

14. We are firmly convinced that the aim of these criminal organisations was to exterminate the Christians of our regions. We would like to hope that the Honourable Court would give proofs of justice, by allowing to the wronged Christians adequate indemnity.

15. Before closing, we take the liberty to say that we see no sufficient and serious motive that might justify these irreparable ravages, and we hope that the necessary steps will be taken to erase this blot from the name of humanity, of Islamism, and of Ottomanism.

“In case you should wish to obtain further information on the facts we have just cited, we should be pleased to help you do so.

“I am, sirs. etc.,

“(Signed) Monseigneur TERZIAN,

“Bishop of the Armeno-Catholic of Adana.”

Now to quote the report given to the Sublime Porte, by Djevad Bey, ex-Vali of Adana. [This report was published in *Tanin* (Young Turk Committee Organ) under all reserve].

12/25th of May, 1909.



*"Armenian aspirations.*—During the last two weeks in March, two Moslems, Esfendiar and Rahimme, were wounded by an Armenian with a firearm. It was understood afterwards to be a question of a woman, between Ohannes (the Armenian) and the former. Esfendiar died of his wounds. The murderer, not being discovered and arrested, it was rumoured that the criminal was saved by Garabet Gueukderelian and hidden by the Armenians. The authorities did all they could to find out the criminal and took no notice of current rumours.

Then came Easter. As for some time there was a cool feeling between the Turks and the Armenians, it would have been wiser not to fire revolver shots on this occasion (it is a custom with the Christians to fire into the air on Easter days, by way of rejoicings), but far from obeying orders, several shots were fired, disturbing the Moslems! The Authorities then stationed patrols round the churches to avoid disagreeable incidents.

*"The False Rumour.*—On the 13th of April it was rumoured that a Turkish woman and a few men had been killed by Armenians in the vineyards. This news spread like lightning, and for reasons which we will explain later, the Turkish populace, already set against the Armenians, gathered in quarters and in cafes round the Government Palace, made demonstrations. Thereupon we got the police to make enquiries, and having stated that the rumours were without foundation we gave the order to restore calm, by spreading the truth. In the night I went out myself on a tour, accompanied by the Military Commanding Pasha, we gave good council, and I tried hard to be understood by telling them everywhere that the news was erroneous, and that they must not believe hearsay, on the other hand we tried to discover the inventors of these stories and we ordered patrols to go round the town. We learnt the same night, at about 10.30, that an Armenian, Mason Loutfik, had been killed near the Palace by some Moslems who were gathered there. An inquest was held, and a police enquiry was opened to investigate the cause and the manner of this assassination. The whole night was spent with the Military Commandant organising patrols and to take such measures as the situation demanded.

*"14th of April.*—Early in the morning we invited to the Palace notables and Ulemas to renew the good advice, having heard that the Armenians were closing their shops and that the Moslems were following their example; we also invited the Armenian notables to come to the Palace and ordered them to go and give good advice to their comrades in order that the situation might not farther be embittered. At this very moment we learnt that the troubles had recommenced: we went to the town, where the shops and markets are, to disperse the crowd, which was blocking the streets. Being the season just

before Spring, 10, 000 to 15, 000 agricultural labourers had come from outside and had invaded the hans, augmented the population of the town, so that those moved on in one street went to crowd in another, and the patrol followed them.

*"The First Shot.*—On our returning to the Palace the first gunshots were heard. We opened an enquiry on the troubles. This report which I am joining to mine, is signed by the chief enquirer of the province, the police Commander, the police Commissary, the Commander of the Nizamie troops, the central police Commissary, etc., etc. This document contains much detail. It is said there that during the disorders there was passing a carriage in the market place, carrying two Armenians armed with rifles and ammunition, which have been sequestered and given to the Military authorities. At that moment, an Armenian on horseback, galloped towards the bridge, *swearing at the Mussulman religion* (sic!), it is said that it was he who fired the first shot. Almost at the same time, a shot was fired from the house of Avedis Sislian,\* a former dragoman of the province, killing a certain Tcherkez Mehmed: thus the troubles commenced on different spots at the same time. As the troubles spread, the working population joined the mob, and began to pillage, to ransack, and the fires broke out in the night.

*"Massacres, Pillages and Fires.*—Directly after the beginning of these events, conferring with the Military Commandant, we decided to declare a state of siege and we informed the Sublime Porte of this. However, it was impossible to maintain public order with 400 soldiers, when from 10,000 to 15,000 strangers set themselves against the 40,000 to 50,000 inhabitants of the town, to check the mob, full of hatred and ill-feeling, given to pillage; we were unable to decide on the state of siege, and the events lasted three days. In the meantime we took all possible measures, with the Military Commandant, to put an end to the troubles, but for reasons already mentioned we were unable to stop them; we sent for two battalions reservists of Tarsus and of Kara Issalou, we managed to arm them, but as they were irregulars and without uniform, being natives, they dispersed, under pretext of going to their villages to protect them, thus we could not profit by their services. We appealed then to the reservist batallion of Missis, which was later sent to Hadjin, where they were successful in restoring peace.

*"The British Consul.*—The Consul who was coming from Mersin to Adana, the first evening of the events wanted to go round the streets, braving all danger. We put at his disposal policemen and regular soldiers, he went visiting several quarters. The second day he was shot at from an Armenian house and a tchavouch (corporal) fell. The Consul raised his arm as a signal of peace; a ball touched his arm and wounded it.

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\* A famous spy of Abdul Hamid's Regime.

“After the troubles, other events took place in the suburbs. We sent soldiers and took all measures to thwart the progress of the mob, but without avail.

“*The Measures Taken.*—During the events and the following days, immediate military measures were taken. Every day we sent, here and there, notables and Ulemas to preach peace and secure tranquility. We formed a Commission to tend the wounded and to feed them. We took measures to discover and return to their owners, articles and animals, stolen and pillaged, carried away to the suburbs or neighbouring villages. The authorities through the same Commission, returned to their owners, merchant goods and other articles found in the villages. But, on account of the insufficiency of soldiers, it was not possible to make serious searches of the pillaged goods until the 25th of April. As soon as the troubles commenced we seriously telegraphed for military reinforcements. It was only on the 24th of April that 850 Nizamie soldiers at last arrived. The next day we held a council, and it was decided to send everywhere, clerks and soldiers to search out the pillaged goods. In the meantime, at about 4.30, the troubles commenced, and the frightened people ran in all directions. The number of the watch houses was augmented, and the watch became very strict. These troubles were renewed, because at 4.30, in the Saldjilar quarter of the watch, the Armenians had killed a soldier; at Kalé Capou, another Armenian had shot at another soldier of the Station Corps de Garde. The next day peace and order were restored. [When there was no more to massacre, I suppose. ed.]

“*What was found in the Armenian Houses.*—Enormous bombs and explosives have exploded in the burnt houses of the Armenians, in others were discovered armorial badges, flags of Armenia, engravings representing men armed with guns, dynamite caps and unused bombs. There were found also in an Armenian village, two cannons made out of water pipes, covered with wood, kept together with iron rings, which were used during the troubles.\* They were handed to the Military Authorities. A detailed report on the situation of Djebeli Bereket was sent direct to the Minister of the Interior.

“*At Hamidie, Kozan and Tarsus.*—It appears that the troubles at Hamidie took place on the 15th of April. According to an eye witness, a French subject, M. Pens, inspector of the Régie, an Armenian Priest fired three shots at Arslan Bey of the Régie, who was sitting at the cafe, opposite the

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\* The village in question is Deurt-Yole. The reader will remember this place and its history, in this book on an earlier page. This story is a tissue of lies, to make the people believe that the Armenians possessed cannons and war ammunitions. (Georges Brézol in “Les Turcs out passé la...”)

Government Palace, the latter replied and the priest was wounded, both died of their wounds. We acquired the truth that the troubles were an outcome of this fact.

“At Siss, the chief town of the Kozan district, people were excited, from the environs, a group of Tcherkez, Afshar and Tchetcheng cavaliers, after an encounter with the reservists (redifs) and the police, and after having left on the ground only a few of their men, were dispersed, so that nothing suprising had happened in the town.\* In spite of that, later on we sent two battalions of soldiers.

“In the Hadjin town the Armenians, barricading themselves in their houses, fired into the street. They stopped the traffic and did not even let enter the town, the reinforcements sent by Feke to restore order\*\*.

“The Tcherkez (Circassians) and the Ashirets (tribes) of Azizie and of other villages gathered near the town and began to threaten Hadjin. The Central authorities sent a Commission to advise obedience and calm, but neither was this Commission successful; it was not received, and returned empty-handed. In the meantime, the Missis batallion, composed of 400 soldiers, was sent, its commandant succeeded in penetrating the town and the invading mob dispersed.

“During the troubles at Tarsus, conflagrations, killing and losses occurred, but thanks to the measures adopted, this did not last long. At Mersin, too, the emotion was great, but again, thanks to the measures taken, nothing happened; the same may be said of the Itchili district.

“*Motives of the Massacres.*—The chief cause of the events is the ignorance of the Christians and Mussulmans, the result of the tyrannical epoch, the want of fusion of various elements, as well as of the insufficiency of sentiments towards the union. As everywhere else, also in Adana, since the proclamation of the Constitution, everybody, even the children, armed themselves with firearms and discharged right and left, without anyone being able to prevent it.

“The world was under the influence of a deep emotion, provoked by the publication of papers which said that the Moslems were about to attack the Christians.\*\*\* The lower class Armenian excited the people by such phrases as this: “Since the Constitution, the importance of the Moslems is diminished, we are going to pass your turbans round your necks and drag you about.” This provoked anger. It is true that people of this kind were arrested and put into the hands of justice, and that, on the other hand, good advice

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\* It was the Armenians themselves of that town (Siss) who had organised a defence in the order, and had not permitted the assailant moh to enter the town (Georges Brézol).

\*\* This Commandment of Feke, acted in a most reactionary spirit, that much about him (Georges Brézol).

\*\*\* This is an allusion to the articles of *Ittidal* of Adana (Geo. Brézol).

was given to the people, (through the people of influence and standing, Turk or Christian; but Armenian papers of Constantinople, such as *Arevelk*,\* and many other publications of this kind, over-excited the Moslems and deadened the effect of our refutations. [The attention of the Minister of the Interior was drawn to this article]. On the other hand, the Metropolitan Monseigneur\*\* advised the Armenians to trespass the laws of the Government and poisoned their minds. We had asked on the 29th of January and 2nd of March the Interior Ministry to replace him by another. His words incited the Armenians against the Moslems and the Government itself.

*“The Inadequacy of Military and Police Forces.*—The police forces and the number of police agents were very small, compared to the extent of province. The need demanded their reinforcement. How many times did we not appeal to the Minister of the Interior, as well as to the Ministers of War and Police. On the 11th November 1324 (Mahometan calendar) the instructions were to do whatever was necessary. On the 21st Jan 1324, it was suggested to organize and augment the police force by 150 men. in order to keep tranquility in the province; by our request on the 28th Feb., 1324, and the 2nd of March, it was said that if the projected organisations were not carried out, there may happen disagreeable events. In our request of the 5th of March 1325, it was written that people were discharging arms in the town; this grew into a bad habit, the authors were handed over to the police, but the punishments imposed were ridiculous, they ought to have been much more severe, and the number of police increased, In our letter of 11th of March, 1325, we warned that on account of the season, 10,000 to 15,000 cultivators arrive here from various provinces, and that a little later, in and outside the town, there would be 50,000 to 60,000 nomadic people, thinking differently, and that for this reason it would be necessary to increase the police force.

\* *“The General Movements,”* an article reproduced in *Ikdam*, (a Turkish daily), No. 324, 28th of Feb. (Georges Brézol).

\*\* Mgr. Moushegh, who is accused in this report of the Vali Djevad, was in Egypt before and during the events, he tried to return to Adana, but was prevented from disembarking at Mersin, by order of the authorities. He was therefore obliged to return to Egypt.

People know that later he was condemned by the Court Martial to hard labour for life.

Mgr. Moushegrh, on returning to Egypt published a booklet, in which he defended himself from Djevad’s accusations, and in his turn accused him clearly and sharply.

We know, too, that M. Babikian completely acquitted Mgr. Moushegh, in his report on the Adana events. They maintain that this report was burnt in the great fire of Tchcraghan Palace on the Bosphorus, used as a Parliament House. This Palace was completely destroyed on the 19th of Jan., 1909. This masterpiece of Arabic style, all in marble, had cost over £T8, 000,000. It was built in the reign of Abdul-Aziz, 1864-69, by two Armenian brothers, the Architects Agop Bey and Sarkis Bey Balian, originally of Helen Keuy (village) in Cilicia (Armenia). The copy of the Babikian report is to be found now in the Armenian Patriarchate at Coum-Capou (Constantinople).

“Apart from all these warnings to divers ministers before and after the events, for keeping order and peace at Mersin, and for guarding the Payas prisoners, we asked for soldiers to replace the 100 soldiers then sent on Deurt-Yole, during the siege.

“The General Governor of Adana, DJEVAD.”

The sufferers who had come from other parts were turned out of the bans and sent back to their native towns. Thus groups were formed of the Armenians from Sivas, Hadjin, Malatia, Kharpout, Kaisarieh, and sent off.

On the 23rd of May, the Armenians began to be allowed to remain out as late as sunset (12 p.m. Turkish time), but they could not yet go to Mersin.

The forcibly Moslemised Armenian girls and women were brought back, among these there were girls of 11 to 12 years of age violated.

The returning of the stolen property was a mere pretence, in the Palace court-yard there was thrown about some worthless articles and utensils, their monetary value were not even worth mentioning. Then the Turks would give a chance to the Armenians to sort out what belonged to them, nearly everything that was worth anything, was by force or by false witnesses appropriated by the Turks. If it happened that a poor woman recognised an old blanket as hers, it was given to her in return for a receipt acknowledging, “She had all her things.”

When the gendarmes went to the Fella quarter to bring back the looted or take away their arms, the latter replied, “You gave us arms to plunder the Armenian property and to kill the Armenians, now you want the property back—we will not return it,” the matter was then closed.

The Patriarchal Commission protested against the tortures and cruelties inflicted upon the prisoners; twice were the prison warders (gendarmes) changed, until, in the end, soldiers replaced the former. These new guards were far more humane.

The Court Martial proclaimed that those who have any grievances may and must apply to it, and when some ventured to complain of the principal actors and authors of the atrocities, they were arrested and imprisoned. Thus many Armenians refrained from protesting against this blood fiend and the executioners who went about the streets. The women showed, however, more pluck in this respect, but it was almost impossible to enter the Hall of the Court Martial, or the Turkish quarters generally, which meant enduring the cruelest insults of and the difficulties rose by, the gendarmes. The father of David Ourfalian alone was able to lodge a protest and accusations against his sons' murderers, but was unable to get them punished as his witnesses were all Armenians (Moslems having refused) and according to the Sheriat (Moslem religious law), no Christian's witness against a Turk can be accepted.

Yemen Kholdji, the assassin of Chadrikian effendi, was recognised, the victim's son Puzant went to the Vali and got his father's murderer arrested.

Afterwards Puzant and his witness were taken to the Martial Court; they were admonished and then let free, not, however, without a guarantee for the witness to reappear.

Even the criminal articles of Ihsan Fikri were not sufficient to cause his punishment. He was declared innocent...

Now let us quote a few lamentably unjust and absurd instances of the Court Martial's decisions:

"Ghiragos Keshishian, merchant, goes on the 14th of April to the Ottoman Bank (Adana Branch, to deliver sesame and receives £T400, while he was there busy with his transaction the massacres begin, he therefore stops there until Sunday, the 13th of April; from there he goes straight to Cyprus (his witnesses are M Grobowski, the Director of the Bank, and other employees), yet a writ is issued for his arrest as one of the participants in the massacres. This official order is published in *Ittidal*."

"Sarkis Simighian, dead seven years before this, for his arrest also, orders were issued."

"Badjaksiz Haroutune, an old man, who, three years before, after dividing his wealth and business amongst his heirs, had retired from business, was also to be arrested."

"Garabet Gueukderelian, who had left Adana on the 11th of April, and gone to the monastery of Siss, which he left only after peace and order had been restored, was arrested and imprisoned for nearly one year. The reader will remember the strange telegrams sent all round about this man, by Assaf Bey, the inhuman governor of Djebeli Bereket."

"A man of Hadjin, a cobbler in the village of Mersin, on hearing of the massacres runs away for his life, his belongings are stolen. He sees later a portion of his goods in a Turk's possession and informs the police. This man is at once arrested and taken to the Martial Court. The accused recognises the bootmaker, and becomes the accuser, saying, 'You, too, were in the church with a Martini rifle, killing the Moslems.' The wretched bootmaker is condemned, and the robber Turk set free."

"A dentist of Tarsus, at the commencement of the massacres, flies with his toolbox under his arm. The mob stops him and asks for his box, the dentist uses a firearm and makes good his escape, arrives at Mersin, then goes to America, he is now in New York. He is, all the same, condemned to death." "Hagop Casbarian of Tarsus, a tailor, who, like the dentist, was escaping, was killed at the Tarsus railway station. The Court Martial condemned him to death...(evidently for being killed)!"

"Samuel Avédissian, merchant, proprietor of the Adana Bon Marché, lived in a house near the station. On the 14th of April many farm labourers

seek refuge in his house, which is immediately besieged. The men from inside resist. A soldier, Mehmed Tchavouche, was killed. Then the house was set on fire, several hundreds of people, including the said Avedissian's wife and three children, were burnt alive. Avedissian himself, with his daughter, was miraculously saved; they flee, on the way the poor girl was abducted. He reaches the mountains where he remains eight days, starving; he is then caught, thrown into prison, chained, and then condemned."

"Assadour, a goldsmith, was sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment, because the body of a Moslem was found near his house, and when several women, appearing at the Court, witnessed against the murderers (pointing at them) of Assadour's wife and children, the Court Martial turned them out, saying, "Why! What do you wish, do you want us to sentence Musulmans for your husbands and children you are not guilty, the guilty is the Government that spoils you thus."

"Some women go to this famous Court and bravely point to the beast's who had abused them. They were told, 'what did you lose? What was the harm?'"

"The Erzin branch of the Court condemned to death the following young men: Karekin Adjemian, Zadig Tchekrekdjian, Sarkis Tchekrekdjian, Assadour and Hagop, the two Panos Oghlou, all of Hadjin, who had fired shots when defending that town." "Sentenced to death: Garabetian Kchatcho, Sirkedjian Missak, and Buldukian Artin, Ohannes and Garabet of Adana (the last four butchers). The reason was, the presence of a few Moslem bodies in a han near their house. All these men were innocent. Of these, the three Buldukian brothers were, during the carnage, hidden in foreign establishments, two at the Jesuit Convent and the other at Mr. Chambers'. These men were condemned on the witness of Cassab (butcher) Hamdi and his colleagues, who nursed for generations family feuds. The accusation was as if the accused had killed 50 Moslems each. (Without themselves receiving a single cut!)"

"The brother-in-law of Buldukian, the butcher Ghiragossian Tchinessiz Kevork, was also condemned to death. This man was guilty of selling pork! and of killing, during the massacres, a gipsy Arab. Mikhtar Younouz was called as a witness. When, however, this same Younouz was proceeded against by the Armenians as a criminal, he, being a Turk, naturally succeeded in proving his absence from Adana."

"An Armenian woman was intimidated in order to make her withdraw her complaints against Bagdadi Zado Abdul Cader."

In a word, this strange Martial Court acquitted the real authors and the most prominent criminals, and only condemned a few poor, irresponsible Turkish peasants and other tools, with notable and prominent Armenians, mostly innocent, or "guilty" of self-defence.

This Court, too, accused the Armenians as the cause of the massacres, if not entirely, at least partly.



Armenians began then to protest against such injustices, and hoped that the Enquiry Commission sent from the Parliament and from the Central Government would put things right. The Turks, on hearing the decision of hanging the condemned Moslems, said, "You gave us arms with orders to kill, how you can now punish us?"

On the 24th of May, the said Commission set out for Adana. The Central Government was represented by Faik Bey, the president of the County Court of the state council, and Mosditchian effendi, judicial Inspector of the province of Salonica. The Parliament was represented by the Deputies Hagop Babikian and Kemal Youssouf. These men see the unfair dealings of the Court Martial and prepare their report, but cannot have any influence on the Court. Thereupon Babikian effendi (Armenian) was obliged to send the following telegram:—"Let no decision of the Court Martial be approved of before our enquiries are completed." All the Armenian people, the members of the said Commission, expected a great deal from this wire, but...on the 28th of May, at dawn, there were hanged 15 of the condemned, nine insignificant Turks and six innocent Armenians: Garabetian Katcho, Sirkédjian Missak, three Buldukian brothers, and their brother-in-law Ghiragossian Kevork (five of these were butchers).

