

The ADANA MASSACRES

An Eyewitness Account

By

HAGOP BABIGUIAN, MP

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THE ETERNAL FLAME

TO THE MEMORY OF THE ARMENIAN MARTYRS
(Tzitzernakabert, Yerevan, Republic of Armenia)

*This work is dedicated to the memory of the
Armenian victims of the Adana massacres, and
to the memory of millions of Armenians massacred
by a succession of Turkish governments*

THE ADANA LAMENT¹

*Let the Armenians cry, the cruel massacre
Turned magnificent Adana into a desert,
The fire and the sword and the merciless plunder
Ruined, alas, the House of the Rupenides
Three days and nights the fire from inside,
The enemy's sword and bullet from outside
Exterminated the Armenians from the face of the earth
Blood ran down the Armenian streets...*

Smpad Purad²

¹ The “*Song of Adana*” was, initially, authored as a poem, in Armenian, by Smpad Purad, an author who was killed in the 1915 Genocide. The poem was, subsequently, turned into a song, and gained so much popularity, that Armenians still sing today. This is a literal translation of the poem.

² Hrachik Simonyan, *The Destruction of Armenians in Cilicia, April 1909*, original translation from Armenian by Melissa Brown and Alexander Arzoumanian, Yerevan State University, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2009, published by Gomidas Institute, London, 2012, p. 261.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is a great privilege to present to the English readership the authentic and unabridged revelations of the eyewitness account of the Adana massacres of 1909, as reported by MP Hagop Babigian, head of the official investigative commission to the scene of this indescribable human tragedy.

Special thanks go to Dr. Antranik Dakessian of Haigazian University in Beirut, Lebanon, who was instrumental in the review and production of this book. In addition, I am indebted to Vatche Proudian, Vera Gostanian of the Haigazian University Library, Andre Dagher, and, above all, the following reviewers of the manuscript: Ailsa McLardy, Aram Chalvardjian, Hagop Kulbashian, and another anonymous person, who made appreciable contributions to the accomplishment of this work.

Finally, this work is also a tribute to the memory of my late spouse, Astrid, whose father, Harout, was a survivor of the Adana massacres.

Dr. A. B. Gureghian
June 1, 2017

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A PRELUDE TO THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE OF 1915

The Berlin Treaty of 1878 and the reform program decreed by the Ottoman Sultan in 1895 did not prevent the great massacres of Armenians in 1895/1896, which left almost 300,000 Armenians killed and hundreds of thousands homeless. Despite this genocide, Armenians remained loyal citizens of inferior status living in a state of uncertainty.

The long overdue reforms of the centuries-old autocratic Ottoman rule ended with the Young Turk Revolution of 1908 steered by the Committee of Union and Progress, a liberal democratic party with which Armenian political parties had cooperated.

Even though a number of Armenian candidates, including MP Hagop Babiguian, were elected to the new Parliament, it did not take long for the Young Turks to reveal their plan to annihilate the Armenians, with the Adana massacres of April 1909 serving as prelude, leaving 30,000 Armenians.

Soon after, Babiguian was delegated to visit Adana by the Ottoman Parliament in Constantinople to present his eyewitness accounts of the massacres. Regrettably, Babiguian was not even given the opportunity to present his report in Parliament as he died, mysteriously, on the eve of his presentation. Furthermore, the report could not be read in Parliament either, the excuse being that it had disappeared, thus closing the file of the Adana massacres.

Fortunately, Babiguian's report was found among his papers which were transmitted to the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople. This unique document gives a genuine eyewitness account of the Adana massacres.

Rev. Paul Haidostian, Ph.D.
President, Haigazian University

FOREWORD AND OVERVIEW

The Adana massacres, which took place from April 1 to 4 and 12 to 14, 1909, are a typical example of the tragic misfortunes of Ottoman Armenians at the hands of successive Turkish authorities and their proxies, the Kurds, in particular.

Cilicia had been left untouched during the great massacres of 1894-1896, when close to 300,000 Armenians, mainly inhabitants of the *Armenian Vilayets* (Western Armenia, currently known as Eastern Anatolia), namely Bitlis, Erzurum, Diyarbakir, Harput, Sivas, Van, and its contiguous regions were exterminated by the Red Sultan, Abdul Hamid II. Now it was Cilicia's turn to face the pogroms. Indeed, particularly the Armenians of the province of Adana became subjected to a bloodbath far more violent than the massacres of 1894-96.

The Adana massacres caused the evaporation of the hopes and promises of unity, equality and fraternity that the Young Turk coup d'état of 1908 and the new constitution had proclaimed for all Ottomans.

The July 24, 1908 revolution in the Ottoman Empire, carried out by the Young Turks (members of the *Ittihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti*, Committee of Union and Progress, CUP), had the objective of implementing liberal reforms. The revolution envisaged the creation of a modern secular society, abandonment of the *Sharia* code as a basis for the legal system and elimination of special privileges of both ethnic and religious groups. On July 25, 1908, when the new constitution was officially proclaimed, the crowd in Constantinople was jubilant. The constitution projected an end to the Hamidian tyranny and the birth of a secular Ottoman Empire. The new regime, however, was soon discredited by radical Moslems of the Empire, who seemed to disapprove the Young Turks' policies, especially regarding the minorities.

The 12-13 April 1909 (Western calendar) counter revolution brought Sultan Abdul Hamid II back to his throne. The Young Turks counter reacted. On April 17, 1909, the Action Army (*Hareket Ordusu*)³ based in Salonica and commanded by Husni Pasha marched on Constantinople. In a matter of a few days the army reversed the situation. On April 28, the Sultan was deposed, exiled to Salonica and replaced by his younger brother, Sultan Mehmed V, a puppet monarch at the hands of the Young Turks.⁴

³ The Jews of Salonica took an active part too, after forming a Jewish battalion (*Musevi Taburu*), which joined the Action Army (Bedross Der Matossian, *Shattered Dreams of Revolution: From Liberty to Violence in the Late Ottoman Empire*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, California, 2014, p. 158).

⁴ The British historian Robert William Seton-Watson confirmed the role played by the Jews and the *Donmehs* on the Young Turks' movement: "...*The revolution which they promoted was above all the work of a single town. It was in Salonica, under the shelter of its masonic*

The first massacres of the Adana Armenians and other Christian minorities began on Wednesday morning, April 1 (14), 1909, at about 10:00 a.m. in Adana and simultaneously spread all across Cilicia.⁵ During three consecutive days, organized bands of Turks and Kurds looted and burned bazaars and killed thousands of Armenians. They mutilated women and children. Adana looked like a slaughter house partly destroyed (particularly the Armenian Quarters). Overnight, thousands of people became homeless and famine was imminent.