Needless to say the Armenians were horror-struck, and the Consuls who knew the innocence of the men (hidden in the same Consuls' houses during the troubles.) protested energetically."\*

Mgr. Terzian, the Armenian-Catholic Metropolitan of Adana, telegraphed on the 17th of June, the following protest to the Imperial Palace, to the Grand Vizier, to the Senate (Upper House), to the House of Parliament, to the Ministries of Justice and War, and to the Patriarchs:—

"The Christians of Adana and district having suffered great losses in men, as in property, the possibility of remaining in these parts, and the safety of their lives were dependent on the loyal proceedings and to the just actions of the Martial Court. But we regret much that its first act has robbed us of all hope and greatly saddened us. For instead of finding out the organisers of the massacres and the ravages, in order to inflict upon them an exemplary punishment, they are busying themselves with common assassins. Among the Moslems, an ignorant gang of villagers, who, without even having an idea of the happenings, have merely, obeyed the given orders. Among the Christians, numbers of innocent citizens, condemned on the false-witness of certain spiteful people (or persons who had any grudge), or for being driven to legitimate self-defence, died on the gallows. This Court Martial has an inclination always for finding the Christians

\* The mother of Buldukian protested for a long time, and the matter was at last referred to the Revisional Court of Konieh. The Court confirmed the error April, 1911, and demanded the punishment of the false witnesses.

guilty. Under these circumstances, to whom can we submit our grievances? How can we console and re-assure our pitiable communities? Have pity on us for God's sake."— The 4/17 June 1325-1909.

Youssuf Kemal Bey asks by a telegram, on 7/20 June, of Mgr. Terzian, to give the names of the persons he was complaining of:

"To His Eminence Mgr. Paul, Bishop of the Catholic Armenians at Adana. Kindly let us know with convincing proofs, and with an explanation of the motives, who are the agitators of the sinister events at Adana, of which you speak in your despatch addressed to the Grand Vizier, dated 4 Haziran 1325 (17th June, 1909)."—7th Haziran 1325 (20th of June, 1909), (L.S.) Youssuf Kemal, of the Enquiry Commission.

Mgr. Terzian gives the following reply to Youssuf Kemal Bey: "By your communication dated 7/20 June 1909, you ask me to point out the fomenters of the sinister events of Adana.

"In reply, I inform you that in the paragraphs 7 and 10 of our previous report addressed to the High Enquiry Commission, the provokers of the regrettable event are already mentioned.

"While begging of you therefore to apply in this respect to the said paragraphs, we address you the following lines to explain to you our point of view on the subject:

1. Those who massacred, without pity, thousands of innocent Christians, must know the provokers of the said events. Those massacres therefore ought to be asked of whom they received their orders.

2. Those who plundered the goods and the furniture, worth several hundred thousand pounds, found in the houses and in the shops of the Christians, those say we, at whose houses are now discovered the stolen goods and the furniture, probably know the authors of the massacres and other atrocities. It is certain that these pillagers will easily tell you of whom they obtained such permission.

3. Those, who by using paraffin, set the houses, shops, schools, churches of the Christian people on fire, worth some millions of pounds, must remember by whom they were incited to commit ravages, there is therefore room to question these paraffiners.

4. The provokers of these destructive events are certainly the Ulemas and the Mussulman high functionaries, propogators of the disreputable ideas of the Governor, Djevad Bey, and the divisional General Mustafa Remzi Pasha, who allowed the Mussalmans to ransack, burn, ravage, and to cause great losses of life and property.

5. If the executors of these massacres, pillages, and so many other atrocities, have acted on their initiative, they are directly responsible, but if they committed these criminal acts on the instigation of others, it is evident that the responsibilities fall, in that case, on both sides,

6. We are firmly convinced that in case the Court Martial would press the Mussulmans a little, the latter would easily confess all, and truth and justice would be established,

“It is to be remarked that the Moslem and Christian people of our town and its districts, lived for years in harmony and security, even during the great massacres and ravages of fourteen years ago, which gave up the whole of the country to blood and fire, the entire town of Adana, and a part of its districts are a proof of this.

“Now, the only thing we humbly expect of your benevolence, is this, that instead of punishing the common thieves and assassins, proceedings may be taken for searching out the principal agitators who first drove the former to commit these excesses, and in order to inflict on them an exemplary punishment. By doing this, there will be no more need to condemn to death by the thousand, those of our Moslem compatriots, who were simple enough to be dupes of the intrigues of some traitors of the country and of the nation. Let only the real assassins and the chief provokers be condemned, even though they may be employees, high officials or notables and Ulemas. May justice be carried out for us, and may not the sacred fatherland be blotted with innocent blood.”—10 Haziran, 1325 (23 June, 1909).

The spiritual heads of the various Christian Communities of Adana, addressed the following protest to the Court Martial, to the Vali, Mustafa Zihni Pasha, to the Enquiry Commission, to the Chief Committees of Itihad at Constantinople and Salonika, and to the Grand Vizier:

“In informing you of the deep regret of the Christian population for the enormous losses they lately sustained, as well as for the charges brought against them, we now cite the following facts, which will expose the real position in the events.

“We Christian inhabitants of Adana and district have been, since the very dawn of the Constitution faithful and true to it, and worked by word and act to assure its duration and prosperity. As true Ottomans, our desires and aims were to defend the Constitution, to render it always services and be counted among its partisans.

“We strongly protest against all idea of a rising which is attributed to us, we never revolted and never even thought of it, being faithful and submissive subjects, we became victims of the jealousy and the intrigues of some partisans of the old regime, and of certain fanatics.

“Surprised by a perfidious organisation which amazed heaven and earth, we always gave proofs of our fidelity to the Government, by the measures we took at the beginning of the events and submitting to its decisions.

“We repeat again that even now we are faithful to the Constitution, and that we declare we are quite ready to fulfill all that the fatherland demands. We cherish no idea of vengeance for the calamities, which have befallen us.

“We expect from our Moslem compatriots that the Ottoman Government should act in agreement with the other elements composing it; that the fraternal sentiments manifested during the proclamation of the Constitution may gain expression; that justice be given to all; that the dangerous wound opened on the heart of the country be healed, and that its present and the future, may for ever be assured; in a word, that Union and fraternity, as well as equality and Justice, may definitely be established. We are truly Ottomans, and we sincerely desire the happiness and the prosperity of the fatherland. We cherish a healthy affection towards the Magnanimous Sovereign who works for the realisation of this end; we love our Young Turk brothers, the glorious army of operation, the Committee of Union and Progress,’ as well as all the Ottomans faithful to the Constitution.”—6/16 June 1909.

This absurd Martial Court continues to sit, and on the 11th June orders the arrest of Mgr. Moushegh, and on the 23rd June condemns him to incarceration for life, as an inspirer of massacres (but, as we said before, he was before and during the massacres in Egypt), and for having prophesied something dreadful in store, had courted the Government’s attention.

On the 5th of July, the Enquiry Commission arrived at Constantinople, where they made it public that “*The Armenians had no intention whatever of rising, nor any idea of separatism, and that, on the contrary, the Moslems were the organisers of the Atrocities.*”

Then the public mind is stirred; Armenian, Greek, European and even some Turkish papers in the Capital, speak out their minds and openly declare the innocence of the Armenians, laying the entire responsibility on the Turks. Babikian effendi, of the Parliamentary Enquiry Commission, on arriving at Smyrna, was encouraged by the important members of the *ittihad* Committee (Dr. Riza Tevfik Bey, Talaat Bey (ex-Minister of the Interior, Suleyman Bostani, and Nessim Mazlieh) who was going to Europe, and spoke openly and fearlessly the actual truth to his friends and to newspaper representatives. The Government Enquiry Commission (Faik and Mosditchian effendis) sent in their report and accusations on the 10th of July. We quote this official report in full:

#### THE OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE ENQUIRY COMMISSION OF ADANA

“We went to Adana to learn the motives of the painful events at that place, to study its origin, as well as to examine the means to employ in order that similar things may never happen again.

“We have personally visited the districts of Deurt-Yole, Osmanic, Bahdje, Hamidic and Tarsus, the villages Hassan Beyli and Kharni; as to the districts of Khassa, Islahie and Hadjin, we obtained the necessary information by correspondence. Below we give our opinion on the Enquiries made in the aforesaid districts, as well as in the town of Adana itself.

“Nearly a month after the arrival at Adana of the ex-Governor Djevad Bey, Guerguerli Ali effendi, the Director of the Arts School, and Ihsan Fikri Bey, the editor of the paper *Ittidal*, formed two parties and founded two societies.

“Ihsan Fikri Bey’s party was against the ex-Governor Djevad Bey, whilst that of Guerguerli Ali effendi, among whom was the famous Gueukde-relian,\* was for the Governor. The last few months’ issues of this *Ittidal* paper clearly show the opposition of the two parties. Therein were published very grave articles about the Governor: from the opposite party meetings were held. Djevad Bey carefully prevented these meetings, as they might otherwise have provoked disputes between the two parties. Nevertheless, the party, which was against Djevad Bey, without losing time, used all their trumps and did not fear to bully him in order to drive him to resign. At the same time, rumours were abroad that in the very province of Adana, the Armenians were about to massacre the Mussulmans and on the other hand that the Mussulmans were going to massacre the Armenians in another part of the province. This affair was put into the hands of the judicial authorities, but the local Government showed neither alacrity nor activity, and naturally the rumours rapidly spread.

“The authorities acted only very slowly to punish the inventors of these rumours, instead of opening a strict enquiry to discover the source of these contradictions which tended to frighten the two elements. Because of this weakness of the local authorities, the parties of the decentralisation among the young Armenians (which is incredible), as well as the ignorant Mussulmans, who for gains were partisans of the detestable tyranny, had increased their audacity. Those who sought to annihilate the influence of the authorities to serve their particular ends, wished to take advantage of the public mistrust. Thence results the administrative irregularity from which might flow all sorts of evils and this was how on the 27th of March, a Friday, an Armenian wounded two Moslems who afterwards died, for the question of a woman. The authorities do not trouble to find the guilty. The parents and the relatives of the victims go to the governor and threaten him by saying, ‘If you cannot find the assassin, let us do so, we will do what is necessary.’ The Governor by his inaction and silence shows his

\*This Armenian gentleman was accused as being guilty, and for months was imprisoned at Adana, in spite of protestations of innocence. (G. Brézol, “Les Turcs ont Passé la...”)

incapacity. The Moslems invite the Governor, by insulting him, to come and fulfill his duty; by these means they hoped to incite the party, which was against the Governor, and oblige Djevad Bey to retire.

“The weakness of the Governor increased as time passed, and the populace became more excited and armed themselves. This state lasted three days in the town; Monday 10/23 March, a certain Karakeusse Oglou Mahmoud, with a few acolytes, discharged several shots in the streets. When a policeman came to arrest them he was told that an Armenian had killed two Moslems, thereupon the shooters retire into their houses and again discharge, 31st of March (13th of April), Tuesday at about 2 in the morning (Turkish time), the mob crowd round the Governor’s Palace and demonstrates, protesting that in the vineyards, four Moslems were killed by the Armenians; two men, two women. The Enquiry made proved the inanity of this rumour, and the police arrested the inventor of this lie, the mob plucking him out of the hands of the police themselves. A little later, before the Government Palace, on the very spot where the soldiers stand, an Armenian named Loutfik was assassinated as a spy.

“The Police Commissary arrested also a man who had spoken of assassination; but the people released him, too, from the Commissary’s hand. Wednesday 1/14 April, early, Karakeussé Oglou Mahmoud was arrested, but he is in his turn taken out of the hands of the police by the mob. In a critical moment the Civil and Military authorities show no signs of life and strength, so that the same morning, all being topsy-turvy, the mob walked about with arms and cudgels.

“While the Governor and the Commandant, accompanied by police officials and notables of the town, were going round the town to make the Christians open their shops and disperse the Moslem working men: suddenly comes the news that the Armenians are attacking the Tosbaghi quarter.

“Workmen mix with the Moslems who were running in that direction to save their families. The Armenians, seeing this crowd, think that these people are coming to attack their homes, and begin to discharge their arms. On hearing the detonations, the public emotions go on increasing, this was the beginning of the events. The intensity of the troubles arises from the presence of 20,000 day-labourers from the environs of Adana.

“Islams and Armenians, children of the same Patrie, who had lived for centuries side by side, these same Ottomans unfortunately, begin to kill one another. They kill even Haroutune Effendi Chadrighian, a member of the Municipal Council, and burn all the houses and the shops of the Armenians. Thousands of non-Christian day-labourers, come from Dirarbekir, Van and Kharpout commence to pillage. This state diminishing though at night continues three days consecutively, but at last tranquility returns. They collect the Christians’ arms and the invading crowd is dispersed. This situation lasts

for ten days; unfortunately, as we have shown in our private report, on the 13/26 April, the trouble re-commence in consequence of the inertia of the authorities, and this time in a very vast proportion, on a larger scale and in an excessively deplorable manner. The first day of the events, the ex-Governor, Djevad Bey, sends telegrams to the environs of the town in this sense: 'Troubles have broken out at Adana, it is possible that they are going to spread, call out the reservists (redifs)'. The word 'trouble' has made the people suppose that the Armenians generally have revolted; travellers of the interior have also spread false news, the houses of the Armenians in the environs were burnt, their goods plundered and the Armenians massacred.

"The principal cause of the painful massacres in Djebeli Bereket is the Mutissarif (Governor) Assaf Bey, who by his foolish telegrams provoked troubles. At the same time a gang of malefactors who saw gain in the pillage and the massacres, excited the ignorant class by saying, '*There are orders to massacre from the Government, but the officials are hiding these orders from us.*' The following facts have been also the cause of the fury of the massacres: the convicts of the Erzin prison and the Payas cells were set at liberty, and their attacks were not repulsed by the armed force, leaving thus time for the people to arm: the Mutissarif was also very cowardly, he caused arms and ammunition to be distributed to the mob and everywhere the functionaries and the military remained neutral and indifferent.

"During the events, the total number of the massacred people in the whole of the Adana province, amounts to 5683, of whom 1487 were Muslims (including policemen and soldiers killed), and 4196 non-Muslims, as is shown in the statistical documents.

"It is, however, to be supposed that there were some not registered and some altogether unknown; strangers to the province and whose origin was not known; it is impossible to give an exact figure, but it is believed that the number of the massacred was 15,000, Mussulman and non-Mussulman together. One thing which deserves special mentioning is this: about 30,000 women, grown-up children and babies remain homeless, foodless, deprived of their means of existence. The number of dwellings, shops, churches, schools, etc., etc., burnt, amounts to 4823, of which 386 belonged to Moslems, the rest to Christians.

"Subscriptions have realised since the beginning of the troubles, until 6/19 June, 1,376,177 piastres (about £13,100) which amount has been distributed and spent by special Commissions. On the other hand, the Agricultural Banks have advanced, against securities, £T32,000, as is seen in the account books.

"A portion of the tried people of Adana and of environs, are fed by the

Government distributions, and another party, thanks to the International Commission of succour, as well as to the generosity of foreign countries.

“By our enquiry, we have decided that the nation’s first duty and that of the Government is to begin: (1.) To offer cottages to those who escaped. (2.) To take care and feed the orphans. (3.) To guarantee the future of the widows. (4.) To provide instruments and tools for the industrial working people, so that they may earn their daily bread; to procure for the *esnaf* (middle class) a small capital, so that they may earn their bread, and to lend a sum to the agriculturists, so that they may till the land, to reap, and to be occupied with agricultural labour, in a word to offer them all kinds of protection and facility, as well as to help them rebuild places of worship and education at the Government expense. To heal the wound of Adana and its environs, according to approximate accounts, besides the £30,000 voted, another £T100,000 should be spent as the Government thinks it best. Another £T50,000 should be given through an agricultural Bank (as it was already advised by telegraph) to the commercial tradesmen ruined by the events,

“Henceforth, in order to make such riots impossible, the authority must in the first place be trusted to persons capable and energetic; the education of Islams and non-Islams, children of the same country, be also propagated, in order that they may, from early childhood, learn to live together in good relations. In the same manner, when the Christians effectively fulfill their military service, it will greatly contribute to strengthen the Ottoman fraternity, which already exists between the various elements. In order that these painful events may not be repeated, we propose the following means:

1. As we have explained above, first of all, the Government affairs should be trusted to capable and experienced hands.

2. At least, for the present, as in the three provinces (Macedonia), a fundamental judicial body should quickly be formed at Adana and neighbourhood, consisting of carefully selected members.

3. Increase the number of Commissaries and Police Agents, and increase also their salaries, selecting honest and capable persons, and create for them special schools, such as was done in the three provinces.

4. Keep regular soldiers who would continually remain at spots to be indicated by Civil and Military Authorities.

5. Create “corps de garde” and Commissariats of police in a number of towns, suburbs, villages and other suitable places.

6. The village of Deurt-Yole, composed of 700 houses (of which only 15 are Mussulman and the rest Armenian), being near the sea coast, and its population being apt for agriculture and capable of profitable cultivating the soil, should be made a centre and chief town of the district; near the sea, which is only an hour (3 miles) distant, found a hamlet. It would be still fairer to choose again the centre of *lives*, districts and villages, in the



whole of the province, in order to reform and change them. For this, military and civil grouping and movements must be taken into consideration, but for the success of what we propose, a military and civil Commission must go and inspect the province. Thus, Mersin, which is the most important and most visited port of Adana, because of its position and its importance has become an independent authority, this would mean that it will become in the future, a very important town.

“We add to our proposition, that the persons who took part in the events of the Adana province, and punished as such, resemble a bullet let out of a firearm. If, instead of punishing individuals, as ignorant and inclined to follow any current without discernment, the three or four responsible chief fomenters were punished, in order to give an example to others, we think it would have been more in conformity with justice. Tranquility would be re-established, and the return of similar events would be impossible.

“27 June 1325 (10th of July, 1909). “(Signed  
The Members of the Enquiry Commission of Adana.  
The President of the County Court of the State Council Faik.  
The Judicial Inspector of Salonika  
Province, Harountioun Mosditchian.”

#### THE OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE ENQUIRY COMMISSION OF ADANA

Categorically limiting and designating the degree of responsibility and culpability of the organisers of the massacres:

“By our telegram of the 30th of May, 1325 (13th of June, 1909), we announced that, as a result of the enquiry of our Commission at Djebeli-Bereket, the ex-Governor (Mutissarif) of the said district, Assaf Bey, had made known to the people, the contents of the despatch he had received from the ex-Governor of Adana, Djevad Bey. He had announced that he had liberated the Erzine prisoners and the convicts of Payas, that he had distributed arms and ammunition to these released prisoners, as well as to the peasants. On the other hand, when the inhabitants of Deurt-Yole were besieged, and asked him for help, he sent against them the armed populace; the ex-Mutéssarif of Djebeli-Bereket is the only chief guilty person, for having given free liberty, in his district, to assassinations, pillages and incendiarism; he has ruined the people by allowing the massacres to spread.

“Enclosed we send you a portion of the instruction, composed of 15 pages and containing our examinations with the the authographic replies

of Assaf Bey; as well as the copies of the telegram which the aforesaid sub-governor, had sent to the Governor of Adana, to the Ministry of the Interior, to the Caimakam of Hamidie, Bahdje and Iskenderoun, to some other Mudirs, to various Commissariats, to the Commandants of Redifs, to the Director of the Payas fortress, to the Commandant of the Gendarmie of this same fort, to other Commandants of Gendarmie of different circuits. Writings of the same meaning, too, were addressed by him to the environs of the very province.

“The reading of these copies will prove to you in a striking manner, that Assaf Bey is the chief guilty man, and that he must be made responsible for the pillages, fires and massacres, which took place in the Sandjak of Djebeli-Bereket.

“Whereas: Assaf Bey had not taken into consideration, the official documents which he himself, with his authograph, had sent in confidence, to the attorney of the County Court of Erzin. The said documents exposed the fact that early in September, 1908, a certain Nouh, butcher at Payas, speaking to Christians, had said to them, ‘You have only three days to live’; likewise a certain Silo of the town of Tchemechgadzak, said, ‘Now we must sharpen our axes.’ Thereupon the Christians had begun to flee in all directions.

“Whereas: Assaf Bey has not taken into consideration either, the letter which the Kaimacan of Bahdje had addressed him on the 18th of February, 1324, and which Assaf in his turn sent to the Governor of Adana, with a letter dated the 19th of February, 1324 (1909). This Kaimacam’s letter contained threats of massacre against the Christians by the Moslems.

“Whereas: Four or five days before the events, Assaf Bey sent to the general Governor of Adana a cipher-wire, giving the preliminary descriptions of the forthcoming deplorable events, these events not having yet occurred: and bringing at the same time complaints against Ilmai effendi, he sent him to Deurt-Yole, on the very day of the events.