News of the large-scale Adana massacres spread rapidly throughout the Western world. France, Great Britain, Germany, the United States, Russia and Italy dispatched their warships, with their threatening cannons, lining them up in the Cilician waters, in Mersin harbor some 20 miles from Adana, but they did not take any further action.

At that time, Germany and Great Britain in particular were in keen competition⁶ with each other to consolidate their political and economic interests in that part of the world, and in order not to alienate the local populace, practiced a lenient policy towards the ruling Turkish government. In the conclusion of his book, Frederick Z. Duckett Ferriman wrote:

The Turks, once more, succeeded in going unpunished under the very nose of Christian and civilized Europe, then turned round and laughed, and laughed. Shame to civilized Europe, shame to 20th century humanity.⁷

In this context, some western powers, particularly, France, the United States, Great Britain and Germany deserve a special tribute for the inestimable humanitarian aid provided by their missionaries, diplomats, and some of their residents to a countless number of Armenians and other Christians fleeing the massacres, by sheltering them in their convents, schools, factories and homes.

lodges, that the Committee of Union and Progress, the secret organism which overthrew the Hamidian regime, grew up and flourished. The real brains of the movement were Jewish or Judaeo-Moslem. Their financial aid came from the wealthy Donmehs and Jews of Salonica, and from the capitalists - international or semi-international - of Vienna, Budapest, Berlin, and perhaps also of Paris and London. Gradually the movement was joined by officers in the army, upon whom its organisation naturally relied for the necessary backing to their designs; and after the plot had succeeded these men found it more necessary than ever to dabble in politics, in order to counteract the perpetual palace intrigues in favour of a restoration of the old regime..." (R. W. Seton-Watson, *The Rise of Nationality in the Balkans*, E. P. Dutton and Company, New York, 1918, pp. 134-135).

⁵ On the eve of the massacres persistent rumors about some forthcoming catastrophic event spread all across Cilicia. Shop keepers, in the bazaars, were urged to display on their front doors signs indicating their religious affiliation.

⁶ Sean McMeekin, *The Berlin-Baghdad Express (The Ottoman Empire and Germany's Bid for World Power, 1898-1918)*, Penguin Books Ltd., England, 2011.

⁷ F. Z. Duckett Ferriman, *The Young Turks and the Truth about the Holocaust at Adana in Asia Minor During April 1909*, London, 1913, p. 131.

FOREWORD AND OVERVIEW

None of the foreign diplomats, however, with the exception of the British Vice-Consul, Charles Doughty-Wylie, endeavoured to stop the carnage. Regrettably, he had little success and, in the process was wounded.

Subjected to an intense diplomatic pressure from the West, the Young Turks government finally agreed to send a military unit to Adana to ensure, allegedly, the protection of the Armenian community.

The execution of the second Adana massacres of Armenians and other Christian minorities, a duplicate of the previous one but far more lethal, began after the arrival of the above-mentioned military unit. Supposedly, through false rumors and lies the mob succeeded in bringing to its side the military unit sent by the CUP. It is reported that by unleashing volleys of artillery-fire this military unit inflicted the greatest losses upon the Adana Armenians. The latter, who had managed to put up some resistance during the first massacres, were defenseless, which encouraged the mob to ruthlessly pursue even further its criminal acts in an unparalleled fashion.

Within a total of six days the ratio of people killed in the Adana Holocaust to those killed in the preceding Hamidian massacres was almost an incredible eighteen to one. The level of viciousness which marked these massacres was described thus: “*Foreigners who have been present at other Armenian massacres declare that this onslaught at Adana was the worst they had ever known.*”⁸

The real causes of the Adana massacres are rather woolly. However, domestic factors which could possibly have helped its organizers to mobilize the mob can be reported.

On the one hand, the new regime, which had granted equal rights to the minorities, caused great frustration and anger within the Moslem population, who considered the newly implemented Constitution unacceptable. In particular, Turkish oligarchs had become uneasy and aggressive about the possibility of losing their socio-political superiority as well as flourishing business privileges in that part of the country. On the other hand, the prevalent antagonism between Moslems and the CUP was further fueled by circulating rumors that its members originating from Salonica were not all devout Moslems, but crypto-Jews. Opposition of influential French socialists, e.g., Jean Jaurès, Georges Clemenceau, to any military intervention persuaded that the Young Turks will end the anti-Armenian persecutions.⁹ Furthermore, the so-called Armenian conspiracy aimed at resurrecting their ancient Kingdom of Cilicia (incidentally, used routinely as an allegation by those who deny the

⁸ H. Charles Woods, *The Danger Zone of Europe, Changes and Problems in the Near East*, Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1911, p. 179.

⁹ Vincent Duclert, “Jean Jaurès et la Turquie, La Fêlure des Massacres Arméniens”, in *Les Essais, (Jaurès, du Tarn à l’Internationale)*, Jean Jaurès Fondation, Paris, 2010, p. 105.

Adana massacres) as, meaning a dismemberment of the homeland, hung over the Turks' heads.¹⁰

Little is known about the party responsible for the Adana massacres. The two likely local conspirators were Sultan Abdul Hamid II supporters and the Ittihadists (CUP).

A brief review of the dates of both revolutions and both massacres reveals that the first massacres took place when the Ittihadists were in power, whereas, the second took place during the brief period when the Sultan was back on his throne.

The Ittihadists accused the Sultan of being the chief instigator of both Adana massacres. However, in the case of the first massacres, it is rather difficult to interpret why the Ittihadists totally neglected to take adequate precautionary measures in order to prevent them whilst they held power.

The second massacres were executed with the close assistance from the military unit dispatched by the Ittihadists to that region .

Hagop Babiguiian, a dedicated Turkophile, a model Ottoman patriot and a staunch supporter of Ottomanism, had shown no interest in Armenian issues. His membership in the CUP¹¹ led to his election as a member of parliament.

Despite his political affiliation with the CUP, Babiguiian admitted in the conclusion of his report the involvement of his own political party in the Adana massacres

In response to the protest raised in the newly inaugurated parliament and above all to demonstrate its goodwill to Europe, the Young Turks government decided to investigate the Adana massacres through two official Inquiry Commissions each composed of two members: one parliamentary including Hagop Babiguiian Effendi (MP for Rodosto) and Yusuf Kemal Bey (MP for Kastamoni), and the other selected by the government composed of Fayek Bey (President of the Court of First Instance of the Council of State), and Harutyun Mostidjian Effendi (Judicial Inspector of the *vilayet* of Manastir), respectively.

The Armenians, in general, knowing Babiguiian's affiliation to the CUP, were strongly opposed to his selection to the investigation committee. Nonetheless, Babiguiian, a respected attorney and a man of principles and integrity proved to be very much the right choice.