“Whereas: Assaf launched exciting and alarming despatches, accusing the Armenians of Deurt-Yole of having killed during a sortie, a crowd of Moslems, and plundered so many villages, that they were not able to send them all the necessary immediate assistance: and saying if they were not stopped, they would all march on Adana (town). Now, these poor Armenians of Deurt-Yole, far from being able to attempt such a sortie, were at that time besieged by 15,000 to 20,000 plunderers. Assaf should have, on the contrary, remembered that in reply to the letter of the Kaimacam of Osmanie, in which he was pointing out to him that the Armenians of Deurt-Yole were suspected and dangerous, he himself had written, a few days previously, after a serious enquiry into this subject, that these Armenians were entirely innocent of the accusations brought against them.

“Whereas; Assaf caused telegrams to be sent from all sides asking for

urgent help, and thus by his lamentable cries of 'help,' over-excited the Mussulmans.

"Whereas: He gave the order to release the prisoners of Erzin and the convicts of Papas, and caused arms to be distributed to them.

"Whereas: He arranged for arms to be given to the Moslem population and demonstrated, by his telegram No. 123, 4th of April, 1325, the necessity of providing the emigrants with mauser guns.

"Whereas: He confesses by his No. 87 telegram, that he made 50 or 60 armed men march on Odjakli\* and in the name of the inhabitants of Erzin and with the signatures of Khalib Ali, Hadji Mehmed agha Zade Ali, Kara Moustafa Zade Moustafa, and Mufti Zade Moustafa, he sent false and disturbing telegrams to Hadji Hussein effendi, a notable of Osmanie, and to the Mussulman population of that town, by making it known that for two days, the whole of the population had been sent to Deurt-Yole, to oppose the Armenians' attack, and that the losses of Hussein effendi were very numerous, that the Armenians of Hassan Beyli were joining those of Deurt-Yole. The telegram ended 'Come early in the morning to our assistance.'

"Whereas: By his telegram of the 3rd of April, 1325, Sub. No. 115, addressed to the Governor and the Commandant of Marash, to the Governor-General of Aleppo, he says that the whole of Djebeli-Bereket district, being under the fire of the revolution, the province of Adana is equally threatened, this telegram serves to propagate the troubles in those localities too.

"Whereas: He asked by telegram of the Kaimacam and the Commandant of Osmanie, as well as of Hadji Hussein, a notable of this place, to send to Erzin, troops of 200 to 300 each taken from Osmanie, Harounie, and Hamidie.

"Whereas: By his telegram of the 2nd of April, No. 85, sent to the Kaimacams of Osmanie, Hamidie and Khassa, he asked for the expedition, from each of the three places, from 300 to 400 men of succour, and by his telegram to the Kaimacam of Khassa, April the 4th, No. 121, he asked in an urgent manner the help of 400 to 500 men; by another telegram, Mo. 122, of the same day, he says: "We have no time to call out the redifs (reservists), arm all those you meet and send them to us at once."

"Whereas: Dated 4th of April, 1325, Sub. No. 126, he telegraphed to the Military Commandant and to the Kaimacam of Osmanie, saying, 'Ammunition is exhausted, send us at once all you have in store.'

"Whereas: Another telegram No. 132, dated April the 4th, to the authorities of Adana, and to the Kaimacam of Alexandretta, says, 'The am-

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\*This is a village completely plundered and burnt down. (G. B.)

munition of the Mussulmans of Odjakli and the other villages round Deurt-Yole, are used up, send some Martini and Winchester rifles quickly from Alexandretta, for Capakli.' He thus confesses what the destination of those arms and ammunition was.

"Whereas: On the 4th of April, 1325, a telegram No, 127, to the Kaimacam and to the Commandant of Osmanie, says, 'In accordance with the orders of the Military Commandant of the Vilayet, Moustafa Remzi Pasha, I order you to distribute Mauser rifles to the population.'

"Whereas: Another of the same day, bearing the No. 131, asks the Minister of the Interior and the Vali of Adana to give orders to those who have the right of distributing guns, of which there were 400 at the Osmanie depôt, to the populace.

"Whereas: By a telegram on the 4th of April, No. 133, addressed to the Vali of Adana, as well as to the Minister of the Interior, he said it was indispensable to evacuate the fort of Payas, under the pretext that the soldiers destined to guard the fort had no ammunition.

"Whereas: That same day, a telegram No. 134, addressed to the Vali of Adana and to the Minister of the Interior proposes to get arms and ammunition to be distributed to the convicts in that fort of Payas, and thus form of them an important battalion.

"Whereas: On April the 8th, No. 158, communicated to the Military Commandant of Alexandretta that the Islam notables of the villages had received war ammunition. On the other hand, the official Mahmoud Hamdi effendi, telegraphed the same day (No. 143) to the Commandant of the Alexandretta reservists that five cases of ammunition have been delivered at Kozetchli, five at Tchaili, five at Odjakli, and five at Erzin; whence it is evident that this ammunition has been distributed to the villagers by the very orders of Assaf.

"Whereas: By a telegram, No. 168, of April 7th, Fuad Bey, Commandant of Yarpouz, has announced to the Military Commandant of Adana, that the men armed and sent to Erzin have run away: and that 11 of those sent to Bahdje, have likewise run away, whence it is understood that all the arms and ammunition were delivered to the plunderers. Similar facts and this guilty conduct, prove that he was the cause of the pillages, massacres, fires, which befell the Djebeli Bereket district.

"In the above mentioned telegram, No. 85, of April the 2nd, by which he asked at certain places, a contingent of 300 to 400 men. We find something mentioned worth our attention, and which leaves no doubt of the influence which the functionaries had on the populace, both for getting them to start the atrocities, as also to prevent their continuance; because Assaf Bey invited, by this telegram, the Kaimacams of Hamidie, Osmanie and Khassa, to give the order to the armed populace, to undertake nothing

without the previous instructions of the authorities; in the same way by which, on the 3rd of April, he telegraphed, Sub. No. 109, to the Kaimacam and the Commandant of Osmanie to prepare the mob, and make them wait thus armed and grouped.

“By these last telegrams it is understood to what extent the orders of the official functionaries were influential, and this is why the said Assaf Bey is so responsible. “Whereas: The ex-Governor of Adana, Djevad Bey, has attached no importance to the telegram of Assaf Bey, who informed him that the chief of the correspondents, Ilmi effendi, was trying to set the Moslem and Christian populations against one another, when this telegram should have been worthy of consideration.

“Whereas: He has, again, considered as of no importance, a telegram of the said Ilmi effendi, warning him that Assaf Bey was forming a group of revolutionaries. Besides the Governor-General took no measures to prevent the troubles, having personally gone to Hamidie district, he ordered the Kaimacam to stop the ringing of the Armenian Church bell, when, what he called a bell was only a piece of thin iron about four inches wide, and about 20 to 25 inches long, which was sounded by striking it with a wooden hammer (gotchnag) during the religious ceremonies. To issue such an interdiction during the Easter festivals, indicates that the Governor was entertaining evil intentions.

“Whereas: The Governor-General did not take into consideration the procès verbal and the informing documents which the Kaimacam of Hadjin had sent to the Governor of Kozou, who, in his turn, had handed them to the Governor General of Adana, from the hands of whom they passed, with an autographic note to the substitute of the Adana attorney.\*

“The said reports and information state that after the proclamation of liberty, Ahmet and Izzet, the two sons of the ex-Mufti of Hadjin, and Sabri effendi and the examining judge of this town have excited the populace and distributed seditious writings, saying: ‘We cannot fraternise with the ghiaours, we will never be their equals, liberty is only for them. Ibrahim Pasha, the chieftain of the Hamidie Achirets (Clan), does not accept the Constitution, let us massacre the ghiaours.’

“Whereas: The provocation by these men is confirmed by the depositions and the witness of Ali Ilmi effendi, the present Mufti of Hadjin, and of Caitandji Zade Moustafa Faik effendi, of Yarpouzi Zade Moustafa, and of Caitandji Zade Mursel effendi, dated the 2nd of September, 1324.

“Whereas: This affair is well proved by the telegram of the Governor-General, dated 13th of October, 1324, and addressed to the Governor of

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\* The Governor cannot pretend not to have known of the said reports. (Georges Brézol).

Kozen, as well as the telegram of Oct. 18th of the Union and Progress of Hadjin, addressed to the Committee of this club at Adana.

“In spite of the fact that telegrams and letters from all parts of the province, as well as from the governorship of Djebeli-Bereket, continued to arrive, announcing beforehand the deplorable events which were going to take place, the Governor-General still took no efficacious measures to prevent the realisation of these sinister plans, and stop the evil by suppressing it when still there was time.

“Whereas: He failed to get Arab Mahmud arrested, who was condemned for having murdered an Armenian. This man had an odious past, and had escaped from the Adana prison, but was afterwards arrested at Tarsus.\* Djevad Bey provoked the Muslims for not getting a certain Ohannes arrested, who at the Tosbaghi quarter, had for his legitimate self-defence, wounded two Moslems in front of his house (later one died of his wounds). Nor did he act officially against Ihsan Fikri effendi, the editor of *Ittidal*, who had, on the 31st of March, made a provocative speech.

“Whereas: Rumours being abroad, such as it is declared in Djevad Bey’s defensive report, that the Armenians had killed four Moslems—two men and two women, the Vali should have, at least through street criers, refuted this false news, which would only spread, to increase the already existing unrest, and which was entirely devoid of foundation.

“It was at that moment that Cadri Bey, the chief Commissary, and now the President of the Adana Municipality, arrested several persons for having spread false news, and who were taken out of the hands of the police by the mob. Cadri Bey, having declared in this circumstance to Djevad Bey that the honour and the authority of the Government must remain intact; he attached no importance to observations so just.

“Whereas: The same thing is seen in the report of Ghakir effendi, ex-president of the Court of Appeal of Adana.

“Whereas: A few spiritual chiefs being gathered, went by night to the Governor’s house, warned him that some excitement was reigning among the Moslem population and begged him earnestly to take all necessary and energetic measures. Djevad replied that he already had given orders; but not only did he not take any measures, but he let the people gather and enter the Governor-General’s palace, nor did he arrest the murderers of the Armenian, Loutfik, killed before the Government palace. He did not think that this situation was dangerous and might assume great proportions, as in fact happened the following Wednesday.

“Whereas: On the Wednesday morning, all the civil and judicial functio-

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\* It seems that, while he was informed of his process regarding the assassination of this Armenian, they let him go six weeks before the massacres, in the heart of the Constitution— (Georges Brézol).

naries, financiers and others, to the last of subaltern employees, had their heads turbaned with a piece of linen or a white handkerchief, yet he paid no attention to the significance of this act. The Christians, seeing this crowd with white turbans and armed with clubs, understood the danger and closed their shops.

“Whereas: The Governor, Djevad Bey and the Military Commandant, Moustafa Remzi Pasha, instead of doing their duties by trying to disperse the crowd with an armed force, undertook, on the contrary, to make the Christians open their shops, and to this end they sent to the town (marché) Abdul Kader effendi, and David Ourfalian, member of the Court of Appeal of Adana. When the latter was murdered, they did not use severe means; the same thing happened after the murder of Haroutioun effendi Chadrig-hian, member of the Municipality, killed at the same time in the Government palace, that is to say under their eyes; likewise for the inscriptions placed on the shops, and which bore the words, ‘Islam Shop’ or ‘Ghiaour Shop,’ thus permitting the distinguishing of the owner’s religion.

“The Ex-Governor-General, Djevad Bey, and the Military Commandant of Adana, attached a particular importance to the noisy telegrams from Djebeli Bereket, the purport of which we explained. They accepted as true, the telegrams pouring on them from all parts, from places distant from one another by one or even two days, and as it is evident that one and the same person could not be at several different places, there is no doubt that these telegrams were void of foundation and without any importance. In them it was said that, ‘Gueukderelian is coming, has arrived, in our village, in our town, with 1,500, 2,000, 3,000 mounted men; he attacked our town, the losses are numerous.’

“The Governor-General and the Military Commandant have not had sufficient foresight to take effective measures and prevent the repetition of the events of Adana, at least in the other parts of the province.

“Whereas: Notwithstanding several formal telegrams, in which the Governor of Mersin urgently asked that the trains running from Adana for Tarsus and Mersin be stopped, with a view to preventing the plunderers and the malefactors from ransacking the locality; the Vali and the Commandant did not stop the movement of trains, and consequently were the cause of the disorders at Tarsus.

“Whereas: They have shown a blamable negligence by not refusing and not rejecting, after a reprimand, the plan and the insane proposition of the Governor of Djebeli Bereket, to arm the populace. It is incontestable that the dispersing of the gathering people would have an effective result, even if a few people were killed, among those who attacked the dépôts and carried away the guns and other arms that were there. The honour of

the Government and the Military discipline demanded exemplary punishment; it shows therefore that on this occasion they shut their eyes purposely, while the crowd was plundering the dépôt of arms.

“Whereas: As it is written in the Djebeli Bereket telegram, No. 127, addressed on the 4th of April to the Kaimacam and the Commandant of Osmanie, the distribution of Mauser rifles to the mob was carried out by the orders of the Military Commandant.

“Whereas: The Ottoman soldiers who had come to Adana on the 12th of April, with the object of assuring tranquility, were selected by the Government and the Military Commandant, who induced them to believe that the Armenians had discharged firearms on the Military camp from the top of their church belfry. They have thus provoked a second massacre, more terrible still than the preceding. Having gone to the spots, in company of the deputy effendis, sent by the *Chamber*, we went up to the top of the belfry of this church and after long examination, we found that between the military camp and the church was lying the Mussulman quarter, on the highest point of the hill of the town; it was therefore impossible to have seen from the belfry, the soldiers’ camp and vice versa.

“Whereas: Continuing our enquiry in this matter, we went to the military camp and questioned in the very presence of the Chief Commandant, Mehmed Ali Bey, the officers of the soldiers who had arrived at Adana on 12th April. In reply to our questions, they showed us a window of a Moslem house from which several revolver shots were fired on the camp of those soldiers, arrived on the 12th April.

“This proves that the rumour of the shots fired by the Armenians from the top of the church tower on the camp was spread with an evil intention, to deceive and excite the soldiers. It was the Governor-General’s and the Military Commandant’s duty to deny the false reports and calm the nervous excitement of the soldiers, the natural result of these reports. They however did nothing.

“Whereas: In was stated, in the account of No. 33 of the Adana paper *Ittidal*, dated 7th April, an article inciting the Moslems against the Armenians, under the heading, ‘*A terrible Revolution*,’ bearing the signature of Ismail Sefa, and other articles with the title, ‘*Les Troubles*,’ signed by Ihsan Fikri. The Governor and the Military Commandant ought to have at once published a declaration counteracting the pernicious influence of these articles; but they have done nothing at all.

“Whereas: The Ex-Commandant of the Adana police, Hussein Daim Bey,\* who has no longer an official post, and whose bad past is well known, either

\* At the time when Nazim Pasha was the Minister of the police at Constantinople, Hussein Bey had been nominated inspector of the Corps de gerde (caracols) and used to stick lying accusative bills on the walls of the town, in order to get innocent passers-by arrested and imprisoned. In consequence of the steps taken by M. Cambou, the French Ambassador, he was exiled with several others of his stamp—(G. Brézol).



by charity, or rather with the necessity of saving his properties from being burnt, he alone protected all his quarter, and thus succeeded in saving the life and the goods of the inhabitants. This proves that if the Governor-General and the Military Commandant had had some desire to prevent the troubles, these would not have happened; but this is just what they did not do.

“Whereas: The Governor-General, in his telegrams to the suburbs and different districts of the province, ordered ‘That it was necessary to protect the foreign subjects.’

“By all those considerations mentioned above, it is impossible not to recognise as responsible for the painful events of Adana and its districts, the Governor-General, the Military Commandant, Ismail Sefa effendi, and Ihsan Fikri effendi. The enclosed copies of the telegrams of the Governor-General and the Military Commandant are already striking proofs of their responsibility and culpability.

“Baghdadi Zade Abdul Kader effendi, who was brought from Bagdad to Adana by Mahmoud Nedim Pasha, has been promoted, thanks to the protection of Tahsin effendi, first secretary of the Ex-Sultan, and of the chamberlain, Faik effendi, and his son Mehmed effendi, thanks to the same personages, has been promoted at Constantinople to the grade of the President of the Municipal Circuit of Canlidja. One of the editors of the Beyrout paper, Ittidali Osmanié, Ahmed Adil Arslan Bey, was brought to Adana to write articles against the Armenians, attributing to them the responsibility of the events, and he received for this at Constantinople, Hussein Bey had been nominated inspector of the Corps de gerde (caracols) and used to stick lying accusative bills on the walls of the town, in order to get innocent passers-by arrested and imprisoned. In consequence of the steps taken by M. Cambou, the French Ambassador, he was exiled with several others of his stamp—(Georges Brézol). work, one Turkish pound per day. He has likewise published articles in the same spirit, in the paper *Le Réveil*, printed in French, and has obtained of its chief, a sum of £T50, from the hands of Boshnak Salih effendi.

“Salih effendi and Abdulkader effendi passed turbans round their heads before the events; this is proved by the witness of Sava effendi, employee of the suite of the Governor-General of Adana, in spite of his diploma obtained at the *Civil School*.

“The above mentioned Abdulkader and Boshnak Salih, went about the town on horseback, accompanied by their accomplices, all armed, they are looked upon as the leaders of these terrible massacres, just as it is confirmed by all the spiritual heads and by people of foreign nationality and absolutely impartial.

“The solution to be given to the circumstances related in this account depends on the will of your Highness.

“22 Djemaz-ul-Akher 1327 and 27 June 1325, the members of the Enquiry Commission of Adana.

“Judicial inspector of Salonika,

“Haroutioun Mosditchian,

“the president of the County Court of the Council of the State, Faik.”

On receiving these official reports, wherein the real authors of the massacres are accused, the Cabinet of Hilmi Pasha (Grand Vizier) ordered the arrest of the ex-Vali of Adana, Djevad Bey, likewise telegraphic orders were given to the Court Martial to arrest and examine the Military Commandant, Mustafa Remzi Pasha, Ihsan Fikri, Baghdadi Zade Abdul Cader, Assaf Bey, the Mutéssarif of Djebeli-Bereket and their accomplices. On 14/27 July Djevad Bey was arrested, and escorted by the police was sent to Adana.

Mustapha Zihni Pasha refuses to obey the Cabinet's decision and the Court Martial protests against the Government interference and threatens to resign.

In the beginning of July the following report of the Martial Court was presented in which, the Armenians were accused:

#### REPORT PRESENTED BY THE COURT MARTIAL OF ADANA, IN JULY, 1909.

“The causes and the motives of the Adana events must be searched for in the past. Bahri effendi (ex-pasha), ex-governor-general of that Vilayet, never ceased the persecutions and the squireen of the country, generally ignorant people, not only have never protested against the behaviour of this little tyrant, but on the contrary have found their opportunity to enrich themselves.

“The Armenians submitted, willingly or unwillingly, under the old regime to all the fancies and fads of their old tyrants. A certain number of Armenians who cherish separatist ideas, had however facilitated the settlement of a great number of their co-religionists in this town, which offered conditions proper to facilitate their aims, inasmuch as Adana may be considered almost as a maritime or naval town.

“The quantity of arms introduced by the Armenians after the proclamation of Liberty is extraordinary, the town of Bey rout, had the aspect of a great depôt of arms which they were continually sending them to Adana and the environs.

“The Separatist Armenians had experienced a little disappointment in seeing the improved relations of the English and the Turks.

“Although the Moslems had begun, after July, 1908, to fraternise with the non-Moslems, they despised the Committees of Hintchak and Troschak or Taschnak. They thought these Committees were pursuing a special end,

by creating clubs in all the towns of the province. "But one of the chief causes of the troubles was without contradiction, the weakness of the Authorities.

"After the first lights of Liberty, the Armenian Committees in Europe, on their part began to awaken in the minds of the Armenians the idea of an Autonomy and with this idea, they spread anecdotes, pictures and coats of arms, referring to the Armenian History.

"The chief instigator of all this was the Bishop Moushegh, now in flight.

"Thus the tension between Armenians and Moslem was accentuated and incidents occurred now and again, which were to end in the painful events of Adana.

"Ihsan Fikri, exiled to Diarbekir under the old regime, later transferred to the fortress of Payas and finally settled in Adana, where he got married, had worked by every means to become a Government functionary, and in the end succeeded in being appointed the Director of the Arts and Crafts School.

"Some time later on, being dismissed, Ihsan Fikri devoted himself entirely to the execution of all sorts of machinations against those who had not served his interests, at the same time to shake the position of the Governor-General, Djevad Bey, who at the time received him rather coolly. Ihsan Fikri even got bills posted, accusing the Vali of incapacity. He undertook to organise a meeting to protest against the Local Government's conduct.

"But an opposition party was organised with the intention of baffling Ihsan Fikri's and his acolytes' plan. This counter-party was composed of Bekdji-Bachi Mehmed, Khalib Tchaoush, etc. Later on, the two parties, fearing grave results, abandoned the idea of meetings.

"In all these affairs and above all in the affair of revolver and rifle shots, the authorities have shown an extraordinary and unpardonable weakness. Yet the Armenians, arrested for having fired in the air (on the occasion of Easter festivities) were soon liberated, while the Turks, arrested for same reason, were imprisoned. In the meantime, Armenian merchants, in their personal interests, related to the Armenians and to Moslems separately that they were going to be massacred.

"Without counting those arms smuggled, there were 12,000 guns introduced into Adana by the ports of Mersin and Alexandretta.

"In the meantime a Mussulman was killed by an Armenian who was hidden by his coreligionists.

"The Government demanded the criminal, but the Armenians refused, saying that they could not give up the Armenian without a Mussulman being given to them who previously had killed an Armenian.

"In the evening, 31st March (13th April), a certain Mahmoud fired a revolver at Tepe Baghi.

"The Military Patrol wanted to arrest him, but they were prevented by a crowd of 500 Moslems, who rush at the patrol, asking why they do not arrest also the Armenians.

"The next day other Moslem prisoners were set at liberty by the mob and by the chief of the police.

"After these incidents, the armed Mussulmans begin to circulate about the town and organise anti-Government manifestations; a Moslem was then killed by an Armenian. During all this effervescence, the Armenians who were already excited by the demonstrations, also armed, come out into the streets.

"The Government had called out the reservists under arms and, as the soldiers coming out of the Military depôts, for want of uniform, still wore their civil costumes, thereupon the population as a whole, believing that the Government had officially authorised the massacre of the Armenians, made a rush on the depôts, got hold of the arms and *ammunition, and executed atrocities which made the Martial Court shudder and weep. The authorities, during that time, had only sought to save their own lives, all had disappeared: they have imprisoned a crowd of Armenians as being disturbers.*

"This was then the Government's attitude; as for the Martial Court, it has judged and condemned 15 persons, Mussulman and non-Mussulman, whose culpability has been established and they have been executed.\*

"There are still 700 to 800 people who are as criminal as those who were hanged. So, if we must punish all those who made themselves guilty of violences and all sorts of ordinary crimes, we must judge yet 10,000 to 15,000 people, and if all the crimes are to be punished, the whole population of the Vilayet must be punished."

The Armenian Patriarchate with a Takrir (official letter document) 7/20 July energetically protested against the Martial Court for so unjustly accusing the Armenians as the cause.

On 16/29 July the rebel Van (Babanzade) and the president of the Martial Court were dismissed from office, then the Military Commandant of Smyrna, Fazli Pasha was sent to Adana to replace Kenan Pasha, the dismissed president of the Court Martial, Kenan's duty was to judge the accused officials of the Government.

The unfortunate Babikian, while completing his report, suddenly died in his house at Aya-Stephanos (a suburb of Constantinople) on 19 July/1 August, 1909, two days before the date when he was going to present his valuable report to the Ottoman Parliament.

His death caused a great sensation in Constantinople, many thought he

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\* Read the very interesting book "Armenians and the Young Turks...Massacres of Cilicia", by M. A. Adossidès. Edition P. V. Stock, Paris... read specially pages 30 to 93, (Georges Brézol.)

was poisoned by the Itihad Party; their motive being to prevent this report being presented. Others said he was so moved by the Adana tragedy and the misery following it, that while he was preparing his report he was often overcome by violent emotions, until at last he fell dead. The public suspicion survived all denials.

His funeral ceremony, arranged by the Armenian Patriarchate, was of a most imposing character.

Here we give an extract of Babikian effendi's report:

"Everybody is free to have an opinion, to express his innermost thoughts and hide nothing that is the truth. I will tell then, the whole truth, and will frankly repeat even with audacity, all that I saw and learnt.

"Ever since I was 18 years old, I found myself mixed with various troubles in Bulgaria and in Herzegovina, I saw many things, I was present at the massacres of Kirk-Kilisse, near Adrianople; but I never saw anything like the massacres and the deprivations which have taken place in the Vilayet of Adana. They have surpassed all that happened under Abdul Hamid; for under the latter's regime people followed at least some sort of order, the old men were not touched, nor the invalids, nor women or children; the pillage did not attain such an extreme degree, and the losses were never so enormous. While at Adana, they have burnt the sick and the wounded; every male from 12 years upwards has been exterminated at Missis, Hamidie, Baghdje, Osmanie, Hassan Beyli. Everything has been burnt; women, children of 6 years have been wounded. All sorts of filthy acts have been committed. For instance, at Tarsus, two women of 60 told me themselves they were violated as also four little girls of 8 to 10 years! In the presence of Essad Bey, Mutissarif of Mersin, and other official personages, we obtained of a mid-wife a report stating that these women and children had been cruelly violated. In the hospital ward, opened by the British Consul's wife, were a number of children horribly mutilated and we heard their groans. People declared that the day following the commencement of the events, advice was given to the mob, not to touch the Greeks, but, all the same, some of them also were massacred...

"*Losses.*—According to the results obtained by my inquiries, the loss in men amounted to from 25,500 to 30,000. The Governor officially gave the figures as 1,500 Christians and 1,900 Moslems: but it ended in admitting 6,000 victims in Adana town alone. They employed all and every means to hide the number of Christian killed; the priests, vicars and *Moukhtars* of various places, who alone could have given an exact idea, were all killed. At Hamidie, according to the consular reports and newspaper correspondents, the victims numbered 2,000; but here, too, the priests

being massacred, one cannot exactly estimate the number of the dead; many navvies and day-labourers who had come from many parts to find work here, have disappeared also into the turmoil. 50,000 peasants, at least, had come from Moussoul and other places for husbandry [these figures cannot be exaggerated, the reader need only remember for comparison, the hop-picking and other similar seasons. Ed.] and the enquiries proved that at least 20,000 of them were Armenians.

“In the course of a conversation, the present Vali of Adana, Zihni Pasha told me that 13, 500 Armenian lived in the town, and consequently there could not have been 15,000 victims. He forgot that on the previous day he asserted that 12,000 Armenian workmen had camped under tents near the railway station, he had already dismissed 10,000 by sending them back to their homes. When I reminded him of this, he stopped the conversation: because it is proved by evidence that at least 10,000 of these men were attacked unawares on their way, and finding themselves defenceless, were killed or beaten to death.

“Three thousand inhabitants of Hadjin who, too, had gone to Adana to earn their bread, have for ever disappeared.

“In my opinion, the victims are certainly over 20,000, but to obtain a more exact figure, it would be necessary to open a minute enquiry, which would require much time and investigation...

“The material losses, shown by Zihni Pasha, amount to £T96, 000, but I am convinced that, by adding a nought (0) to the right of those figures, we would still find ourselves below the truth. The Syrian notable Ilias Turkman, himself alone lost more than £T30, 000 in property. In the Bahdje Caza, if we wanted to rebuild the 1,000 cottages destroyed at the rate of £T25 each (575 francs), we would want another £T25, 000: and in reality these houses were worth from £250 to £500 each, at least. This shows the absurd inaccuracy of the submitted statistics. The buildings burnt, in the town of Adana alone, were insured for £T750, 000, which confirms my certain belief that the total losses experienced, in reality, would not be under £T3, 000,000.

“The massacres began Wednesday, March 31st (13th April) and lasted three consecutive days; Sunday 12/25 they recommenced at 10 p.m. (Turkish time), on the arrival of troops from Roumelie and did not cease before the following Tuesday.

“The Turks attacked the Armenian quarters; the latter have therefore killed some Turks in self-defence only, against the former's attacks: which proves that the Armenians were not insurgent and had not gone to attack the Turks in their quarters! This shows in a very certain manner that it was an affair of premeditated organisation for killing the Christians without mercy...

“Djevad Bey pretended not to have sufficient Militia to check this popular movement; but that is not true, because if he liked he could have very well prevented these sanguinary scenes. And in fact, how is it that a certain Osman Bey, living in an Armenian quarter, having sent a sealed letter to the Vali, Djevad Bey, the massacres immediately ceased in that quarter. This proves that the authorities were in connivance with the mob and that they could have at once stopped the movement if they wished!

“The pretext of the second massacre of 12/25 April was an imaginary attack by the Armenians, on the soldiers arrival from Roumelia. The latter rushed on the Armenian quarter, the fire and pillage recommenced terribly. Our Enquiry proved that from the Armenian quarter, the soldiers’ camp was absolutely invisible; the shots fired on the camp were from a Turkish house situated on the hill, and the rumours of an attack by the Armenians, falsely spread by the seditious people, was but a stratagem to let fall the responsibility of the events on those inoffensive Armenians... We did not agree on this point with my colleague Youssouf Kemal Bey ; he was rather inclined to think that the Armenians had fired on the soldiers from this quarter, whilst it is proved that on that spot there were no more Armenians existing, since the first massacres of 31/13 April...

“It is averred that the Armenians possessed neither bombs nor dynamite, and that is a calumny flung by the Vali Djevad Bey in the face of this nation in order to hide all the atrocities committed by his savage hordes... women and children were mutilated, carried to buildings where they were burnt alive. They split open the pregnant women to pluck out the foetus... Pure and simple inventions, too, the existence at Nadjarli (small village close to Deurt-Yole) of two cannons manufactured by the Armenians with water pipes, etc., etc. All this intended to make believe the insurrection of the Armenians, and to justify as much as possible the savage acts of the mob, encourage by the authorities. Djevad Bey makes out that 12,000 arms were introduced into Adana and bought by the Armenians. It is true that the latter used arms, but the greatest part of those brought in, have been distributed to the low-class Moslems.\*

“Had the Armenians the right of carrying arms? I think it out of all doubt, every man having the right to be armed for his defence. The Armenians could be armed, as well as the Turks; and this race so often massacred and decimated, had even, more than any other, the supreme right of arming for its defence...

“If the Government disarmed all the various races of the people, the

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\* See the report of the British Consul, Major Doughty Wylie, and the letters of his wife (Mrs. Doughty Wylie).

Armenian too, would naturally be too. But unfortunately, he is the only one to be disarmed, in order to be attacked easily by the others and butchered like sheep...

“There is nothing to prove not even to give an idea on an Armenian insurrection at Adana; they have, on the contrary, been sacrificed to the manoeuvres of the reactionaries...

“The massacres at Osmanie, Hamadie, Tarsus, Deurt-Yole, Hadjin and of other places are the corollaries and the abridged image of the Adana movement. The same order has given them all birth; and this artificial popular movement everywhere by the same chief, was produced in consequence of false rumours spread: ‘The Armenians are going to massacre you.’ Here is a proof: the Governor of Djebeli Bereket, Assaf Bey, telegraphed on the 2/15 April, ‘Deurt-Yole is said to march on Adana and Osmanie’ but this news is fabricated; when by a telegram of the same date he informed Osmanie and the Vilayet that the achiret (clan) of Tadjirli was marching on Deurt-Yole. The telegrams to Adana, Osmanie and Hamidie said that the events were accomplished by the Moslems non-native of the Vilayet; Assaf Bey, by a telegram of 13/26 April to the Minister of the Interior said: ‘the united Fedai (volunteers) of Hassan Beyli and Zeitoun, threaten to come as far as Adana devastating the whole Liva,’ and directly he telegraphed again to the Ministry and to the Vilayet, on 4/17 of April, asking permission to free the 400 convicts, arrested in the fort of Payas, and to arm them, by using the arms and ammunition which came from the depots of Alexandretta, in order to make of them a good battalion. From this it can be seen his aim was to obtain the help of these convicts to massacre the Armenians....

“It was related at Hamidie that an Armenian prelate had fired on a certain Arslan Bey and that this was the beginning of the massacres. But our enquiry proved to us that this news was also false: for this prelate had gone all alone to the authorities, for the purchase of land for £T40, and it was there that he was beaten to death. We learnt all this from a trustworthy witness, M. Sabatier, a French manufacturer, and Abdul Khalik, an honourable Mussulman of Hamidie itself...\*

“I will try to prove by what follows, that the aim of the massacre was the annihilation of the Armenians and Christians.

“In the evening of 14/27 April, after the second massacres, the gendarmes were taking the escaped Armenians outside the town to shelter them under tents, in the open; at that moment, the Arc de Triomphe of the Constitution, raised in front of the Governor’s palace, was smashed with axes

\* Djevad Bey wrote just the reverse, by accusing the priest of firing the first shot, and as proof he brought forward the evidence of a Frenchman M. Pons. Is it a fact that such a Frenchman may have witnessed thus, when M. Sabatier and others worthy of faith, state the contrary.—(Georges Brézol)



by the soldiers and the gendarmes, who shouted at the same time 'Long live Abdul Hamid, down with the Constitution,' while the crowd was applauding with frenzy, in the presence of all the civil and military officials.

*“Conclusion.—*I hesitated a long time before writing all I saw and learnt, fearing to offend the feelings and the amour-propre of the Muslims, but after ripe reflections, I decided to say the whole truth, thinking that the acts committed by a mob cannot wound a nation in the very essence, because it is not responsible for perverse people's conspiracies; besides, the Moslem religion itself orders always to tell in all things the truth. That is why I decided to hide nothing of the truths that were revealed to me through my inquiries, and to dissimulate in nothing my personal convictions on the sanguinary movements at Adana.

“I do not think that the publication of my report to be of a nature so as to disturb the fraternity of divers elements, and I am fully convinced that this folly to murder cannot be renewed. It was a natural thing under the tyrannical regime to hide the whole truth, and it is because these wounds are left open without care, that gangrene is provoked. The time had come for showing it in the broad daylight, and for thinking of healing it.\*

(Signed) HAGOP BABIKIAN.

“Constantinople, 25 May, 1909 (2/ June, 1909).”

The colleague of M. Babighian, Youssouf Kemal Bey, who disagreed on some points with the former, did not present his report to the Chamber, and as a reward for his keeping silence, he was appointed inspector of the Ottoman students in Paris, where he was sent and assisted to become a student of Law.

Zohrob effendi and Vartkes effendi, two Armenian deputies in the Ottoman Parliament, were chosen by the Armenian nation as plenipotentiaries to pursue the case at the Porte, but with no result...

Some say that they were forced into silence, as they begun to suspect worse consequences. Others say that the Armenian (Ex-Revolutionary) Committee, Dashnakzutune made common cause with the Committee of Union and Progress, on condition that the former said nothing about Adana...

\* The Deputy M. Babikian suddenly died in Constantinople some time after he returned from Adana, before he was able to read his report in the Ottoman Chamber. His report was not read, nor that of his colleague Youssouf Kemal Bey saw light, why then were they sent to Adana to enquire, if their reports were not to be followed up? (Georges Brézol, "Les Turcs ont passé la...").

*Third Martial Court.*—When Ismail Fazli Pasha arrived at Adana, in order to spare the Military susceptibilities, there was a fresh Court Martial; this one would have two presidents. The examinations began with the old papers.

The spiritual heads of the various Christian Communities at Adana, presented to Ismail Fazil Pasha the following report:

TO HIS EXCELLENCY, ISMAIL FAZLI PASHA ,  
PRESIDENT OF THE MARTIAL COURT OF ADANA

“We have the honour of bringing to your notice, our evidence and to inform you of our observations on the regrettable events at Adana.

1. Soon after the proclamation of the Constitution, certain partisans of the old regime and a gang of fanatics discontented with the change, tried, having as their object the overthrow of the Constitutional Regime, to sow discontent among the population, declaring that the Constitution is not consistent with the principles of Islamism, and that according to *Cheri* the fraternisation of Mussulmans with the Christians, is materially impossible. This fact also can be proved in a judicial way.

2. No one ignores the fact that the eventful massacres of the Christians during the *Ramazan* or the *Courban Bairam*, rumours of which were circulated, were forestalled and prevented, thanks to the great vigilance which was displayed, and to the precautionary measures taken.

3. A few months before the sinister events, the Committee of Union and Progress, having learnt that a general massacre was in preparation at Tchaili and at Ovodjik, sent there a few of its members, who, verifying the said rumours, stated the absolute truth.

4. All these incidents have been completed by the conduct of certain calumniators and some reprobates, enemies of the country and the nation, who directed all their efforts to produce a general massacre, by over-exciting the Mussulman population's mind through a heap of false rumours, such as the boring by the Christians of an underground passage leading to the depôt and the purchase of arms by the latter with evil intentions. In addition, these people incited against us the hatred and the animosity as also the jealousy of the Moslems, by making them believe that we had the intention of founding a principality in the environs of Adana.

5. At that moment we were not sufficiently aware of the plans preparing secretly. Nevertheless we could see the change in the behaviour of the Moslems towards the Christians. The Vali Djevad Bey, having gone to Hamidie, had prevented, in his turn, the ringing of the Church bells with the intention of creating troubles. The young Moslems were seeking some pretext to start disorders. An incident of the least importance happened in

the Tosbaghi quarter, furnished them the opportunity to realize the aim they proposed. In the course of a dispute between a young Christian and some young Moslems, two of the latter were wounded, one of them afterwards dying of his wounds. This served as a pretext to certain perturbators for agitating the whole of the Moslem population against the Christians.

6. After the incident the Moslems gathered all night and walked in crowds in the streets, spreading terror amongst the Christian population. In the night of 30th of March, 1325 (12th of April, 1909), Dr. Chambers and Pastor Hampartzum Ashdjian, went, in company with Dr. Hampartzum Salebian, to the Governor Djevad Bey, to draw his attention to these things and ask him for measures to be taken. The Vali assured them by saying, 'Don't be afraid, there is nothing,' but he took no measures to keep order.

7. In the evening of the 31st March, 1325 (13th April, 1909), a numerous portion of the Moslem populace had gathered in front of the Konak (palace) to discuss on the subject of organising a massacre of Christians and of a great ravage. In this crowd of people were present the Vali Djevad Bey, the divisional general Mustapha Remzi Pasha, Bagdadi Zade Abdul Cader, Guerguerli Zade Ali, the director of the police, Cadri Bey, the police Commissary of Adana, Dahbaghzade Hadji Ali effendi, Hamali Zade Mohammed effendi, etc., etc. Some of the crowd was by calumnies and lies, exciting the Moslem population. 'We must massacre the ghiaours,' they cried, 'because they have murdered two Moslems in the vineyards and have committed other crimes.' And while the director of the police, Cadri Bey, was trying to stop these agitators, the Vali Djevad Bey, knowing full well that the rumours spread were absolutely false, made no effort to correct and to reprimand the authors. Encouraged by this indifference of the Vali, the horde started marching and massacred, in front of the tower, the man Loutfik, a mason. Next day they made demonstrations, against which the governor showed no activity.

8. In the morning of 1/14 April, 1909, the Christians hesitated to open their shops, because they saw that the Moslem population in the town itself, as well as in the streets, was wearing the white turban and that they were armed and carried cudgels. Djevad Bey, instead of dispersing these groups, sent for the religious heads and told them to get the Christians to open their shops, this clearly shows the aims which the Vali had in view, by his behaviour. (2) At that moment Djevad was asked to send a detachment of soldiers to disperse the crowd. The Vali, while agreeing that the proposition was right and logical, renounced its execution. (3) The sentinels placed the same morning by Rifaat Bey, the major of the gendarmerie, for the safety of the market, were released by the Ex-Alay Bey. Needless to explain the

aim and tendency of this measure. (4) The same day, at a moment when Abdul Kader effendi and his son Abdul Rahman effendi as well as Guerguerli Zade Ali effendi, David effendi Ourfalian (this last named was an Armenian), acting on the orders of the Vali, were working to get the shops opened, the said David effendi, was murdered immediately he had left his Mussulman companions.\* How is one to explain this murder? (5) At the same moment, when they were breaking open the first shop to pillage it, the Vali Djevad Bey and Mustapha Remzi Pasha, looked on the scene with utter indifference, this naturally doubled the plunderers' courage. (6) Again the same day they massacred, in the very presence of the Vali, the man Artin effendi Chadrihian, member of the Municipality, as also Mazoub effendi, an employee of the Cadastres bureau (registrar of the survey of lands) without the slightest opposition from Djevad Bey. (7) The same day, Khatif effendi, son-in-law of Cazaz Zade Muchteba effendi, Dabbagh Zade Ali effendi, and a large crowd of bashi-Bazouks (civilians) ran to the Konak (palace) crying, 'Islamism exists no longer; the ghiaours are murdering our women and daughters, give us arms.' They asked the Vali and Mustapha Remzi for Martini rifles. Their wishes were immediately satisfied, and the same facilities were accorded in the districts of Adana.

9. The poor Christians who tried to put out the conflagration of their houses were shot down by Mauser rifles, from the tops of the minarets, from the clock-tower, from the high houses of Moslems, as also across the tiles of the roof of the Arts and Crafts School, and this was directed by Guerguerli Zade. This fact constitutes not only an act of injustice, but also a convincing argument in the matter of the provokers of the disastrous events.

10. In case a research was proceeded with to find out the authors of compromising telegrams, dispatched to the Adana Vilayet, without any doubt, sufficient information could be obtained about the agitator of the Adana events. In this respect, we draw your serious attention to the attitude of the editor of the Adana paper *Ittidal*, before and after the events.