The investigative commission, under Babiguiian's leadership, left Constantinople on May 12 and arrived in Adana on May 16.

¹⁰ Vahakn N. Dadrian, "The Circumstances Surrounding the 1909 Adana Holocaust," *Armenian Review* 1988:41, no. 4, pp. 1-16; R. H. Kévorkian, "The Cilician Massacres, April 1909," in *Armenian Cilicia*, ed., Richard G. Hovanesian and Simon Payaslian, CA, Mazda Publishers, 2008, pp. 339-69.

¹¹ Taner Akçam, *The Young Turks' Crime Against Humanity: The Armenian Genocide and Ethnic Cleansing in the Ottoman Empire*, Princeton University Press, 2012, p. 528.

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After extensive observation and investigations at the scene of the massacres, and after lots of hesitation Babigüian produced the detailed result of his investigations.

According to Babigüian, the human losses in the Adana massacres amounted to about 20,000 murdered Armenians (see Appendix I). The figure quoted by Babigüian was strictly a preliminary estimate, whereas, the correct number of victims as reported in the relevant literature was close to 30,000, along with tens of thousands forced to abandon their homes and their belongings.

Babigüian's report caused embarrassment, frustration and anger among the CUP leadership. On July 20, 1909, on the eve of presenting his report to the Ottoman parliament, Babigüian died in mysterious circumstances. His report was never read in parliament, and was claimed to have disappeared, but both the contents and the original document remained under a veil of secrecy.¹²

Moreover, Babigüian's colleagues were neither given the opportunity to present their individual reports at the July 26 session of parliament, nor allowed to publish them.¹³ The Ottoman Parliament considered the issue of the Cilician massacres closed from that day on.

At Hagop Babigüian's death the entire Armenian nation was in mourning, and, in their hearts and minds, was present at the funeral of this patriot, who at the price of his life had not hesitated to divulge the whole truth about the Cilician massacres.¹⁴

Independently of Hagop Babigüian's investigations, a court of inquiry¹⁵ set up locally, whose members included notables, government officials and military commanders pursued, allegedly, a similar task. However, time revealed that a large number of members of the court of enquiry, paradoxically, were none other than those arrested and sentenced by the courts-martial on a charge of conspiracy, with the planning and execution, of the Adana massacres.

The level of the passed sentences was strikingly extremely light, definitely irreconcilable with the scale of human and material losses caused to the Christians and particularly the Armenians of Cilicia. Not to mention the fate of thousands of survivors including the elderly and sick, women and orphans, left homeless and desperate, clinging on to life in a state of terror.

Noting, on the one hand, that the officers of the court martial of Adana were chosen and delegated by the Ottoman government in Constantinople and,

¹² Simonyan, p. 229.

¹³ See Francis de Pressensé's "Introduction" in this book.

¹⁴ Babigüian, a widower, was a model father of six children, who had become orphans overnight. His colleague on the commission, Yusuf Kemal, and several other MPs petitioned for a monthly pension fund to be granted to the family of the deceased. At its July 25th session, the parliament rejected this petition on the pretext of lack of available funds.

¹⁵ An anti-Armenian body, largely, composed of officials, put in place right after the first wave of the Adana massacres.

on the other hand, the insignificant nature of the military verdicts, there is every reason to doubt about the involvement of the military in overseeing, behind the scenes, the chapter of the cover-up operation of the massacres.

Babigüian's report, originally written in Ottoman Turkish, was found amongst his papers and handed over to the Armenian Patriarchate of Gum-Capou in Istanbul. It was translated into Armenian by Hagop Sarkissian,¹⁶ and published in Pera (Constantinople), in 1919. The report was translated into French in full along with a foreword authored by Francis de Pressensé, and published in Paris, in *Pro Armenia*, on April 25, 1913.¹⁷

Excerpts of two important interviews of Babigüian which were conducted during a stopover in Smyrna aboard the ship bringing him home from his Adana mission are reported in Appendix II. As an eyewitness of the aftermath of the Adana massacres, and the tragic fate of his people, Babigüian did not sound very optimistic about the future of the Armenians in Turkey.

Appendix III reports the sentences passed by the courts-martial which, allegedly, were meant to punish those responsible for the massacres.

Appendix IV reports an overview of the West's reaction to the Adana massacres including some extracts of press coverage from France, the USA, Australia, Great Britain, Canada and New Zealand.

Appendix V reports statistics of the Armenian population in the Adana province and its surroundings before the massacres of 1909, the afflicted Armenians of Cilicia, including the loss of material properties expressed in terms of 2016 US\$, respectively.

The critical question as to whether the Adana massacres were planned or not is briefly discussed in Appendix VI.

Article 301 (Turkish Penal Code) is reported in Appendix VII.

Appendix VIII reports the Recommendations 1897 (2010) of the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly, including the Decision of the European Court of Human Rights.

The Convention on the Non-Applicability of Statutory Limitations to War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity is reported in Appendix IX.

A glossary of foreign words is reported next, followed by a list of sources for further reading.

Despite the colossal program of modernization of Turkey's key institutions, implemented during the creation of the First Republic in 1921 by Mustafa Kemal, Human Rights, which were, literally, ignored under the previous regime, have not really preoccupied the successive leaders of the modern state.

¹⁶ Hagop Sarkissian, *Adanayi Yeghernu* (The Adana Massacres), translated from original authored by Hagop Babigüian (in Turkish), February 1, 1919, Pera, (Constantinople), Turkey.

¹⁷ The report was published in the Armenian newspaper *Giligia*, in 1912. The *Times* of London published excerpts from the report ("La Cilicie (1909-1921) des Massacres d'Adana au Mandat Français," *Revue d'Histoire Arménienne Contemporain, Tome III, Numéro Spécial*, 1999, p. 165).

FOREWORD AND OVERVIEW

Turkey's deplorable Human Rights records have not shown any signs of improvement in the 21st century. Just to name a few: the persistent denial of the Armenian genocide¹⁸ of 1915 and other massacres of Christians, the Armenian properties which remain confiscated still, the police brutality, repression of freedom of speech and of assembly, banning of political parties, prisoners of conscience, the silent genocide conducted against the large Kurdish minority, the very recent brutal attack by Turkey's President's bodyguards on peaceful Kurdish demonstrators¹⁹ in Washington D.C., on May 16, 2017, an unprecedented incident, which shocked the entire nation, etc. Moreover, one may note that the 2016 annual report of Amnesty International concluded that Turkey was among the countries with the worst practices of Human Rights.²⁰ Conclusions reached by the US Department of State²¹ regarding the latter were not less disappointing.

The new penal code introduced by Turkey in October 2004 was supposed to replace her outdated one of 1926, while providing, apparently, more protection to her citizen's human rights. However, the growing number of Turkish intellectuals, who, on the one hand, began asking difficult questions dealing with Turkey's painful past, and those who dared acknowledging the Armenian Genocide, on the other hand, prompted the authorities to introduce, discretely, on June 1, 2005, the controversial Article 301 in the Turkish Penal Code, which made it "illegal to insult the Turkish government or any of its institutions."

Time has proven that freedom of expression has remained a wishful thinking in Turkey, and all those intellectuals, historians, journalists, novelists, writers, publishers, etc. who dared acknowledging the Armenian Genocide were prosecuted and faced jail sentences.

However, the assassination, in 2006, of prominent Turkish-Armenian journalist and tireless advocate of human rights, Hrant Dink,²² by a teenage nationalist gunman, the prosecution and trial of Turkish novelist, recipient of the 2006 Nobel Prize in literature, Orhan Pamuk,²³ the Prize winning novelist

¹⁸ In 2007, Turkey's President Recep T. Erdogan, then Prime Minister, issued a circular that calls the government institutions to use the phrase "*Events of 1915*" (in Turkish: *1915, Olayları*) instead of the phrase "*so-called Armenian Genocide*" (in Turkish: *sözde Ermeni Soykırımı*) (Recep T. Erdogan, "1915 Yılı Olayları", *Sabah*, July 27, 2007).

¹⁹ "Erdogan Security Forces Launch 'Brutal Attack' on Washington Protesters", *The New York Times* May 17, 2017.

²⁰ Amnesty International 2016 Annual Report on Turkey. <https://www.amnesty.org/en/countries/europe-and-central-asia/turkey/> .

²¹ TURKEY 2016 Human Rights Report – US State Department <https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/265694.pdf>.

²² Jahnisa Tate, "Turkey's Article 301: A Legitimate Tool for Maintaining Order or a Threat to Freedom of Expression?", *Journal of International & Comparative Law*, 2008:181, pp. 197-201; <http://digitalcommons.law.uga.edu/gjicl/vol37/iss1/6> .

²³ *The New York Times*, "Popular Turkish Novelist on Trial for Speaking of Armenian Genocide," Reuters, Dec 16, 2005.

Elif Şafak,²⁴ the publisher and free speech activist Ragip Zarakolu,²⁵ and, others, who had all the courage to acknowledging the Armenian genocide lead to a worldwide protest²⁶ against Article 301. To counter this, the Turkish parliament, allegedly, weakened the law by amending it on April 30, 2008.

Following its review of the so-called “amended” Article 301, the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly of 2010 concluded that the latter was still in violation of the European Convention of Human Rights, and, to that effect, took some decisions which are reported in Appendix VIII.

According to international law the Turkish government of the day is considered to be the inalienable legatee of the perpetrators of the Adana massacres and all other crimes carried out against the Armenian nation.

The Adana massacres are classified as Crimes against Humanity according to the “Convention on the Non-Applicability of Statutory Limitations to War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity,” voted as resolution 2391 at the UN (XXIII Session) on November 26, 1968, and entered into force on November 11, 1970. It is needless to emphasize that genocides are “imprescriptible,” whatever the date at which they were perpetrated.

Interestingly enough, in the conclusion of his report, Babigian stated that “... *a disease cannot be cured unless it is diagnosed and treated. In concealing it, it will never be healed.*”

Just a few days preceding April 24, 2015, marking the commemoration of the Centennial of the Armenian Genocide, Turkey’s President, Erdogan claimed, with no hesitation, that the Ottoman Armenians had provoked their own fate: “*Let them dance and play to their own tune.*”²⁷

Such a statement made by a 21st century Turkish President is rather unfortunate. It can only add insult to injury to the Armenian nation.

To conclude, the following well-known Latin adage:

«**QUÆ SUNT CÆSARIS, CÆSARI**»

is being cited to the attention of the Turkish government. This would translate in our case as:

«**GIVE BACK TO THE ARMENIANS ALL THAT BELONGS TO ARMENIANS**»

Although, the souls of all Armenian victims are resting in peace, their memory remains eternally alive in the mind and heart of every Armenian.

Dr. A. B. Gureghian

June 1, 2017

²⁴Nick Birch, “Novelist to Go on Trial for Insulting Turkey”, *The Guardian*, Istanbul, September 20, 2006.

²⁵ Alison Flood, “Outcry over Turkish Publisher’s Arrest and Detention”, *The Guardian*, November 2, 2011.

²⁶ Article 301 “Europe Launches Criticism of Law Targeting Journalists in Turkey: Media Victory in High-Profile Terror Case,” CNN, November 10, 2006.

²⁷“A Solemn Anniversary. In Turkey’s East. Armenians, Kurds and Turks Hold a Ceremony Together,” *The Economist*, April 25, 2015.

BULLETIN OF BABIGUIAN

I will not repeat today those thoughts, about which I have very often written²⁸ pinpointing where the issue of the Armenian Question should be placed in the Reconciliation Covenant.²⁹ There is no honest man who is unaware that this urgent task cannot be postponed. Europe simply would have done a dangerous thing had it prematurely prepared a bloody account of righteousness.

The news reports that arrived from the interior provinces turned out to be more alarming, one after another. It became obvious that the Kurds probably had the intention to renew their twenty-year-old military operations. The majority of the populace of Armenian workers was living in a climate of incertitude. The Turkish authorities in Constantinople had neither the time, nor the strength, nor perhaps the definite will to pressure the tribes of robbers from Kurdistan, to enforce public discipline and the respect for peace.

These facts must be repeated; they must be declared persistently in order to become known by the public and become embedded in their minds, allowing them to draw the required conclusions. Europe stands in the wrong place when it comes to practical materialism and moral looseness. It will be unable to become a witness to the repetition of events - even at the lowest level.

The implications of the persecutions of Armenians, without being shaken by the manner in which they were carried out, were unpredictable: if one wishes that the currently proposed reconciliation should be everlasting, the only way to achieve this is to transform Turkey into its Asian Empire, without allowing it to fall in a fateful way into new unrest, which might endanger its unity, even its Asian possessions. No one has the right to deny the true danger hanging over Armenia, and therefore, the civilized world; and if there was the need for new evidence, there are enough sincere men whose attention may be invited to focus on a truly crushing document.

I would like to mention the report of Ottoman Member of Parliament, Mr. Hagop Babiguian, concerning the Adana massacres of April 1909. The existence of this report was known, the authorities knew that news had spread that the unfortunate Babiguian had studied the events and written an account of his observations and, having raised the public's attention, he paid with his life. Even his original report was kept secret, and the report of his Turkish colleague, Yusuf Kemal Bey, which allegedly disappeared in the fire at Ciragan Palace has been kept secret to this moment. Babiguian's draft report

²⁸ Rémi Fabre, *Francis de Pressensé et la Défense des Droits de l'Homme*, Presses Universitaires de Rennes, Paris, 2014, pp. 331-404.