11. During the days of massacres and pillages, when we went to the authorities, we often saw there the Moslem notables in the midst of deliberating. These were Bagdadj Zade Abdul Kader effendi, his son Abdul Rahman, and his son-in-law Bekir, Guerguerli Zade Ali effendi, Boshnak Zade Salib effendi, Abdal Kiyassi Kerim, the Ulema Mufti Zade Muchtebi effendi, Batoumli Zade Osman effendi, and Dabbagh Zade Hadji Ali effendi, etc., etc.

12. On 12th of April, 1325 (25th April, 1909), the day when the massacres commenced for the second time, the men Kybrisli Oglou Sulieman

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\*David Ourfalian effendi was the first victim of the Adana events. He was struck dead by superior orders.

and It Ouyoutmaz Ali, of Saldjilar, were running to the Konak crying, 'The ghiaours have killed two soldiers and left no Mussulmans alive in the Saldjilar quarter.' Without proceeding to verify these utterly unfounded statements, Mustapha Remzi Pasha gave his soldiers, at the sound of the trumpet, the order to attack.

13. The above-named personages, who, not satisfied with the massacres, pillages and fires, lasting from 1/14 to 3/16 April, tried to organize others and hide their faults. But, how were they to realise their end, if not by causing a worse massacre and a more disastrous ravage than those preceding. Indeed, the Roumelian soldiers, known by their liberalism and by the services they rendered to the Country, who were, until then, ignorant of past events, were assailed, at the moment of putting up their tents, by rifle shots intentionally fired by some Moslems shouting. 'The ghiaours are firing at the soldiers; still they won't remain quiet. The soldiers received then from Mustapha Pasha the order to attack and commit terrible ravages.\*

Thinking they were quelling an insurrection they killed a great number of Christians, and burned, by using paraffin, the churches, the houses, the shops of great value, while the real devastators, the traitors of the Country were marveling at the success of their plans. Which is now the Martial Court that could reprimand them? Who is the man who would dare to condemn these atrocious acts to save the soldiers' honour?

14. Had the Court Martial wished to press a little the Moslems who massacred the Christians, plundered their properties and furniture, and burnt their houses, these would easily confess and point out the persons of whom they received orders, and truth and justice would thus be established.

"The Christian and Moslem populations who lived in Adana and its appendages, lived for years in peace and security even during the events of 14 years ago, which gave over Asia Minor to fire and blood, the town of Adana entirely', and its districts partly, were free from massacres and ravages.

"Now, what we expect from the honourable Court Martial, is, that instead of punishing the common assassins, the searching out of the principal provokers should be undertaken, in order to inflict on them exemplary punishments, for having been the first to incite the former to commit these ravages; let not thousands of our Mussulman compatriots be condemned to death for having been simple enough to be the dupes of the calumnies of the enemies of the Country and the nation; let the authors of the events

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\*This fact all the same did not prevent an official report to support the statement that the soldiers, who arrived on the 12/25 April, did not move! (Georges Brézol).

alone, be they high officials or ordinary employees, notables or ulemas, be justly condemned; let the innocent people be saved, let justice be done for all and the sacred soil of the Country, may not be stained with the blood of the innocent.

(Signatures)

“The Syrians’ and the Catholic Greeks’ Patriarchal Vicar (delegate).

“The Spritual Head of the Protestant Armenians of Adana.

“The Patriarchal Vicar of the Gregorian Armenians of Adana.

“The Bishop of the Catholic Armenians of Adana.

“The Patriarchal Vicar of the Chaldaeans of Adana.

“The Patriarchal Vicar of Melkite Syrians of Adana.

“The Patriarchal Vicar of the Greeks of Adana.”

At last, on the 16/29 of July were arrested and judged the following personages: Assaf Bey\*, the Governor of Djebeli-Bereket; Djevad Bey, the ex-Vali of Adana; Mustapha Remzi Pasha, the Military Commandant of Adana; Baban Zade Abdul Cader, Bagdai Zade, Rahman Abdul (the former’s son), Guerguerli Ali effendi, Ihsan Fikri, the editor of *Ittidal*, Dabbagh Zade Hadji Ali and his son Raghil, Deli Mahmoud Oglou Hassan, Zor Ali, the Adana Police Commissary, Hussein Daim, Ex-Major at Adana, Bosnali Salih and Mahmoud, Pamboukdji Murteza and his son Bairakdar Zade Eshref Bey, Yasmadji Khatibi Hodja, Cara Mehmed Mustapha effendi, secretary of the Adana Municipality, and others.

Ishan Fikri, from his prison cell wrote *threatening* utterances in his paper against Babighian (who’s tragic death afterwards the reader doubtless remembers) and against the Grand Vizier, Hilmi Pasha. In the end the Ministerial Council on the 31st of July (12th of August) officially admits the innocence of the Armenians in the Adana events, and the Vizier published this declaration, which we give below :

*The Armenians and the Government,*

“The Grand Vizier’s circular, addressed to the Provincial Authorities, on the events of Adana.

“The efforts displayed by a portion of the Armenian community, when acts of oppression and tyranny were in use in the Governmental Administration, are well known. These efforts, in whatever manner they were displayed in principle could not be blamed, since they were accomplished only with the intention of freeing themselves from a yoke, which had become unbearable, and of a despotic Government. Quite the contrary, the Armenians have given many proofs of sincere attachment to the Ottoman

\*The Martial Court at first refused to examine Assaf Bey, for he had already been declared not guilty by the Ex-Martial Court of Erzin. But the Ministerial Council decided on the 20th of July (2nd of August) his re-examination.

fatherland, by giving practical assistance to the efforts displayed by the nation to obtain the Constitution.

“It was especially after the grant of Constitution that, being convinced that it would be foolish to follow any other political tendency, they concentrated their efforts to work in harmony for the nation’s well-being, recognising that the salvation, the happiness they desired, could only be obtained by a faithful and devoted attachment to the Ottoman Constitutional Government. *Therefore, the bad opinion conceived by those who did not know the truth, and according to which the Armenian people were entertaining blamable political designs, certainly has not its raison d’être.*

“As for the origin of the deplorable events of Adana, the conclusions of the inquiries made on this subject by special Commissions and the circumstances in which those deplorable facts have spread, have shown that the Armenian nation stating that, even after the grant of the Constitution, efforts were made, as in the time of absolutism, to destroy the sentiments of fraternity, have drawn up complaints, which have led to false interpretations on the part of the simple folk. And the populace, which until then, ignored the name and the programmed of the Committee Dashnaktzoutune and Hintchak, seeing their members spontaneously showing themselves in the broad light, has imagined things and formed groundless superstitions and provoked erroneous interpretations. The result of these interpretations caused horror to be spread among the Armenians, which created mutual distrust and misunderstanding.

“In such circumstances the duty of the local authorities is to discover the origin of these misunderstandings, to bring together the various elements to suppress the mutual mistrust and to re-establish and assure union and fraternity.

“Unfortunately the high functionaries of the state, by a deplorable inertia, kept silence, which fact on one side made the situation and the misunderstandings worse, and on the other side gave the populace the opportunity to take a disrespectful attitude towards the Governmental force. It was thus that the deplorable events broke out for the only reason that the functionaries did not, from the very beginning, fulfil their duty with devotion and abnegation. *Otherwise, it is unquestionably proved that the Armenian nation has not at all departed from the devotedness of which it always gave proofs, towards the Ottoman Empire.*

“By judging from this state of things, the real instigators and those of the functionaries who failed in their duty, will naturally be punished according to the law. Only in some quarters, it is regrettable to see that imaginary and groundless hypotheses are being produced; indeed they (these

hypotheses) are contrary to the secular relations and to the sincerity of the fraternal sentiments necessary for the sustenance of the good entente of the different races which are united by ties of natural interests.

“In order to suppress all these suppositions and these doubts, you must decree all the necessary measures to bring about the wellbeing and good feeling among all the Ottoman subjects, without any distinction of race, and try to strengthen the sincerity of patriotism which is an absolute necessity for the Constitution.—8/21 August, 1909 (22 Redjeb, 1327 of Hedjire).

“The Grand Vizier. HUSSEIN HILMI.”\*

Zia Bey, a member of the Court Martial, came to Constantinople, and protested against the Cabinet for having exculpated the Armenians.

The Court Martial behaved very leniently with the above-mentioned prisoners, there was therefore a great deal of discontent at Adana. The spiritual heads of the Christian communities at Adana sent on the 5/18 August, the following report, to the Patriarchates at Constantinople and to the headquarters of Protestant and other Christian denominations.

We give here this report:

“We beg to bring to your knowledge the following:

“The Adana Court Martial shows itself hesitating and indulgent in its actions and proves itself incapable in the application of justice and equity. It is exercising a marked inclination to hide the criminal event, or even diminish the gravity or again to change the real character. It is purposely deceiving itself and shutting its eyes to avoid seeing the truth, and completely disfigures the facts. It is trying to exonerate altogether the Ex-Vali Djevad Bey, and the divisional General Mustapha Remzi Pasha, under the pretence that the former was an incapable man and the latter slightly demented:

“The Vali, was not, however, an incapable man; and we are all firmly convinced that he voluntarily permitted these acts of atrocity, by failing to fulfil his duties as Vali. Neither was the divisional General Mustafa Remzi Pasha demented as suggested, but rather was an organizer of the events of this kind, even in the past. As proof of this, he himself conducted the events at Marash. Is it therefore for political aims that they (the Court Martial) wish to make one believe that these men are the one soft, and the other incapable. We very much fear that the Court Martial is using such arguments out of good will, wishing to completely exonerate, or he satisfied by inflicting insignificant punishments. And according to what we learnt, this punishment is said to consist in not giving these men government appointments for a few years. It is however noteworthy that the said persons are not only the chief provokers and the organisers of the principal events at Adana, but also the undoubted cause of the extension of the criminal

\* The Grand Vizier, Hussein Hilmi Pasha, resigned his post towards the end of December 1909, and he was replaced by S. E. Hakki Pasha, Ex-Turkish Ambassador at the Royal Court of Italy.



movement in the other parts of the Vilayet, by the compromising and exciting telegrams which they sent around. Only the Mutessarif of Mersin and the Lt.-General of Selefke, disobeyed their orders. When the Mutis-sarif of Selefke showed to the said Colonel the three telegrams he had received from the Vali of Adana, notifying him of the general massacres, the Lt.-Colonel replied to him '*This order emanates from the infamous Hamid: show me an order of the army, I will immediately execute it...*!' and as a true patriotic man, he energetically defended the Christians of Se-lefke and did not at all tolerate crimes being committed in the town.

"We are firmly convinced that all the aforesaid acts were committed by the Governor Djevad Bey, with the connivance of the divisional General Mustapha Remzi Pasha. So much the more so that the massacres commenced with a command to shoot, and ended by another, 'cease firing,' both given by the so-called incapable Vali and by the 'soft' Mustapha Remzi Pasha. We think that these were premeditated acts, rather than proofs of incapacity and 'softness.'

"The Martial Court is behaving with an indulgence unheard of, a clemency towards the malefactors and the averred guilty ones; it is acting with violence, contempt and anger towards the unfortunate victims, the widows and orphans. At a time when Government assistance ought to have been, in such circumstances exclusively reserved for the unhappy stricken people, quite the contrary is taking place here, thus encouraging the criminals, by causing great affliction and consternation to the unfortunate people.

"The Christians, called by the Commission of Enquiry of the Martial Court to give evidence, are threatened and insulted with unfit and vulgar language. '*It is not your fault, they say, but the government's, for having spoilt you to such a degree. You wish the most honest and the most pious, the hodjas and the Mussulman Hadjis to be condemned to death? You would like that!*' If this is the way of proceeding of the Adana Martial Court, one can judge that of the Inquiry Commissions acting under its orders in various towns of the Vilayet. The Martial Court is in an intimate relation with the native Moslems; it does not wish to have any intercourse with us. Christians. It would not be possible for it to establish true justice, for it is basing its judgments on the old reports of the Enquiry, which was composed of the partisans of Absolutism, and on false evidence given by a number of old spies and by certain Christian witnesses, who gave evidence under pressure and threats; because of these false witnesses, a number of innocent Christians were condemned to the gallows or to hard labour. Other Christians condemned to imprisonment may succumb in the cells of Payas fortress; some are incarcerated at Adana, seized by fear, our

communities are living in a very perplexed state of mind. To-day, the innocence of the Armenians is as clear as daylight; and although it is already affirmed by the Imperial Government, the Armenians still remain accused as provokers of the disorders: and they want the proceedings of the notable Armenian prisoners to take place, starting from this principle.

“The persons Kibar Oglou Mohammed and Ismail Azmi, the latter’s son-in-law Abdul Kerim and his bloodthirsty sister Sinem, massacred and caused to be massacred all the virile men in the villages of Abdi-Oglou and Missis, and of the little town of Ghayirli, as well as those living in the neighbouring farms of Adana.

“Now, we have just learnt that instead of condemning these people to death, it is said that they are satisfied by temporarily inflicting the punishment of hard labour.

“If this news be confirmed, it would be impossible for Christians to stay as much in Adana as in the district; they would find themselves in the sad necessity of leaving the country. Some Moslems having killed 40 to 50 Christians at once are very lightly punished.

“Blackguards whose crimes are amply proved, confirmed by the evidence of numerous honourable witnesses, are left free from all prosecution. Assassins who, in the environs of Adana, have entirely massacred and ruined the Christians, are little by little set free.

“It would only be throwing dust in one’s eyes to exhibit in the Konak (Palace) ground, some rags of old clothes and miserable pieces of burnt melted copper, in order to make the people believe they are returning the articles recovered, when the Christians’ goods, ransacked by the Moslems, are kept. Moslems, who were begging ten paras (one half-penny) in the streets, have become possessed of big shops and warehouses, and are living in comfort; on the other hand, the once rich Christian merchants and bankers are without shelter, without a home, in the gutter, and are living on public charity.

“In order to trace the authors of the massacres and the real agitators, the Martial Court ought to have tried other means than that of asking Christian witnesses, who, with the idea of saving their lives, were hidden in holes during the sad events.

“The men, Boshnak Salih, Guerguerli Ali, Pamoukdji Mestelli, Kassab deli Mehmed, and his son Hussein, Dabbagh Zade Hadji Ali effendi, Ismail Sefa, Dibban Zade Mohammed, and other notables and ulemas, not only have not been troubled, but what is more, no judicial action has been taken against these influential culprits.

“We are now making every effort for the deliverance of the innocent Christians imprisoned at Adana and its districts and we anxiously wait the result of our appeal.

“The Martial Court systematically abstained from the minute examination of the matter, for fear of completely exposing the truth. The salvation of the people could in no wise approve such an attitude on the part of the Martial Court. These actions are absolutely incompatible with the glory of Ottomanism. The salvation of the country demands the strict application of justice and the execution of exemplary punishments—5 Aghostos, 1325 (18 August, 1909).”

Act signed by all the spiritual heads of Christians in Adana.

They protested on 20th August (2 September) to the Grand Vizier, and sent copies of their protests to the Armenian and Armeno-Catholic Patriarchates.

[copy]

*To His Highness the Grand Vizier.*

“Although the innocence of the Christians in the disastrous events of Adana is to-day definitely established, and the circular—declaration of the Government concerning it—is published in the official paper, the Christians accused of provocation and of the troubles are still imprisoned; this fact is causing us great affliction and despair.

“The dispositions of the said declaration have not yet been applied with regard to the Christians who are still subjected to judicial proceedings, and in consequence immensely saddened and brokenhearted.

“Therefore, we beg your Highness, in the name of the Constitutional Government, kindly to transmit, as soon as possible, and to the greatest satisfaction of all the Ottomans, the necessary orders for the release of the accused Christians and of all innocent prisoners.—20th Aghostos, 1325 (2nd September, 1909).”

Signed by all the spiritual heads of Adana.

It was hoped that this Martial Court will be more just and inflict severe punishments on the criminals. The persecuted class was disappointed seeing these inadequate punishments. Here are a few examples:

“Djevad Bey, the Ex-Vali of Adana, was condemned to holding no Government office for six years.”\*

“Mustafa Remzi Pasha, Ex-Commandant at Adana, three months’ imprisonment.”

“Assaf Bey, Governor of Djebeli-Bereket, was pronounced innocent, then condemned to be without a post for four years.”\*\*

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\* Later on, it was decided to allow him £.T30 a month as a living.

\*\* This gentleman gets angry, goes to Egypt, there he makes it known that the crime was committed by the orders of the Government. He was invited to Constantinople, was received at the palace of

"Ihsan Fikria, the editor of *Ittidal* (Adana paper.) was condemned to living away from Adana, and publish no papers."

"Ismail Sefa, fellow contributor to the same paper, to one month's imprisonment."

"Osman Bey, Military Commandant of the Adana centre, to three months, imprisonment.

"Abdullah effendi, lieutenant to the above, to two months' imprisonment."

"Beshir Agha, an officer of Adana, to two months." Baghdadi Zade Abdul Cader, though pronounced innocent, was ordered to live in Hijaz for two years."\*

"Boshnak Salih and other notables in other towns were pronounced as not guilty."

These decisions caused a great sensation and the spiritual heads of Christians at Adana, addressed on 8/20 September, the following protest to the Grand Vizier, to the Ministries of War and Justice, and to the Patriarchates:

"It is with deep regret, and with great despair that we learnt of the judgment - sentences passed by the Martial Court and the attitude adopted by it concerning the provokers and fomenters of the regrettable events of Adana. This plunged us into utter despair and astonishment.

"This unlocked for attitude of the Martial Court seemed to us too strange and inopportune; to wit:

1. All lying accusations or every calumnious complaint brought against the unfortunate suffering Christians have been accepted, pursued with feverish activity and great energy, while all the grievances and just complaints of the Christians against the Mussulman malefactors, criminals and assassins have been met with disdain and received with apparent limitless indulgence, towards the accused. We believed that the institution of a Martial Court, after such events as grave, as monstrous, would have made its aim the application of justice everywhere by protecting the unfortunate, the suffering, and those without support, the helpless victims. Unfortunately, we have been deceived in our expectation and hope for seeing justice impartially applied.

2. Trustworthy and conscientious evidence given against the Moslems, authors of massacres and implicated in the disastrous events, has been rejected without examination, whilst the false evidence of hirelings, given in favour of the influential criminals, has been accepted without any objection. Every time the Christians succeeded in proving that such and such

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Husein Hilmi Pasha (the Grand Vizier), here he denies or contradicts, what he declared in Egypt... Afterwards goes to Smyrna, and at last to Beyrouth, where he died of consumption in 1910.

\* On the Constitution's anniversary he was pardoned.

a Mussulman killed Christians in a certain place, on every occasion the Court hastened to acquit the accused by bringing forward evidence of an alibi, supported by the statements of two false witnesses,\* This is not an instance or an example, but a statement of fact. One out of a thousand, the case of Tchenessiz Kevork, who for having killed a negro in defending himself against an attack on his person, was executed by hanging, only on the evidence of one Moukhtar Yonouz, while the latter, against whom a proceeding was commenced, under the inculpation of having massacred a great number of Christians, was fully acquitted, having succeeded in proving by false evidence of certain doubtful persons, that during the disastrous events of Adana, the said Moukhtar, a Mussulman, was absent from Adana. Now, is it not astonishing that the said Kevork, should be condemned to death, on the evidence of Moukhtar, and that, later, the imaginary absence from the town of this latter, should be admitted by the Court Martial, when the question was of a complaint brought against Moukhtar.

3. When the Christians were condemned on conjectures and false evidence it was not so for Moslems, who were not condemned, in spite of the evidence of genuine witnesses. Let us relate, for an example, the following fact: A certain Assadour, an Armenian goldsmith, was condemned to 15 years' imprisonment because the body of a Moslem was found at some distance from his house. While, when some women came to state the identity of the assassins who had killed the wife and children of the unfortunate Assadour, were turned out of the Martial Court. *'What are you seeking here,? They were asked 'do you wish to condemn here Mussulmans, because of your husbands and children. Go and mind your business. It is not your fault, but the Government's, who has spoilt you so much,'* What justice, and what a loyal tribunal.

4. During the researches and statements made with an idea of proving criminal deeds, while the Christians were cross-examined, and over with questions in order to muddle them into contradictions in their evidence, on the contrary, the Mussulmans were examined with the object in view of acquitting them. We give a few examples: "To a woman who, claimed to have been taken by force into a room where her husband was massacred, was asked the following questions: How many windows had the room where she was taken? Had it a ceiling? On what side was the door? How many steps had the staircase? etc.,etc. At such a moment is it possible to

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\*The reader must know that a Christian's evidence in Turkey is not acceptable, while the evidence of two Moslems, two passers in the street, called accidentally to give evidence false), in return for say 2/6 can nullify the evidence of a thousand Christians. O' Themis (justice); (Georges Brézol)

notice properly the position of the place, the number of windows, the side where the door was, or remember the number of steps, etc., etc. What absurd questions. Was it a time for examining the sides east or west of the house? Judge it for yourselves, if you please.

5. A few bodies of Moslems being found in the Hans (inns) called Menzil and Ohan Oglou, situated at Tarsus Kapou (at Adana), the men Kassab Missak, Khatcho, Artin, Ohaness and Garabet, all butchers by trade, immediately found their death on the gallows. While no judicial proceedings were taken against Saad-ed-dine and his companions, who killed numbers of innocent Christians in the business quarters of the town, like those at Yeni Han and Adjem Han, situated in the centre of business quarters of the town.

6. The Moslems who had attacked at *Tarsus the Military Depôt* and captured the Martini rifles, were condemned to five or six years' imprisonment, without taking into account the Christians massacred by these very arms. At Hadjin, on the contrary, the Christians who had exchanged their shooting guns with those of the gendarmes, with the very consent of the latter, were sentenced to from ten to fifteen years' imprisonment.

7. Following evidences founded only on suspicions, a Christian was condemned to fifteen years' imprisonment, while no decision ever was given in the case of 20 notable and educated protestant parsons, who were massacred without mercy and with unexampled savagery at Osmanie and at Sagh-Guetchid, in a cruel and pitiless manner.

8. The massacres committed at Abd-Oglou and Missis by the sons of Kibar (Mahmed and Suleiman) and by his son-in-law Azmi, were terrible and overflowing in cruelty. The ferocious acts committed at Chayirli and in the surrounding farms by Abdul Kehyassi Kerim and his sister Sinem, and by his base creatures were terrible enough to defile humanity. They cut the men in slices and finished them by unheard-of tortures; they burnt the women, and drowned the children in the river. No judicial proceedings whatever were taken against them, just as in the case of those other assassins who massacred more than 200 people in the villages of Tangri Verdi and Mihmandar. To what can we ascribe this state of affairs and others similar to it? We could not explain this mystery.

9. In the town of Adana alone, six churches, two schools and thousands of houses and shops belonging to Christians were burnt, covered with paraffin, by the orders of Hussein effendi, who is still at his post as architect to the Municipality. No inquiry has been opened in this matter. The Islams whose houses are now crammed with furniture and other articles stolen from the Christians are not arrested, and no one is taking any notice of Moslems who openly deal in bric-a-brac with the furniture, goods and objects of value robbed from the Christians.

10. Djevad Bey, the ex-Governor of Adana, who had permitted the massacre of thousands of Christians, the burning of the buildings worth some hundreds of thousands of Turkish pounds, and the pillage of the furniture and other goods worth some millions of pounds, has been put, as a punishment for his crimes, in a position of not holding office for five or six years. As for the divisional General, Mustapha Remzi Pasha, who had at his disposal sufficient military force to stop the massacres, he has been condemned to three months' imprisonment only,

11. Ihsan Fikri, the chief editor of *Ittadal*, who, by his dangerous articles had incited the Moslems against the Christians, was condemned to leave Adana, and his colleague, Ismail Sefa, who, by his article, '*A terrible insurrection*,' had provoked the second movement at Adana, more terrible than the first, was only condemned to one month's imprisonment.

12. Bagdadi Zade Abdul Cader and his base creatures, who had taken a serious part in the organisation and execution of the massacres, have not even been touched, or declared innocent. During the first events, Abdul Cader, sitting in front of his house, gave orders such as these, '*Kill the men, their women and properties will be yours*.' This fact being confirmed by several witnesses, we cannot understand for what reason he was acquitted, and how his creatures were submitted to no examination.

13. Assaf Bey the Mutéssarif of Erzin, who, by his compromising telegrams had provoked the ravages and murders in the Sandjak of Djebeli-Bereket, as is explicitly exposed in the official report of the Inquiry Commission, the same Assaf has been acquitted, as also have been successively liberated the majority of the people who had carried on these massacres and crimes in the firm hope of exterminating the males of the Christian population of Adana, as well as in its dependencies.

14. Are these facts, which we have just related, so unimportant as to be worthy of no attention? The Martial Court is visibly exercising a tendency to acquit absolutely the great culprits or only condemn to leaving the town, or to short imprisonments. We therefore humbly remind your Excellence, that the punishments inflicted are not equal to the height of the crimes. Your Excellence must not forget that this state of things would serve to encourage the audacity of the malefactors and assassins, to the great misfortune of the Christian population, whose sojourn in this country would be made impossible.

15. In short, the above-cited judgments are not only incompatible with the glory and the dignity of the Ottoman Government, but are also detrimental to the future of the fatherland. And, as we fear, on the other hand, that they might renew the crimes and massacres of the same kind, and as

we desire the salvation and the happiness of our country, we energetically protest against the said judgments, and we beg your excellence, in the name of Ottomanism and true patriotism, kindly to proceed to forming a mixed extraordinary Tribunal, charged with revising these above-quoted sentences, in order to definitely establish justice and equity,—8 Iloul, 1325 (21 September, 1909).

Signed by all the spiritual heads at Adana.

This Document was sent to Constantinople on 11/24 September, 1909.

### *Desperate Steps*

The Christians of Adana, hopeless and tired on all sides, appealed to the Czar of Russia, expressing their intention of entering the Orthodox Church. This step was taken to ensure a powerful protection, but through the efforts and promises of better days, the Armenian Patriarchate succeeded in dissuading them.

The Patriarchate next resigned his post, by declaring that he would only return to his duty, and look after his flock, when he saw justice completely executed. He remained in his private house, never going to the Patriarchate for months, until, in the end, the Government promised to satisfy his demands and a new Grand Vizier, replaced Hussein Hulmi Pasha, bringing with him if not satisfaction for the grievances, at least new hopes and new promises; then the Patriarch returned to his seat and renewed his appeals by addressing to Hakki Pasha (the new Vizier), proposals and demands.

The Catholicos (Archbishop) of Siss resigned also, and his post is today (1911) still vacant.

The heads of the Christian communities of Adana addressed on 13/26 November, 1909, the following Takrir to the Ottoman Parliament:

*Takrir addressed to the Chamber of Deputies, to the representatives of the noble Ottoman nation:*

“Gentlemen

“The Christian population of Adana has been, on two different occasions, abandoned to fire, pillage and massacres, for five whole days, in the beginning of last April.

“Thousands of persons of our communities were massacred without any plausible motive, their furniture and objects, worth some hundreds of thousands of Turkish pounds, were pillaged, ransacked, and their houses, shops, churches and schools, as well as their farms and vines, were purposely burnt by means of paraffin. The Vilayet of Adana, completely ravaged, is now nothing more than a cemetery for the Christian population. As you already know, honourable gentlemen, every result must have its cause, and this cause must be in proportion with the result. Yet we see no



reasonable cause capable of justifying the events of Adana. The only thing that could have brought these misfortunes upon us Christians, we suppose would be, our religion first, our tendency for progress, our excessive joy during the proclamation of the Constitution; but these things are not faults. Certain functionaries of the state want to attribute these events to the divine will, to accident, or to a fortuitous movement, suddenly burst out; but such ideas seem to us absurd. For we cannot imagine that such eminently criminal actions, like those of Adana, could be ordered or tolerated by the Almighty Creator, who is the very source of goodness and mercy. That is absolutely impossible. These events are neither the effect or the work of hazard, nor the result of an unforeseen movement. It is not the hazard, we repeat, because we can see certain grave signs of premeditation. Nor is it an unforeseen spontaneous movement, because that is only seen in the laws of nature, for instance, an earthquake.

“Others, more intelligent, attribute the cause to the enemies of the Constitution, or to the utter ignorance of the low class, or to the fanaticism of the race. Now about the marching against the Constitution, we repeat that it is not a question, which concerns Christians. The cause of the new Ottoman Regime interests all true Ottomans quite as much as the Young Turks, the Committee of Union and Progress, the army of operation. It is not therefore fair that we Christians alone should perish for the defence of the Constitution. As for the other pleaded motives, such as the people’s ignorance and the fanaticism of the race, these always existed in these parts, without however ever causing such ravages.

“Some agitators are trying to give these events the appearance of revolutionary movements, or an Insurrection or riot, or again an aspiration to independence. Yet there is nothing more absurd and senseless than to point to the Christians as revolutionaries. No reasonable person could admit it. For not to recognise the benefits and advantages of a Constitutional Regime, would have been the height of absurdity on the part of the Christians.

“As for the insurrection and aspirations for independence, no one ignores that these are impossible pretensions, utopias both in moral and political points of view. Now, any vile action attempted for this end, on the part of the Christians is inadmissible, besides being ridiculous to charge them with such untrue calumnies. We are happy to see these calumnies refuted also by the circular declaration of the Government itself.

“In these circumstances, the true cause of these events constitutes for us an impenetrable mystery, and we hope the deputies of the nation will kindly solve this question and thus establish the real motives of the Adana massacres.

“We take the liberty, Gentlemen, to offer as follows our observations and convictions on this question, in the hope that it may serve as a basis to the discussions to be entered into by the Chamber, with the end of establishing the real causes of the situation:

1. To be able to commit ravages and deprivations as colossal and terrible as at Adana and its districts, the local authorities and most of the local Moslem notables agreed to work in harmony.

2. A gang of traitors, infuriated enemies of the country and of the nation, and the terrible adversaries of the Christians, dispatched calumnious telegrams about the Armenians to the Central Government of Constantinople.

3. The coincidence of the disastrous events of Adana with the reactionary movements in Constantinople, should prove the existence of a connection between the two.

4. At the beginning of the regrettable events of Adana, the co-operation and the absolute interference of the local authorities were altogether in favour of the pillagers and the general massacres.

5. The fact that the massacres, the pillages and the ravages began at one and the same time all over the Vilayet, and that they were executed under the same circumstances, amply proves that the events were organised and studied after a preconceived plan.

6. The massacres and the disorders renewed on the 12/25 and 13/26 April in Adana, were committed mostly by the Turkish soldiers intentionally deceived and abused by the populace of the town.\*

7. The local authorities showed no energy to recover the objects and furniture pillaged from the Christians' shops and their houses, and to return the goods to their proper owners.

8. The Martial Court did not act severely and with the necessary vigilance to find and punish the assassins and the criminals as they deserved, consequently they proved themselves to be incapable and even unjust.

9. The functionaries who had protected the Christians living in their quarters, have been dismissed and discharged,

10. No populace would dare to execute disasters as monstrous as those at Adana and its districts, without leaning on some superior force, guaranteeing it against all eventualities.

“Taking all these circumstances as granted, we ask what can be the cause of the Adana massacre and who are its authors and organisers. We submit to you all the preceding details, so that they may be the objects of your careful investigation.

“Although, after the Adana events, numbers of Courts Martial were

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\*Here is another proof stating; that the soldiers arrived at Adana on the 12/25 April, fired on the Christian population, and that they committed disorders. It was the army of the Constitution itself, who had come to repress the massacres and establish public order. (Georges Brézol).

formed, practically all over the province, they were all imperfect, incapable and sinned so far as energy and equity go...

They busied themselves with some ordinary assassins, without going into the question of finding out the causes and the principal fomenters of the events. They condemned the innocent Christians and acquitted the Moslems proved to be guilty. They either completely acquitted or lightly punished the Ex-Governor Djevad Bey; the Divisional General Mustapha Remzi Pasha; the Mutis-sarif of Erzin, Assaf Bey; Ihsan Fikri, the chief editor of *Ittidal*; Bagdadi Zade Abdul Cader, as also his acolytes. The Martial Courts did not think that by protecting these assassins and criminals, they would drag the country into ruin and endanger the Constitution's future. To pass over so lightly the criminal events of Adana, which have soiled the Ottoman Constitution and have become oppressive and grievous blots upon it, is acting contrary to equity and justice. This state of affairs would encourage the Moslems' audacity, to the detriment of the despairing Christian population. The attention of all the Ottoman Vilayets is fixed on Adana. Everybody wants to see just acts at Adana. The Almighty asks for justice to be fully applied. We hope that all our expectations will not be in vain, and that our demands will not remain dead letters.

"In France, the Dreyfus affair lasted some years; Midhat Pasha's son is trying to prove the innocence of his late father, why could not the revision of the Adana affair be proceeded with, having in view the definite establishment of the truth and justice. This revision, above all, is imperative in order that the various nationalities composing the Ottoman Empire may live in good understanding and in the desired union. Great importance must be attached to these events to safeguard the present and the future welfare of the country. The only way to make us forget the consequences of this grievous question would be the broad application of justice and mercy. The application of justice at Adana would have its effect in the whole of the Empire, just as the injustices committed here would serve to corrupt and ruin all our future. The criminal event at Adana puts a persistent scar on the brow of the Ottoman Constitution, and an incurable open wound in the heart of our dear fatherland. The only efficacious remedy is the application of justice and impartiality, no other means would bring the desired result. We ask, therefore, in the name of Ottomanism, for justice and equity to be applied for everybody, and let activity be shown in its execution. Briefly we entreat and expect of the honest loyalty of the High Chamber, the adoption of the following measures:

1. The institution of an extraordinary mixed tribunal with the mission of minutely revising the Adana question, and the establishment of truth and equity, and to apply justice to its fullest extent.

2. The hanging (to serve as an example to others) of 40 to 50 of the principal agitators during the disastrous events of Adana.

3. The indemnification of losses borne by the Christians, by enforcing the Moslems who personally took part in the massacres, pillage and fire, to pay compensation, as also those who permitted those ravages to take place, by their indifference or influence.

4. The creation of necessary means to live and to provide for the safety of thousands of stricken people, widows and orphans, who are now without a support on account of the Adana events.

5. The taking into consideration the deplorable position of our tradesmen and farmers, and the adoption of efficacious and convenient measures for them, so as to prevent the whole Vilayet of Adana from falling into an inextricable economical situation and to repair all damages which later on would be impossible.

6. The creating of a law, condemning to death any functionary, civil or military, who would permit or who would not make efforts to suppress, like the Ex-Governor Djevad Bey and Mustapha Remzi Pasha, any massacre or pillage which may arise in the departments under their control. This measure would serve to teach the Valis, Generals, Mutissarifs and Kaimacams to know and learn that they are not there merely to receive allowances, but rather that they are responsible employees, too, ready to serve the country and the nation, even by the sacrifice of their lives. According to report, the Ex-Vali Djevad Bey and the Divisional-General Mustapha Remzi Pasha, have taken advantage of the absence of such a law in escaping. We don't want others to perish like ourselves. The Vilayet of Adana has been destroyed; it is not necessary for other Vilayets to have the same fate.

7. We make it our duty to express to you our extreme satisfaction, and to send to you our infinite thanks for the assistance given until now by the Ottoman Chamber, and we earnestly beg you kindly to send us, as soon as possible, the sum necessary for the re-construction of our churches and schools, and to provide for the needs of the unfortunate victims, during the winter season; it being granted that the help already given, is not nearly enough for the strict necessities. "While submitting to you all these observations and these demands for your loyal decisions, we firmly hope that you will kindly study and elucidate all these questions, in a manner consistent with Ottomanism, equity and justice, and thus cause us to feel as all the Ottomans, infinitely grateful,— 13/25 November, 5909."

Signed by all the Spiritual Heads of Adana.

In the name of the whole of the Christian population, endowed with an ardent patriotism and wishing the happiness and the prosperity of the fatherland, and on behalf of all the spiritual heads of Adana, Monseigneur

Tourian, the Armenian Patriarch, had placed at the head of his demands, the punishment of the principal authors and organisers of the Adana Tragedy, and all of a sudden it was heard that the Tribunal at Adana, was burnt. Consequently the reply given to the Patriarch's Takrir was that, "The Tribunal being burnt, the Martial Court's reports and documents were destroyed, and a revision of the case was impossible..."

The new Vali, Djemal Bey, conceived then the idea of inviting all the spiritual and civil heads (Moslem and Christian) and other notables to a conciliation dinner. The Christians, especially the Catholics of Siss and the Christian Spiritual Heads of Adana, refused to go and sit beside the authors of the massacres... but the Consuls, advised by their respective Ambassadors, persuaded the various prelates to accept the invitation. [Clever Ambassadors! it is only fair to admit that they could do that much at any rate]. In the end, on 10/23 February, 1910, 300 personages, criminals, victims, Moslems and Christians, Civil and Military and Spiritual, all sat and dined...

The Turks, once more, succeeded in going unpunished under the very nose of the Christian and civilized Europe, then turned round and laughed, and laughed.

Shame to civilized Europe, shame to the 20th century humanity.



The ruins of Armenian  
Protestant church in Adana

CHAPTER IV  
THOSE WHO ARE RESPONSIBLE

*The Tragedy was pre-arranged*

Now let us summarise before proceeding. The Turks tried to make out that the massacres, pillages and fires were the outcome of excitement, while all things show that they were planned beforehand.

1. A few days before the events, the Moslems' shops were marked with chalk "Mussulman Shop," thus saving them from being plundered in error, and likewise the Christian shops were, to be sure, marked, and not to be passed.

2. A few days previously, the Moslem mob was invited from the villages into the town, and those who were at the market on Easter Tuesday, were told not to return to their homes, but to stay and help the massacres, looting and burning.

3. The Hodjas had previously preached to the Moslems, in the streets and in the mosques, and incited them to do the odious work.

4. The day on which the massacres began, all the Moslems, even the Government functionaries (who generally wear the fez) wore white turbans, in order not to be mistaken for ghiaours.

5. On this and the following days of the massacres the Moslem notables and Ulemas held council with the Vali. The dragomans and the spiritual heads of the Christian population, specially the Armeno-Catholic, Mgr. Terzian (now Patriarch) confirm this (see first report, paragraph 10).

6. On the one and the same day the movement began at Adana, Osmanie, Coz Olouk, etc.

7. Generally the Moslem notables and officials in every district conducted the "Work."

8. Everywhere there were special efforts made to destroy the Armenian public institutions: Churches, schools, etc.

9. The tortures inflicted were generally similar.

10. A few days before the second massacres the Moslems inhabiting the

Armenian quarters moved into the Moslem quarters, to escape falling victims with their Christian neighbours.

*Who were then the persons responsible for it all?*

At first it was thought that these atrocities were committed on an order from Yildiz, as was suspected even by Djevad Bey, the first private secretary of Abdul Hamid, who, it was thought, wanted to bring about another reactionary movement, and kill the newly-established Constitution. Many young Turks in Constantinople, ignorant of the facts and the causes, likewise suspected Abdul Hamid and his reactionaries and through their partisan papers asked for severe immediate punishment of those responsible. And these suspicions were not at all unnatural, as the Vali of Adana, Djevad Bey, was a pupil of the Yildiz Camarilla. The Military Commandant Mustapha Remzi Pasha had been the organiser of the 1895-96 massacres, and one of Hamid's faithfuls. The Gendarmerie Commissary was Ahmed Bey, a reactionary, ignorant and fanatical, and the Commissariat of the Centre was entrusted to Zor Ali, who was in the early days of Constitutional regime turned out of Adana for his former abuses, but inquiries failed to prove Abdul Hamid's complicity.

Supposing for a moment Abdul himself was the source and the author of the Tragedy of Adana, why did not the Constitutional Central Government try to stop the movement at once? How was it that Adil Bey, the then acting Minister of the Interior, gave, with his famous historical telegram (protect the foreign institutions) the criminal mob at Adana to understand that they could go on? Why, the soldiers sent to suppress the massacres, on the contrary, made them worse, by personally taking part? Why the Liberal Ittihadists did not oppose the mob, but rather wore the white turban, encouraged the murderers, and even led them? Why, in a word, after officially admitting the Armenians' innocence, were not those chief criminals, pointed out by the Enquiry Commission appointed by the Government, severely punished? The common Moslem criminals, irresponsible for their acts, and self-defending Armenians, why were they only punished? Why was the report of Babikian (who suddenly died) not made public? Why was the silence of Youssouf Kemal Bey (Babikan's colleague) rewarded by granting him a scholarship and sending him to Paris to study Law? With time, all came to light, and the responsibility will for ever be branded on the brow of the Government and of the Ittihadists (Young Turks).

*The Government is responsible*

Because its chief functionaries gave the orders and conducted the crimes.

1. The culpability of the Governor, Djevad Bey, is confirmed by all the Consuls, missionaries, the spiritual heads, and by his own actions, which



we have already described. He could at least have stopped the carnage, even if he had not given the orders, after the third day, with the soldiers he had at hand. He had no right, there was no need to wire: "The Armenians have revolted...are attacking us," etc.; thus exciting the Moslem massacre. When a state of siege was declared it was his duty to have stopped the publication of the paper *Ittidal*, one of the greatest factors in inciting. He is guilty for having removed the conscientious Major of Misis, where, until then, there were no massacres. All these acts should have condemned him to the gallows, yet at the first examination he was declared not guilty, and in the second, condemned... or rather pensioned off for six years, with a salary of £T30 per month.

2. Divisional General Mustapha Remzi Pasha, who was in all things one with Djevad Bey, and had ordered his soldiers to help the mob, certainly deserved hanging, but was sentenced to three months' imprisonment, which was however altered to his retirement from his military post.

3. Adil Bey, who, instead of being almost the first to be shot, for his famous telegram, was called to a higher post, by becoming adviser to the Grand Vizierate. But in Turkey, recompense has always meant punishment and vice-versa...