²⁹ Francis de Pressensé alludes to the reconciliation of the war in the Balkans.

passed into Armenian hands. These people succeeded in having it printed and distributed it secretly. One copy, for example, fell into the hands of *The Times'* correspondent, who managed to review the report and publish extensive excerpts. I do not have any intention of presenting pieces of it; it is sufficient to say that the report will illustrate some hot issues.

It highlights to the greatest extent possible the direct responsibility of the government in the Adana massacres. That government had received its reward from the *Ittihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti*, the Young Turks, nourished and displayed enthusiastic feelings towards the unfortunate Armenians for their participation in the success of the revolution. However, during this deplorable situation instead of acting in their favor and putting pressure on the government for its primary obligations, they displayed an exceptional incapacity. Afterwards, they did everything to solicit the grievances of the victims and pledged to find out about the impunity of the guilty parties.

Such indestructible facts cast a serious light upon the *Armenian Question*. It is proven that the Ottoman government, be it the agents of Abdul Hamid, or the hands of those carrying out the revolution, is not capable of guaranteeing to a few million Armenians the basic needs of life, liberty, and human rights that every society seeks to provide. Therefore, the problem is simple: those in Europe who stand as surrogates of the Armenians in this Treaty, who will identify the position of the new Turkey by creating special conditions, professionalism being recommended - a governor selected by Europe, well balanced - and firm beyond his consent: Europe must either resign from its obligation in that important region and conform to the status of observer of the oppressed Armenians, leaving Europe with a troubled conscience about the nation, or, accept that the Armenians need to be freed from the hands of their killers by foreign intervention, which would then open the door for a conflict leading to the dismemberment of Asiatic Turkey.

All the skills and ingenuity of the world will not be able to do anything about the problem. The removal from the Covenant of the reconciliation meeting, which was planned for discussion about the Armenian Question, will be a very formidable operational failure. Resolution through argument is the sole solution which may be offered to Armenia. This situation corresponds exactly to similar cases, where professionalism has proven itself in Lebanon and Samos. The solution could be an extended program, meaning not to create any kind of conditions, which would be worth the price of the suffering of a whole people. There ought not to be any spilling of blood and tears following a collision between Asia and Europe, in other words, between Islam and what is called Christianity. In recent years, we have been compelled to register one too many bankruptcies of Western diplomacy. Given this and the outlook for new bankruptcy, I must confess that it is difficult for me to have faith in Western diplomacy.

Paris, April 25, 1913

Francis de Pressensé
President of the League of Human Rights

PROLOGUE

It was spring 1909 when the black Mongolian paw turned the entire Cilician plain to red and converted it to a mass graveyard. Sihoon and Jihoon³⁰ were accepting floods of Armenian blood. And the Young Turks, with their conspicuous and mysterious demonic smile, were rubbing their hands, as if they had carried out an ultimate duty with the insolence of the hyena. Spit at such a civilization and the face of the god that they worship. The mentality of Old or New Turk has been such that they never wanted to accept the fact that this country's owners of yesterday and tomorrow, the Armenians, could also have the right to live.

However, the days of awakening arrived; ashes were to be strewn in the Genocide, and the grave digging of "boiled" Justice was to be carried out.

The majority of Turks in the Ottoman Parliament elected, with moving solidarity, one of their own members, an 'Ottomanized' Armenian, who was supposed to bring back a favorable report with preconceived ideas. Even the Armenians supposed this; they also proclaimed their opposition to the election.

And, behold, Babiguian leaves Constantinople secretly, with deep sorrow in his heart. He arrives at the scene of the crime, he sees the perpetrated crime, and it is the flagrant violence of the latter which infuriates him.

His evidence, apart from the original report consists of several attached telegrams³¹ which he labels in vain as belated justice.

Babiguian has just returned bearing the fury of the entire Armenian nation and the result of his investigations, i.e., the damning report has just been finalized, when black hands mysteriously put an end to his life.

Hagop Babiguian died, but his name will be handed down forever to posterity in the Pantheon of Armenian heroes.

Hagop Sarkissian
Pera, February 1, 1919

³⁰ These two, fairly long, rivers renamed Ceyhan and Seyhan, respectively, spring from the southern slopes of the Cilician Taurus mountains and flow through the Cilician plain to the Mediterranean.

³¹ Hagop Babiguian's telegrams, which were photographed at his request whilst he was in Adana are reported in Appendix I.

HAGOP BABIGUIAN



Hagop Babiguian was born in Edirné (Adrianople, Turkey), on February 23, 1856.

He graduated from the local national and French colleges respectively.

As of 1877, he spent two years in Bosnia as an assistant to the Inspectorate of the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The next two years were spent at his birthplace, where he was appointed secretary in the office of the Court.

In 1881, after studying jurisprudence for almost two years, he returned to Edirné, where he taught as a member of the Appeals Court.

In 1891, he began to work as an attorney in Constantinople.

In 1902, he returned again to Edirné on a mission.

In 1908, he was elected a member of the first Ottoman Parliament, where he was named as an Inspector of the Ottoman Constitution Commission.

He joined the Ittihadist Party but, operated as an Armenian.

For the enclosed report about the Adana massacres, which he prepared as a delegate of the Young Turks, he received for compensation a death sentence on July 20, 1909.

Babiguian, being widowed beforehand, left behind his children, four girls and two boys...

He is a paragon of a man and of father.

Hagop Sarkissian
Pera, February 1, 1919

THE ADANA MASSACRES

*Righteousness exalts nations and
sin and crime destroy them.*

King Solomon

OBJECTIVES OF THE MISSION

Having left Constantinople on May 12, we, Fayek Bey (President of the Court of First Instance of the State Council), and Harutyun Mostidjian Effendi (Judicial Inspector of the *vilayet* of Manastir), delegates of the Sublime Porte, MP Yusuf Kemal Bey and myself, delegated by the Parliament, arrived in Adana on the 16th, with the mission of establishing the causes and nature of the bloody events in that city, Adana, and its surroundings - events that have distressed all Ottomans - and to let the truth be known.

At the time of our departure, I thought that the rumors about these painful events were greatly exaggerated, and I was very eager that this was so, because the blood of hundreds of thousands of innocent Armenians, massacred for no reason under the former regime, had not yet dried, and the innocence of those poor victims having at long last been revealed, our Moslem³² compatriots - including religious and the ordinary people - had visited their graves in order to console the sorrow of Armenians and, above all, erase a shameful page in the history of civilization.

Thus, naturally, nobody would wish to see new events, of whatever extent these might be, breaking out, reminding us of past tragedies.

However, I am, unfortunately, forced to publicly declare that my personal findings have completely disappointed my hopes.

Let them say what they please. Everyone has his own opinion. In my opinion, the only means of working efficiently in order to prevent the recurrence of such events is to let the truth be known as it is, without the least reservation. If, on the contrary, one endeavors to reduce the magnitude of these events, if one tries to attribute a share of responsibility to the innocent victims, that will be, in my opinion, opening the way for the recurrence of similar events.

That is why I am going to report with candor and clarity, without sparing anyone, no matter who, the result of my investigations and findings.

Since the age of fourteen, a large part of my life happened to be in places shaken by political unrest. During the Bulgarian insurrection,³³ I found myself

³² Obviously, Babiguan's report alludes to the Turks and Kurds who lived together with the Armenians in the same locality.

³³ Better known as "*The April Uprising*" was organized by the Bulgarians from April to mid-May 1876, indirectly resulting in the re-establishment of Bulgaria in 1878. Ottoman response was immediate and severe. Mobilized detachments of regular troops and irregular *Bashi-Bozooks* massacred civilian populations. The number of Bulgarian casualties at the end of the

in Sofia; during the Russian-Turkish war,³⁴ I found myself in the midst of a total civil war in Bosnia. I saw many things. I have been an eyewitness of the massacres of Constantinople and Kirk Kilisseh.³⁵ However, I have never seen nor could even imagine horrors comparable to those of Adana.

The massacres of this province have by far exceeded anything of this kind that the Hamidian regime organized and therefore, will remain an eternal shame in Ottoman history. Most Hamidian massacres had, so to speak, some regular organization; the children, the women and the disabled were spared, and looting, fire, and destruction of property were somewhat restrained. By contrast, in Adana they have burned alive the sick and wounded. In the villages and farms of the surroundings, in the *kazas* of Misis, Hamidiyeh, Baghcheh, Hassan-Beyli and Osmaniye nothing remains anymore of property or buildings; many women and children of five or six years, were wounded; one went even as far as to subject them to odious treatment. In Tarsus I heard complaints from two poor women over sixty years old; they moaned that Islamic law itself, which recognizes life as a gift from God and the honor of women, just like that of the *Padishah*, was not respected, to the point that I had a horror of being a man.

They brought before us four sexually abused young girls, aged eight to twelve; we had them taken, in the presence of Assad Rauf Bey (Governor of Mersin) and other officials, to a Moslem midwife. The report, written in due form, is kept by the local authorities. To realize the full extent of all the odious barbarism of the drama, it was enough to see the countless wounded, above all the poor little ones, sheltered in the hospital set up by Mrs. Doughty-Wylie (spouse of the British Vice-Consul),³⁶ whom this noble lady cared for, from morning until evening, like a nurse with a devotion and courage beyond all praise.

uprising was between 12,000 and 30,000, (J.A. MacGahan, Esq., *The Turkish Atrocities in Bulgaria*, Bradbury, Agnew & Co., London, 1876).

³⁴ The Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78 was fought in the Balkans and in the Caucasus and resulted in the occupation of the Kars and Batumi provinces. Besides, the principalities of Romania, Serbia, and Montenegro proclaimed independence from the Ottoman Empire. It was concluded by the Congress of Berlin whereby Austria-Hungary occupied Bosnia and Herzegovina and Great Britain took over Cyprus (F.V. Greene, *The Russian Army and its Campaigns in Turkey in 1877-1878*, D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1979).

³⁵ *Kirk Kilisseh* (forty churches), a province of Eastern Thrace, Macedonia, was the scene of horrible massacres when Macedonians along with the Bulgarian minority organized an uprising in 1903 against the Turkish occupation. Like its predecessor of 1876, this one also failed to reach its objectives and was ferociously suppressed ("The Balkan Crisis," *The Adelaide Chronicle*, London, August 29, 1903).

³⁶ Lt. col. Charles H.M. Doughty-Wylie was the appointed British Vice-Consul to Mersin. When the Adana massacres broke out, he was delegated to Adana, where he along with his spouse deeply engaged themselves chiefly in humanitarian activities and sent reports about the situation (see, e.g. GB/FO 424/219, pp. 85-87).

OBJECTIVES OF THE MISSION

The French and German Sisters of Charity also nursed separately. A Sister from the German hospital, giving an account of the events, found herself at one point unable to continue; having somewhat recovered from her emotion, she told us that 150 wounded installed in the Apcarian school³⁷ and totally unable to move had been burned alive in the fire in the building. This is one of the most distressing details.

Many other people have also found death in flames.

However, because it is impossible to write about everything, I will be content to list the case of 17 people - two of them being American missionaries and one a Protestant minister - unarmed, defenseless and not involved in anything, who were burned alive in the Armenian church at Osmaniye during divine service.

Under the Hamidian regime, they spared the women and children, and they did not attack the Christians of other nationalities, even the Armenian Catholics and Armenian Protestants. In Adana, however, no distinction was made among the Christians: Syrians and the Syrian-Catholics, who have no similarity in language and dress with the Armenians, were killed just because they speak Arabic. The number of victims was: the former 400, the latter 65, and the Chaldeans 200. As to the Greeks, about a hundred were killed in the town of Adana and as many in the province. As for the Armenian Protestants, 655 people were killed, and 200 Armenian Catholics.

It is generally established, that it was only early in the morning of the day after the massacres that there was a command to leave the Greeks alone. No other Christian element, whatever it was, was similarly respected.

It is confirmed by a formal report that, in Erzin (the chief city of the Sandjak of Djebel-Bereket), when the prison was evacuated, two Greeks who happened to be among the prisoners were killed, despite the presence of local authorities.

All these facts provide ample evidence that the Adana massacres do not have the character of a movement aimed at the Armenians alone, but that of a movement against Christians and in general against the Constitution.

Moreover, during the previous massacres, neither looting nor, especially, the destruction of homes and property had as much fierceness, nor took place on such a wide scale as during the present one.

In one word, all these horrors demonstrate that a frantic gust of madness swept over this province. The effects of this ferocity are such that the most immersed soul is destroyed and loses its capacity for judgment.

³⁷The school was inaugurated in the late-1870s as a seven-year elementary school, after the adoption of the National Constitution. In the 1900s it was transformed into a nine-year high school.

I.- THE NUMBER OF VICTIMS AND IMPORTANCE OF MATERIAL LOSSES

I noticed an enormous difference between official figures and the overall assessment of the number of victims. The Armenians and correspondents of the foreign press have agreed to accept a figure varying between 25 and 30 thousand. As for the government, after having, initially, officially stopped at 1500 non-Moslems and 1900 Moslems, it admits at the moment, as a result of new investigations, the total figure of 6000.