4. The Mutissarif of Djebeli-Bereket, Assaf Essad, who, after liberating the convicts of Erzin and Payas prisons, by their hands massacred the Armenian prisoners (imprisoned during the atrocities and without any offence), organised and directed many other massacres as we have already related, this terrible monster was, at first acquitted, then, under pressure, the Government condemned him to holding no office for four years.

6. The Gendarmerie Major Rifat, Army Major Raghil and Hussein, a member of the gendarmerie council were acquitted, notwithstanding their common robbery of the Armenian merchants' safes, which were broken open by these gentlemen. Everywhere the Mutissarifs, Kaimacams, Mudirs, Army Officers and notables were the inciters and leaders of the massacres, but none were punished. Baban Zade Mustafa Zihni, a sworn Armenophobe, against whom the Patriarch had protested for being elected a member of the Armenians' Lands Inquiry Commission, was sent as Vali to Adana, where the only thing he did was to hide and falsify the truth, and went as far as rebelling against the Government, which was obliged to exile him, that is to say, appointed him Vali of another district..

7. The Government could have hunted out the stolen articles, but it did not, because when a start was made, the robbers, Sheikh Ali Baba at their head, howled at the Government, "You armed us, ordered us to kill the ghiaours and plunder them and now you want us to pay for it. "The Go-

vernment thought it prudent to say nothing more about the theft, and on the contrary help the robbers to take the goods right away to distant parts of the country and sell them.

8. The Government promoted the officials who had been accomplices in the great Tragedy. A few examples: One of the Adana Commanders, Colonel Mehmed Ali Bey, was made assistant Vali of Yemen, and raised him to the rank of Pasha. The Kaimacam of Bahdje, Mehmed Said effendi, was promoted in his office at Tripoli. The Mutéssarif of Kozan, Hassan Fehmi, whose efforts were to liberate the criminal convicts, and not to return the looted goods, was made the Mutéssarif of Malatia, a much more important town. The assistant of the public prosecutor at Kozan, Ziaed-din Terfiy effendi, who had liberated 70 convicts and set them on Armenians, was made president of the Criminal Court of Hodeydah. The examining judge of Kozan, the colleague of the above, was made a public prosecutor. The Lieutenant-Captain Husni of Kars (Kozan district) was made a Captain at Zor. Husni's comrade Nouri Tchavoush was likewise made a Captain. Captain Sulieman effendi, an assistant in the Hijme gendarmerie, who, leaving his duties had gone to Fekke, where with the Major of the Reservists, for ten days devastated the Caza (district), was at first dismissed but afterwards reinstated.

9. On the contrary were turned from office or otherwise punished, all those Islam officials and officers who had been true to their duties and conscientiously protected the innocent. A few examples: Hadji Mouhammed, Major of the Albanian Gendarmerie who had protected the Armenians at Sis, was dismissed, he wandered about Constantinople streets for ten months, when at last was sent to Aleppo with the same rank as before, thanks to the unceasing efforts and intercession of the Armenian Patriarch and the Armenian members of Parliament, but the poor man was, after a few months, dismissed, this time for good, and pensioned off at the age of 40. Lt.-Colonel Khourshid Bey, who had saved Hadjin, was turned out, and sent to Roumelia. Djemal Bey, the enlightened Mutéssarif of Kaisarieh (Cesarea), was likewise dismissed for having protected the Armenians, and was appointed Mutéssarif for Isnimid, and when they saw that he there, too, was a protector of the Armenians, dismissed him again, and he has been out of office for 18 months.

*The Ittihadist Party (Young Turk Committee) is responsible for:*

1. In many places it was their colleagues that led the massacres. The President of their Adana branch Committee, Ihsan Fikri, with his official paper,\* wore the white turban and gave all his encouragement to the mob.

\* The ambulant speaker of *Ittihad*, Major Dojemil, said at Mersin, referring to *Ittidal*, "We have an official paper 'the *Ittidal*'"

The massacres at Tarsus were conducted by the president of the Ittihad club of that place. It was he who made the Military Depôt open and distribute arms and cartridges. The president of the Mersin Ittihadists, Osman Bey, tried hard to start massacres.

2. On the 1st of April, the Ittihadist Club of Adana, wired to their Central Committees at Constantinople and Salonika, "The Armenians are armed, soon the streets of Adana and district will be filled with Mussulman martyrs. Awaiting your orders." From Salonika, without making the slightest enquiry into such serious news, was replied, "Adopt the shortest means," that meant *massacre*.

3. The regiments sent from the 2nd and 3rd Army Corps to defend the Armenians, were under Ittihadist officers. These very regiments led the way to or conducted the already commenced massacres, plunders and fires.

4. The members of the Adana Court Martial were Ittihadists (Committee of Union and Progress), These men behaved most unjustly by condemning Armenians, who were either innocent or declared guilty of self-defence, and on the contrary, acquitted or only made a pretence of punishment of the real guilty Mussulmans. This unjust and unworthy Martial Court in order to hide the truth imprisoned the protesting Armenians.

5. The Committee of Union and Progress did not wish to condemn those Moslems who had planned and organised the infernal work, and only hanged the irresponsible common criminals.

6. The Vali of Adana said to M. Dimiter Chater, the dragoman of the French Consul at Mersin, "How could I prevent the massacres, when they were organised by the Committee of Union and Progress?" M. Chater wrote this on 13/26 May, to the Minister of the Interior, Ferid Pasha, telling him that he (M. Chater) was ready to prove his words, but no notice was taken.

7. A member of the Committee of Union and Progress of Salonika centre said, "We have no suspicions about the fidelity of the Armenians or Jews, but because they are far more advanced than the Turks will do what we can to catch them up." It is most probable that the Adana Tragedy was committed with that intention. As, in fact, the Armenians of Adana were the most prosperous, materially as well as intellectually, of all their co-religionists in Asia Minor.

8. The Ittihadists, seeing that M, Babighian, one of their most devoted Armenian members, was going to speak out the whole truth to their face in the Chamber, and tell them and the whole world their complicity or even the authorship, poisoned him, while his colleague, Youssuf Kemal Bey, was sent out of the country as a student of Law without ever giving publicity to his report.

We think that the days of Turkey are numbered. The 30,000 victims at Adana and Vilayet will never cease to protest from their graves. If Turkey *will* remain incorrigible, it must suffer the penalty and that is to be wiped out of the map.

*Voices of Protest*

There were protests made from all over the world against the Turks, and questions were asked in the Parliaments of Europe. It would be too long to quote them here. We will content ourselves by giving the following two Criticisms which appeared in the Press: then the confessions of a Turkish poet; the stirring appeal of a Turkish poetess; the blame of an Arab poet addressed to the Turks. The Fetva of the Great Sheik, Director of El Azhar, and the famous Mahometan Seminary at Cairo unfortunately we cannot obtain.

*To the Ottoman Deputation.*

“Gentlemen,

“The Red Sultan is deposed, during the entrance at Constantinople of your Constitutional Army. There were sent to Adana, in order to pacify the country, about ten battalions of the Army of Occupation.

“These troops sent for by persons animated with ‘civilizing’ ideas, poured paraffin on the Armenian houses, and set them on fire, while warriors swaggeringly camped in the cross roads, shot from under a shelter point blank, at those escaping.

“Under the pressure of the public opinion of the Armenians in Constantinople, the Chamber gets an official Inquiry to be made. Two Deputies, one Armenian and one Turk, are charged with the mission. The Armenian Deputy for Rodosto, M. Babikian, dies of poisoning, on the eve of the reading of his report; yet, the Turkish Deputy keeps silence for the occasion. The two official reports remain dead letters. The principal culprits, instead of being punished, are encouraged: thus; Adil Bey, the Mustechar (Adviser) to the Ministry of the Interior, is kept in office, after having darted out his famous dispatch, ‘Spare the foreigners,’ which constituted a significant order.

“The Armenian Deputies, Zohrab for Constantinople, Vartkess for Erzeroom, are charged ‘to ask for explanations. Neither of these representatives can utter his reasons before the Chamber, which is beforehand hostile to him and wherein young and old covenant to silence the truth.

“Gentlemen Turks, you deceive no one else but yourselves, you have approved the principal authors of the massacres by sheltering them with your high protection. We challenge you to refute, contradict, or even to diminish the historical authentic facts, which we bring forward.

*“With the Red Hands*

At the time when these lines will be appearing, an Ottoman delegation, composed of about one hundred members, will have been received with great pomp by the Department, the Town and the Chamber of Commerce; it will even be route for Paris.

“The Municipal buildings have been decorated with flags, trophies of tri-coloured flags have decorated the front of the prefecture (Police headquarters), and the gallery of the Bourse Palace. Banquets, speeches, concerts, visits, walks, nothing was wanting in the pompous and costly reception, and the General Council, which has no more means, will be quit, to pay the gala bill, to augment one of the numerous loans announced in the course of his spring session.

“They will congratulate each other copiously by sonorous phrases, protestations of sympathy; assurances of friendship, will be exchanged; they will have celebrated, in a lyrical fashion, the New Turkey sprung from Revolution and which sees generations of conscious citizen rising.

“Nevertheless when, to sanction these affirmations, and seal these covenants, the Delegates of the Commander of the True Believers and his people will have stretched out their hands towards their friends of the Mascurand Committee, the latter will have been able to notice, on the finger tips of their guests, veneers of blood...

“And if the Prefect, the Mayor, if the President of the Chamber of Commerce are surprised—which would very much surprise us, specially the first two—the delegates would have been able to answer:

“This blood is that of 300,000 Armenians whom we and our friends massacred, it is the blood of the Christians of Adana... etc.

“This blood, it is the Young Turks that replied, the Young Turks, that is to say, the new men, with new ideas, the men exalted by Pelletan, celebrated by Bourgeois, proposed by Clemanceau, welcomed by Mascurand, applauded by all the benches and back benches of the Bloc, by the free-thought (Libre-Pensee) and by the Freemasons.

“They may be able to repeat the days of the Adana terrors, the town in fire and blood, the disemboweled Christians, women and children, the old men, the butchered friars, the edifices given up to incendiary, the organised plunder...

“No, indeed, in the speeches, in the trash, this name of Adana will not be uttered: they will ignore the Armenians, the Christians in Turkey will be past under silence; but while they will be singing the Hymns to Progress, the Social Activity, to Fraternity, to the Union of the Peoples, and to much other nonsense of Lodge Allocations, there will rise wailings

from the charnel-house and the ossuary of Armenia and Lebanon, and on the white of the official banquet table cloth, the hands of the guests will leave bloody marks.

“La Croix de Marseille. “ODYESSE RICHEMONT.”

The confessions of a Turkish poet, Savfet Nezihi, appeared in the *Inclab*, a Turkish weekly, about The Tragedy at Adana, the day after M. Babikian died:

*Dedicated to the immortal memory of Hagop effendi Babikian.*

“Everybody was convinced of the necessity of the harmony of the Ottoman peoples, as the proverb says, ‘*Unity is strength.*’... After the Ottoman Revolution, there were heard many fine exhortations for Union and Concord, the wisest men preached to the Turkish peoples, without difference of religion and race, to fraternize, and seek the salvation of the Ottoman Empire, not in the discord or disagreement of Western Powers, not in the International balance, but rather in the Turkish peoples’ own strength. But there was not foreseen the necessity of the advice: ‘do not let us strangle one another while embracing,’ because one never suspected that during this happy period of Constitution, the two important elements of those forming the Ottoman Empire were going to strangle each other while falling in one another’s arms. It is, however, high time for us to confess the hideous truth. Yes, there were found among us such hideous ruffians who killed those, who for the sake of Union trusted themselves to our arms. They destroyed and ruined their houses and extinguished their hearths. Behold the lamentable and horrible events of Adana, which in their entire savagery most painfully cry to our face: ‘Where is Equality, where is Fraternity?’

“With a mournful heart let there have been committed very a view of explaining them, let us now glance a little at the past.

“Studying the pages of the history of the last quarter of a century, we see that one of the most important works of the Hamidian tyrannical and disastrous Regime was the difficulties and obstacles rose before the fraternization of the Armenians and Turks. Our compatriots, the Armenians, are industrious, hard working, enduring hardships, patient people, with a clean heart and naturally the lovers of liberty.

“It was this love of liberty that disgraced them in the eyes of Hamid, who rolled them for 32 years, from trouble into trouble, from torture to torture, and from massacre to massacre. They were crushed, oppressed, and made miserable, reduced to beggary, but they never despaired of obtaining liberty. What was their wish? Protection of honour, life and property; freedom of communication and to work, and a little equality, that is

to say those civil rights and decent administration which Constitution assures to all Ottomans.

“This claim of the Armenians was, in the eyes of the Hamidian Regime, a crime. The great tyrant, in order to blemish the Armenians, invented all kinds of slanders. The Armenians are asking for independence (sic..), they are seeking to resurrect the ancient Armenian Kingdom! (sic..). All the Committees are working to that end! (sic...). They are going to revolt in all parts of the Ottoman Empire and spread disaffection! (sic). And they are going to do this and to do that to Islams! All these calumnies were but traps to incite the Moslems, until now living in the darkness of ignorance, against the Armenians. Otherwise, what member of our enlightened Armenian compatriots does not know that they cannot found such an independent Government, and again that to be severed from the now powerful and quiet Ottoman Empire, would mean death to themselves as a nation, and that the life of a weak people, deprived of support, is a life near to its end. No patriotic Armenian ever dreams of seeking his natural welfare and progress apart from the Ottoman power, under whose justice and care alone can they prosper. If these two neighbours, Turks and Armenians, these two comrades and compatriots, who, for six centuries have lived together, had not helped and protected each other, where would the Armenians look for protection and assistance? They saw no other means for the safety of the future than in Union; they sought Unity, and asked for it. But, alas, Abdul Hamid had sown discord and trouble. The Armenians did not, for 32 years, find our arms open to receive them. Still they despaired not. The Hamidian Regime let loose on these people a number of rascals who had always lived in ignorance and stupidity, and who, in the end, stained the good and worthy name of Turkism. They put their feet on the Armenians’ necks, to suppress their cry for liberty. They robbed their properties and goods and ruined thousands of families, pushed them into utter misery, for that was the wish of the Hamidian Regime. Yildiz itself had prepared the massacres. The Ottoman Government allowed this slaughterhouse activity. In a word all the powers of the Ottoman Government only served to hasten the destruction of an active, productive, faithful and proud people, one of the elements composing the Ottoman Empire, a people whose only fault was to ask for justice and equality.

“If the Great Powers had not threatened, who knows how many more thousands of innocent Armenians would have perished. During the tragically, lamentable events of 1312 (1896) enlightened Turks did not protect the Armenian compatriots, for they could not. Ignorance, stupidity, cowardice, wicked fanaticism, conquered Right and Justice. No one ventured

to comment and address the Turkish people in terms more or less like the following: 'O ignorant and unfortunate Turkish friends, why do you so wrong your defenseless and friendless Armenian compatriots. Their movement is not directed against the Mussulman people, but against the Hamidian Government. What do the Armenians want, have you not heard? They are only asking for right, justice and equality. Are you not yourselves in need of these same things? Where do you now see right, justice and equality? The Armenians are asking for justice and God has commanded all the Muslims to practice justice. The Armenians are asking for Right and God has commanded all Muslims to respect Right. Are not all the Armenians your compatriots, are they not your brothers, with the same soul? 'Let there be equality between you and us' they say. God commands us in our Holy Scriptures (Koran) that 'let all the rayas (subjects, inferior races) enjoy your protection and care. You must show them charity, tenderness and love.' Therefore, how are we to reconcile with Justice, Equality, Right, the fact that the life, honour and property of a compatriot Armenian, working with his family in the fields, is at the mercy of some influential Turks, and the plaything of the tyrants; who, unhindered, do as they please, and the Government remains powerless and the people of influence, practice tyranny, and the mighty ones assist the tyranny? Does not the Holy Law of Sheriat command justice and charity? But the butchered people asked for justice of the Hamidian Government, *'as for Charity, let us not mention that, but justice, a little Justice! They cried, raising to heaven this heartrending cry.'*

"Is this not a reasonable claim? We complain of the absence of justice, of the evils of tyranny, we who live in the Capital, where we think we are comparatively free from tyranny. Then, let us think how very unsafe must be the honour, life and property of our Armenian compatriots living away in a corner of Asia Minor. The fruits of their labour, the fruits they have earned by the sweat of their brow, are stolen by a tyrannical Bey. Who listens to their complaints? Where could they find justice and right by going to Court? The Government whose duty it was to hear their complaints and woes only opens the prison doors for them, because Abdul Hamid hated the Armenians, because the Armenians asked for liberty, demanded justice. Behold, O Turks, ignorant friends, you have fallen on this innocent, this right-seeking people, and you are butchering them.

"Thirteen years ago, it was impossible to imagine a Fedai for Liberty, who would dare to stand up on a platform to speak these truths, because tyranny had oppressed, destroyed those who would say these things. But now, are we again going to continue the infamous policy of lies and hypocrisy, which are the characteristics of the Hamidian Regime. Are we still to be afraid to speak the truth? The wise people are crying 'Union' Union!!'



But what shall we say of those people, whom we are inviting to unite with us. When our Armenian compatriots heartily answer us the following:

“Very well, you are inviting us to unite; we accept it, with all our hearts. We during the thirty-two years of tyranny invited you to unite, but in vain. The monster of tyranny was an obstacle. The happy change came. We embraced those of our Turkish compatriots who understood our minds and aims. We already were brothers, we forgot the past, let us henceforth be better brothers, let us work, we said, like brothers, and, hand in hand, save our country from its dangerous position. We saw all this. This was our desire you applauded the idea. We embraced each other in Constantinople. But then what is this event at Adana? What are those lamentable efforts for hiding the truths after the events, what are those lies told, comedies played, to cover up the bloody deeds of those savage criminals? What are they? Are these things fit for Constitutional Government? Under Hamid, everything, every crime was committed, and all were covered over or hidden. Such a crime was certainly unbecoming now, and it was a worse crime to hide it after it was committed. The Wrong must be righted; the truth must come to light.’

“I venture myself to answer these sincere words, sprung out of the hearts of my Armenians.

“O our faithful, honest and sincere Armenian compatriots. The thirty-two years of Hamidian Regime, have to such an extent corrupted our morals and have buried us under so deep an ignorance, that we are unable to see the truth at once, and after we see it. We are powerless to confess it honestly and sincerely. What we are, so is our Government, which is formed of us. The tragedy of Adana is the harvest of the seeds sown by Hamid for years. We must condemn the Government of that time, who appointed to the Governorship, for such an important Vilayet as Adana, and kept in his delicate post, a man, ripened in the bloody tyranny of Yildiz and nurtured on the poisonous well of the serpent of Yildiz. The military force could have checked the carnage and devastation, if there had been an active, wise and patriotic Commandant. The Central Government could also have extinguished the flame of the massacres, or at least put a limit to the evil, if only it turned its back for ever to the Hamidian system of ruling. Therefore the whole of the responsibility of this immense disaster is in the thirty-two years of wicked administration. Be assured that the pure-hearted Turks have wept blood on hearing and reading of the details of the events of Adana. The Turks are sorry as much as you are, and I am more moved than you, by hearing this blood-curdling carnage, which is the horrifying crime of ignorance, of immorality, of the seditious element and of the anti-Constitutionalist mob.

“O compatriots, lovers of truth, you bowed your heads to this disaster too, and only asked for justice and right. You were perfectly right to do so, and we were with you, and still are. Now the real authors and those responsible for the Tragedy are caught, Right and Righteousness will win. A commandant a high-minded, proud, righteous man, who completely destroyed Tyranny, a brave soldier is going to unreservedly and with uprightness, execute justice. Without a doubt, all the criminals will undergo the proper punishment. Therefore, o my compatriots, while weeping together over this disaster, let us draw a black curtain over it, I say, let these poor victims also be counted among the previous martyrs of Liberty. Let the blood of these unfortunate people be mixed with the blood which flowed all these years, but may these two important elements, murderer and the massacred, bear no grudge against each other. On the contrary, let us come closer, let us cling to one another, so that there will be no more danger of strangling each other. This is the Unity we seek. I repeat that the Union must be mutual. The noble Turks, for the Union of the Ottoman people, refuse falsehood and insincerity, and cherish pure, sincere thoughts. We are convinced our spirits shall find a response from yours, for we, as well as you, all know well that the only means of salvation for the Ottomans, is Union.”

SAVFET NEZIHI

#### THE MURDERED AND THE MURDERERS.

##### *To my Armenian Compatriots.*

“For thirty years, a bloodthirsty monster with its deadly wings spread out, scratched and tore about the fatherland’s heart with its claws and in its vast dark shadow, everywhere it caused tears and blood to be shed. Now, it is gone, but wherever it has passed, there can be seen thousands of dead hearths, ruined homes, deserted lands and ossuaries of human bones and skeletons, heaped up to a mountain. My unhappy Armenian compatriots, you have been the most deprived and disinherited in the clutches of that monster Hamid, the most unprotected victims, and now your ruined land, your lifeless bloodstained bodies, your homeless, friendless children, in face of the forever established Liberty, look like a painful mockery. These national rejoicings are but a contrast to the fright and terror seen in the eyes of your childless mothers.