Government figures are based on the records of the civil registry and on the lists given by the *mukhtars* and priests of certain localities. It goes without saying that the records of civil status may not constitute reliable documents, and it is only too clear that Adana's authorities have resorted to all sorts of means to hide the real figure of Christian victims. Moreover, in several localities priests and *mukhtars* themselves are among those killed. For example, at Hamidiyeh, seven people managed to hide somewhere, another eight sought refuge in the factory of a Frenchman, Mr. Sabatier, and all the remainder - estimated at 2000 people by foreign correspondents - including the priest and the *mukhtar*, were massacred.

One must take into consideration that at this season, a considerable number of workers had come to this *kaza*, and since these workers were not registered, it is impossible to come up with an accurate assessment of their number.

Heaven grant that the assessments of the consuls and correspondents were exaggerated!

However, given the importance of Adana from the economic viewpoint; given that the massacres took place in a period when labor and trading were in full swing, the total number of workers coming from various *vilayets* of Anatolia and even from a province as distant as Mosul, could not be less than 40 or 50 thousand. At least half of this number was made up of Armenians, most of whom were massacred.

Zihni Pasha (appointed *Vali* of Adana after the events) told me one day during a conversation that it was not possible to agree that the figure of Armenian victims could reach 15,000 since, according to the official registers, the city of Adana did not have more than 13,000 Armenians. However, His Honor, had, it seems, forgotten that the previous day, he had told me about an operation regarded as a success. He had been able to send back 10,000 Armenian workers, arrived from other regions and camped near the station in tents or outdoors. When I reminded him, His Honor stopped talking. Could he have acted differently, without questioning the success which he boasted about?

Assuming that half of these wretched people, found here and there, out of town, unarmed, were able to save their lives, surely the other half lost theirs, without leaving any trace in any register.

THE NUMBER OF VICTIMS AND IMPORTANCE OF MATERIAL LOSSES

In this connection, I am presenting an excerpt of a collective report to the Ministry of Interior, signed by the delegates of the Sublime Porte, Fayek Bey and Mostidjian Effendi, as well as by Assad Rauf Bey the Governor of Mersin:

The number of people killed during the tragic events of the *Vilayet* of Adana, according to the civil status records, is 5683 - including the soldiers and gendarmes - of whom 1487 are Moslems and 4196 non-Moslems. However, as it is probable that a great number of people temporarily in these areas and non-registered also died, and because it is not currently possible to confirm the number of these individuals, we think that the total figure of killed people - Moslems and non-Moslems - must be approximately 15,000. At the same time, one should not forget either that 30,000 people - children and adults - are homeless and without any financial resources.

I repeat, please God, that these gentlemen were mistaken about the number of victims. But I am very much afraid that this is not the case.

It must indeed be stated that even in Hadjin, where there were no massacres - although the Armenians have remained there under siege for a fortnight - there is still no precise news about the 3000 Armenian natives of this town who were in the province of Adana. Hadjin being a mountainous and arid town, its inhabitants are always forced to earn their living elsewhere.

It is indisputable that the number of non-native victims is large, but it takes at least one year to be able to figure out the exact number of those people whose fate remains unknown, because the number can be based only on official information provided by each *vilayet*.

In any case, it must be accepted that the notables of foreign colonies residing in Adana and its surroundings can assess calmly, especially the foreign correspondents who could freely enter practically anywhere for their investigations. Therefore - while awaiting the establishment of exact figures in each *vilayet* - in my opinion, the most probable current number of victims is the one adopted by foreigners, which indicates that it is no less than 20,000.

With regard to property damage, it suffices to say that the province of Adana - one of the most flourishing and one of the wealthiest of the Empire - is today only a heap of ruins, dull and silent.

According to Zihni Pasha, the burned and destroyed buildings in the city of Adana represent - relative to the total number - one fifth and, relative to the value, one third of the whole.

According to data of the tax collection department, the total value of burned properties represents approximately 96,000 Turkish liras. In my opinion, an extra zero must be added - on the right hand side - and this amount would still be insufficient. One prominent Syrian alone, Elias Turkmani, saw the destruction of his immovable properties worth 30,000 liras, a sum based on official figures of the aforementioned department. In Baghcheh, where they wanted to build one thousand shacks as economically as possible, in order to

provide minimal shelter from the harsh climate, it was established that a minimum of 25 liras had to be spent per unit. Therefore, it is evident that to have a relatively accurate figure, one has to admit a minimum of 50 liras and a maximum of 500 liras for each burned building. That would demonstrate the real value of the official evaluation.

It is equally useful to remember that the total amount covered by insurance in Adana would be 750,000 Turkish liras. Additional evidence demonstrating the value of official figures.

I am compelled to conclude, that the total value of financial losses, including movable and immovable properties, cannot be less than 3 million Turkish Liras.

II.- CAUSES OF THE UNREST: HOW THEY BEGAN AND CONTINUED THEIR COURSE

At the same time as the reactionary movement of March 31 began in Constantinople, in the afternoon of the same day, as soon as the telegram had brought the echo of events which were taking place in the capital, troubles broke out in Adana.

The next day, Wednesday, these troubles turned into massacres which lasted three days and ended on April 3.

Then, the same evening at the arrival of the troops from Roumelieh (Sunday, April 12), they started again and ended only on Tuesday.³⁸

To understand adequately the character of this senseless fury, it is necessary to look back somewhat, even to the day after the proclamation of the Constitution.

The restoration of the constitutional regime accorded badly with the interests of the notables, to whom the former regime had ensured excessive influence. It goes without saying that these notables felt the greatest grudge against the new regime, and, very naturally, against the Armenians, who were ready to shed their blood to preserve it. Thus, these people thought that to successfully attack the new regime, it was necessary first to exterminate the Armenians. Taking advantage of the ignorance and naivety of the mob, they spread calumnies against the Armenians everywhere - calumnies likely to hurt the most delicate feelings of the people.

This is not all.

Sometimes, it was said that the Armenians were arming themselves in order to massacre the Moslems and to rape their women. Sometimes, they spread false rumors according to which Armenians had offended the Islamic religion and disrespected religious institutions.

It was confirmed today that these lies striving to incite the Moslem populace were spread all over Anatolia. A number of MPs in different provinces who had witnessed massacres under the former regime told us that the watchword of the day came from the capital in the form of an official notice. It announced the likely arrival of revolutionaries who allegedly had the intention of attacking the government and Islamic rights and recommended keeping the Moslem populace abreast of developments.