“In the presence of these Anatolian rains, which resemble an immense cemetery, and at the sight of which not only the Turks, but entire humanity is blushing. It is painful to think, and I am ashamed, I too belong to the murderers’ people, and my heart feels for you as a mother can, and my heart throbs with your sufferings and sorrows. Now, I pass by, and leave

behind all those for whom human life was sacred, and abstained from killing even their enemies. Those who heroically preferred rather their own blood to be shed for country's sake: I pass by those of my Turkish brothers, Martyrs of Liberty, covered in a mat, thrown into a dirt cart with their bright hopes, with their desires of self-sacrifice annulled, I pass by the graves wherein are buried brave and brilliant young heads, and I leave behind those weeping mothers, their babes beside their graves and I come to you, in the name of those noble souls, who shed and mixed their blood with yours, and beg your pardon, for your unparalleled sufferings. In the name and on behalf of the race to whom I belong, I come to kneel by the graves of those who were made martyrs of Liberty, young or old, and I share the grief of those unfortunate people who have for ever lost their dear ones, in this tremendous calamity. Believe me in my heart is enveloped the regret and the shame of a whole nation, and the black mourning of the Mother Land.

"Now, it is your turn to speak, O Young Ottoman Nation, who in its army counts Niyazis, Envers, Salaheddins, Sabris, Shefkets. O you new generation, who have sacrificed your brothers for liberty's sake, you have the honour of Turkism at the ends of your swords. Just as you have, in order to avenge your comrades and firmly establish Constitution, overthrown a powerful and unworthy throne, let likewise, the blood shed by the Armenians who are in the hands of Turkism, Ottomanism, cleanse your swords. Forward Comrades, our Armenian brethren have shed their blood for Liberty's sake with your avenged comrades.

"The blood of thousands of our compatriots has formed lakes; a fertile, rich land, from one end to the other is like a cemetery. If you do not avenge these people who descended the grave with their wives and children, if you do not punish, "blushing before Humanity, those assassins and criminals who have dishonoured our race, believe me there will ever remain a blot on the name of the Young Turk.

Tanin, 4/17 May, 1909. (Mme.) KHALIDE SALIH."

#### THE REPROACH OF A MUSSULMAN

The horrible massacres of Adana reached such a degree of atrocity, that they aroused the indignation of a Moslem poet, Velieddin Yeguen, who published these lines in the Egyptian journal *Moukhattan*, on 16/29 April, 1909:

"O *Islams!* You did not fear God, you were not ashamed of men, when you looked, upon your Christian Brothers as enemies, and killed them; your

act is a proof that amongst you there is not one single clear-minded Islam, possessing a noble heart. O you unjust people! did not your hands tremble?

What did you expect to gain by these massacres such as one has never seen in the history even of the most barbarous people? Woe be to mothers who gave you life, you are the shame of the country that has nourished you with its fruits, that has quenched your thirst with the water of its rivers, and which has sheltered you under the shadow of its trees.

*“O Ulemas!* The heavy turbans with which you have adorned your heads have served you as instruments for deceiving the ignorant people; your headdress, descending down to your mouths, will close your eyes and poison you.

*“God, Mahomet and the Koran are irresponsible, they do not authorise you to commit evil deeds, show me the books and laws which have allowed you to undertake such butcheries of which you were the instigators. We know no religion, which permits such atrocities, and if perchance there had been one, we would flee from it and detest it: we do not wish to be guilty, and desire to remain pure as God in heaven.*

*“O Turks!* The world was marveling and the earth was celebrating your praises; the blood flowing in my veins, flows also in yours and I said to myself, ‘Since God has kindly allowed me to be born a Turk, I must also die a Turk,’ but to-day I blush with shame and wish to hide myself that the world may no longer see me; I wish there existed between you and me, that which exists between you and your conscience, that is to say the Human pity; I should have preferred that the blood, which drove you to commit fratricidal actions, did not flow in my veins; I am not alone to say so, all the good Osmanlis are with me, all those who respect mankind.

*O Osmanlis!* Are you not at all astonished? Do you not see where we are going? At the moment of your reading these lines, they are massacring our unfortunate brothers, they are burning their houses and they are inflicting on them tortures that no human being ever before endured. We are looking on today at the spectacle of a nation whose only fault has been a limitless confidence and gratitude towards their compatriots and neighbours who are cutting to-day its throat, as one kills sheep; red blood is flowing down on to a page of the Ottoman History.

*“O Poets! Writers!* Put aside dreams and descriptions of dark hair, of rosy cheeks, etc., etc.: rise with me and condemn, as justice demands, the dark deeds and red days. Use at last your pens in describing the committed atrocities, to condole the stricken; the writers must also feel themselves, in order to express well the facts and make the reader listen and understand and feel them too. By the blood shed we have gone back to primitive savagery. It is therefore on these conditions that the drama should be written.

*“What a pity! this poor nation, beside whom we lived for centuries, is*

dying to-day, a victim of our animosity,

“Rise friends of Liberty.—You are few in number, the fanatics and the ignorant are numerous. If there was no hope of dispersing them to avenge our massacred brothers, death would be the least thing to follow the steps of the martyrs. We are living in an atmosphere so vicious, that we must get out of it by death; we are lost by our vanity and our false merits, it is not a pleasant thing to live under these conditions.

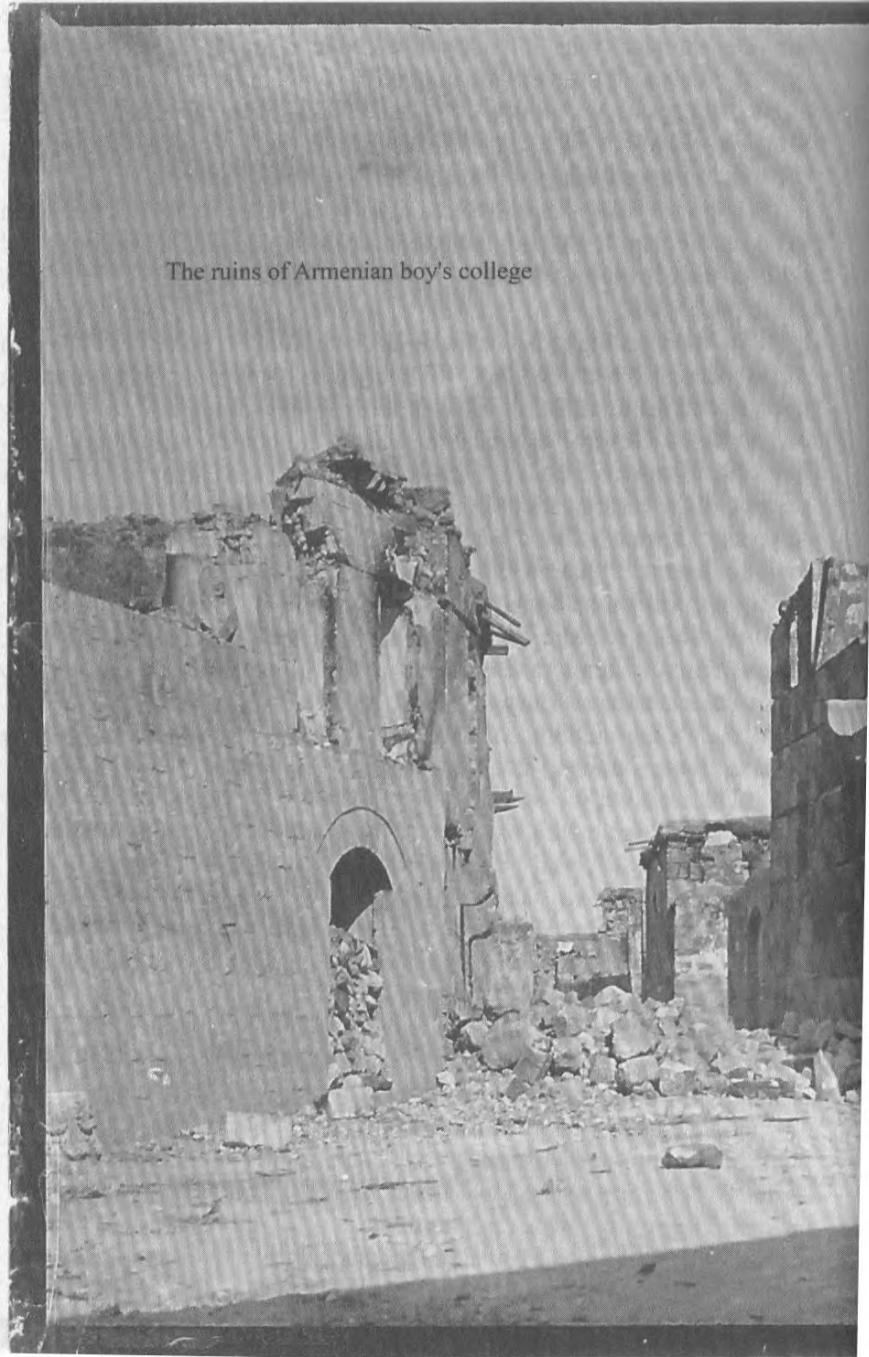
“*O Nations in the West.*—Speak against us, for we deserve it, but when you use the pen, remember that there are Ottomans crying red tears and who do not desire this life and who do not at all approve of what took place in the East.

“*O Ottomans living in Egypt.*—Hasten to form a union with the aim of installing this beautiful land of Turkey in its Governmental laws and in justice, and let us all hurry, as volunteers to Anatolia. I am not the only one to say so, several have had the same idea, but it is absolutely indispensable to work for that end. Let us hasten to Adana and elsewhere let us put out all the conflagrations in that country, let us rise on those mountains, to protect those who have escaped and the stricken, to avenge those who have for ever disappeared; if we do not act thus, later on, we shall not have the right to call ourselves patriots. You had rather owned that we are liars; to have a family, children, is not an admissible excuse for remaining inert. I myself have a family and children, let them be victims for the country and a holocaust in memory of those butchered, massacred! Rise and forward! Let us die and let the Fatherland live; let us avenge ourselves of the assassins, let us destroy all trace of them.

“VELIEDDEN YEGNEN.”

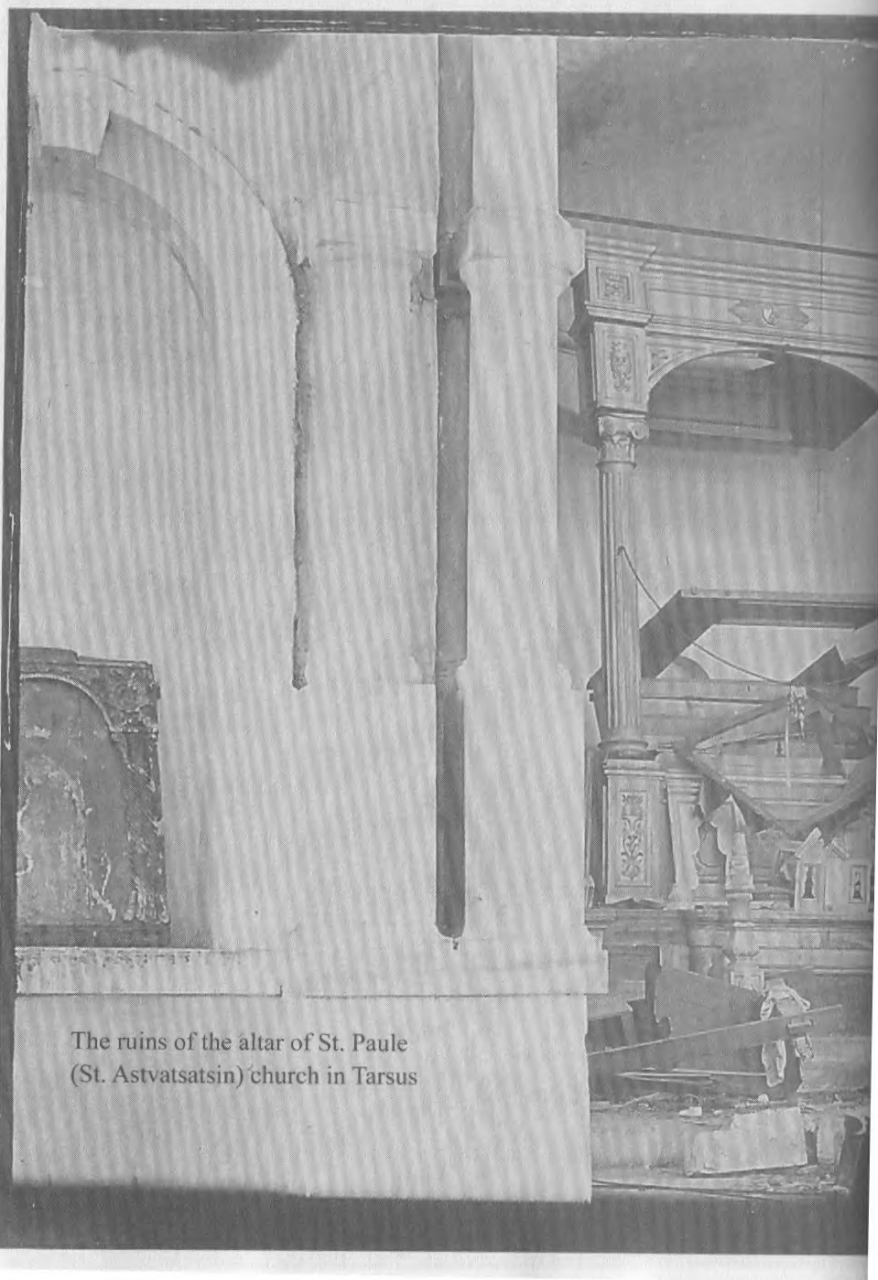
THE END

The ruins of Armenian boy's college



Truth about the Adana Holocaust





The ruins of the altar of St. Paule  
(St. Astvatsatsin) church in Tarsus



Truth about the Adana Holocaust



The ruins of Armenian catholic school



Truth about the Adana Holocaust

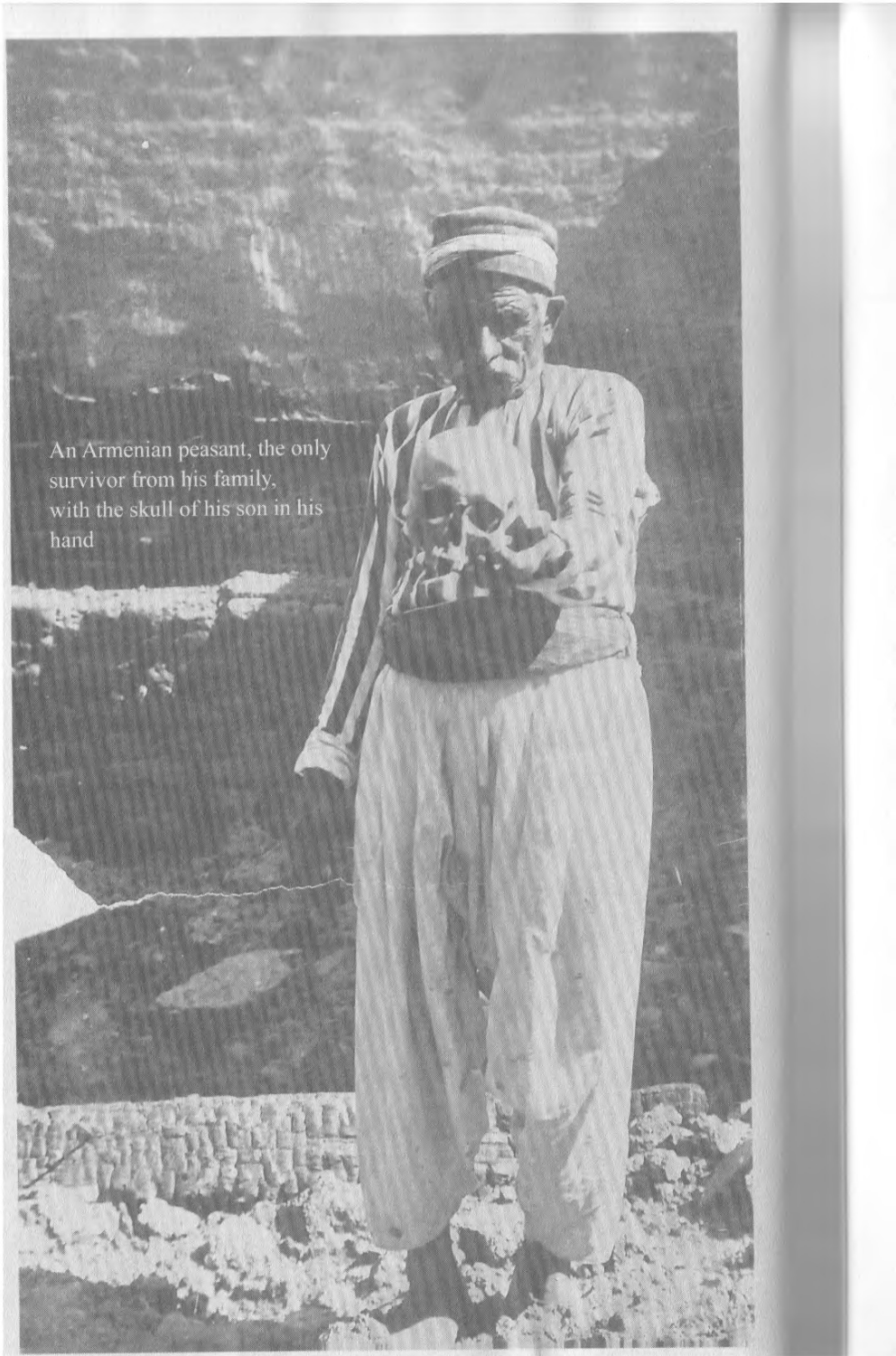


The ruins of Terzian Catholic school in Adana



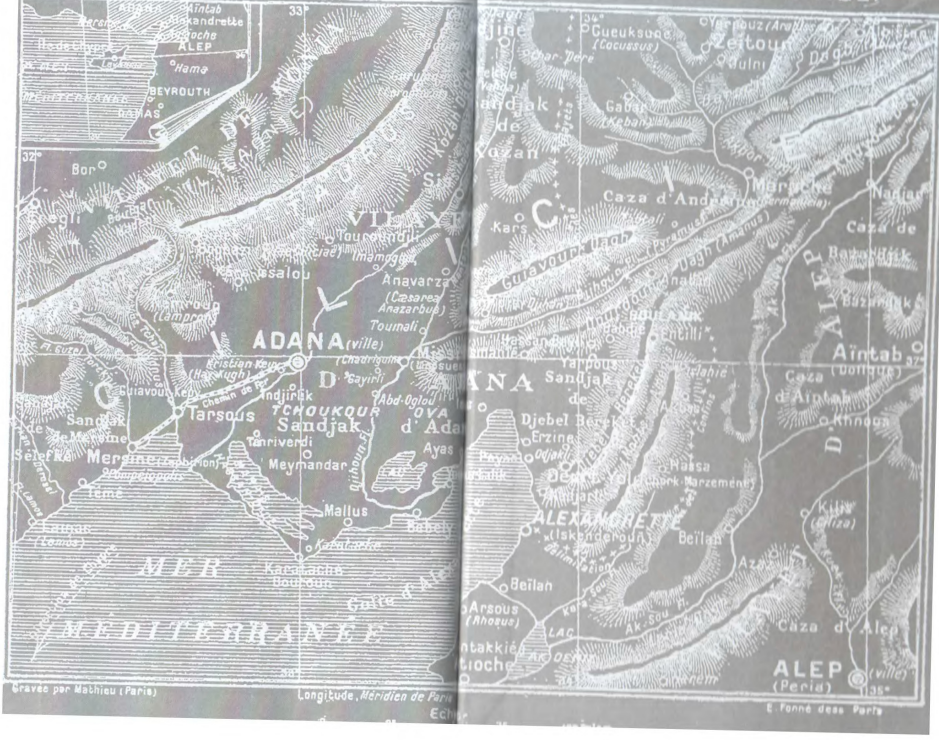
Truth about the Adana Holocaust





An Armenian peasant, the only survivor from his family, with the skull of his son in his hand

CARTE GEOGRAPHIQUE partielle des VILAYETS D'ADANA et D'ALEP



Gravée par Mathieu (Paris)

Longitude, Méridien de Paris

E. Fonné dess. Paris

Գեղաստանություն. սկայություններ, նոթեր, հուշագրություն / Կ Ի Լ Ի Կ Ի Կ

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TURKISH ATROCITIES

The Young Turks  
AND  
The Truth about the  
Holocaust at Adana  
in Asia Minor.  
During April, 1909

By the Author of  
"TURKEY AND THE TURK"

The Young Turks and the Truth about the Holocaust at Adana

Երևան 2009