Having left by land, we spent one night in Konia. The Secretary-General of the *vilayet* and the commanding officer of the gendarmerie came to the station to welcome us on behalf of the *Vali*. In the course of a conversation, these effendis informed us that on the same day signs of some agitation were visible in this city; the Moslems had come to the market armed to the teeth;

³⁸ H. Charles Woods in a letter to the editor of the *The London Times* under the title of "The Adana Massacres," on August 3, 1911, wrote that "...the Salonica troops who arrived from Roumelia between the two massacres, actually took part in the second slaughter at Adana."

the Armenians had taken refuge in their homes or with Moslem friends; fortunately, it was soon recognized that the cause of all this commotion was only false news and thus troubles were avoided. We went immediately to the *Vali* to learn about the nature of this incident.

Here is what it was all about:

A telegram received the previous day from the Kaymakam of Boz-Keri (*kaza* of Konia) announced that it was rumored that 5000 Armenians had entered the *kaza*, and begun to burn and devastate the villages and that the Moslem populace, driven to desperation, had forcibly seized weapons from the warehouses of the *redifs*. The telegram added that, as a result of the absence of a military force, the local authorities had sent the Moslem populace on to the most important points of the district to stop the assailants until the arrival of the reinforcements required by the Kaymakam.

Upon receipt of this telegram, the local battalion of *redifs* had been called to arms and had been dispatched in all haste, under the command of an old officer retired from the ranks. However, in the end, they had understood what the story of these 5000 Armenians was all about. It was about fifty Gypsies who were passing by, the same as every year. That was the cause of all this fuss...

The telegram from the Kaymakam had been the cause of a call to arms and of incitement among the Moslems of Konia against the Armenians.

Other supporters of absolutism, such as the Mufti of Hadjin and his sons, Ahmed, Djevdet and Izzet Effendis, the investigating judge, Sabri Effendi, and Husseyni Effendi, a member of the Court of first instance of Kozan, openly declared themselves against the Constitution and Equality. They deliberately recommended that the public exterminate the *Kiafeers* and seize their assets. This fact is proved by the existing appeal records at Adana's Criminal Court.

A similar propaganda campaign was carried out publicly by the ex-mufti of Baghcheh.

It is evident that these provocations gave rise, here and there, to preliminary massacres of Armenians. For example, in Eshdjar-Oushaghy three Armenians from Hadjin (Hajin) were killed; in another village, known as Karsi, two other Armenians were put to death, then dismembered and burned.

The authors of these crimes have straightforwardly confessed to have acted solely upon the above-mentioned incitements. Despite this, they have been transferred to the Adana hospital under the false pretense of illness - in reality to facilitate their escape.

This way of acting was an encouragement to all the criminals.

In the city of Adana, supporters of totalitarianism had recourse to all deceitful means to turn the minds of Moslems against the Armenians. They told to one part of the populace that an Armenian had had guilty relations with Moslem women in the vineyards; that the young Armenian, who had killed a

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Moslem and had wounded another of them to defend his honor, was hiding in the Armenian quarter; that Armenians had purchased a large quantity of weapons and were getting ready to attack the Moslems. The lower classes and those more prone to wrongdoings were told that it was necessary to massacre the *Kiafeers* to take possession of their properties; that the Constitution, contrary to the law of Islam, had been proclaimed only with the aim of safeguarding the interests of the Christians, particularly of the Armenians.

A few days before the massacres, during a meeting organized by the editorial staff of the newspaper *Itidal*,³⁹ all Moslem classes - government officials, religious leaders, soldiers and workers - worked to prepare a mass uprising. The *Vali* claims that the armory was plundered by this over-excited crowd. However, given the fact that the warehouse was guarded by sentries, and these sentries could not let anyone enter without resisting; that it is not proven that there was a clash between the sentries and the people; that the same thing occurred in all parts of the *vilayet*, where massacres took place for the same reasons, there is no doubt that the weapons were distributed by government orders.

Two Armenian notables were killed, one under the very eyes of the *Vali*, the other in a place where he had gone to carry out a mission which had been entrusted to him by the latter. The government, instead of arresting the murderers, was not even concerned about the killings. This stance encouraged the killers, pushing and inciting them to all sorts of excesses and igniting their basest instincts. At 4:00 p.m., all government officials and community leaders as well as the populace were gathered, all wearing the turban, whereupon, the Armenians who, since morning, had been busy at their businesses, were forced to close their stores and take refuge in their homes. This is an absolutely undeniable proof that the latter could not have had any aggressive tendency.

During the massacres in Anatolia, on the pretext of easing their minds, the authorities compelled the Armenians to leave their homes and return to their stores; in reality, it was to deprive them of any means of self-defense and facilitate their extermination by the Moslems. The *Vali* of Adana had recourse to the same means. Consequently, the massacre and looting began methodically with the slaughter of Armenians who, having yielded to the *Vali*'s demands, were in either the streets or their shops. Then the mob attacked the Armenian Quarter to exterminate all those who had found shelter in their homes or had not left. It is only then that the Armenians, being in a position of self-defense, began an armed resistance and that there were casualties on both sides. However, as no Armenian ever attacked the Moslem Quarter and all killed Moslems were found in the Armenian Quarter or near it, it is absolutely impossible to support claims that the measures taken by the Armenians were not strictly defensive, and those of the Turks not a planned offensive.

³⁹ Turkish language newspaper, official mouthpiece of the *Itihadists* in Adana.

The unrest followed its course thus until April 4.

The family of a Moslem, Osman Effendi, lived in the Armenian Quarter. Not only did no one have any idea of mistreating this family, but, on the contrary, care was taken to move them to a safe place. Similarly, Moslem families who were in Hadjin and Dörtüol, far from being the least bit worried, were the object of all sorts of care on the part of the Armenians.

This is further striking material evidence that the Armenians have never had the evil intention to kill Moslems.

The Governor, Djevad Bey, in a report addressed to the Ministry of Interior, claims that it was impossible for him to maintain order with a single battalion of troops against the crowd of criminals and murderers who refused to listen to anything.

However, on April 4 Armenians sent through the said Osman Effendi, residing in their neighborhood, a letter to the government, where they reiterated the assurance that they had never harbored evil intentions. Now, this sole governmental order issued, immediately, after this message was adequate to stop the attack. *Once again this case is a clear proof that the massacres were planned and organized with the knowledge and by order of the local authorities.*

The massacres which began on April 12, like those of April 1, were attributed to a ludicrous cause generated in a bizarre way in order to cast responsibility upon the Armenians.

Djevad Bey, in his report, believes that gunshots having been fired on the troops from the Armenian Quarter, the troops assaulted the said quarter, and he passes over the fires and looting in silence.

However, the investigation showed that not only was it physically impossible to fire on the soldiers' camp from the Armenian Quarter, but also a Moslem dwelled in the house from where it was claimed that the shots were fired. Therefore, this was nothing other than a provocation on the part of some Moslems in order to incite the soldiers against the Armenians.

The Honorable Deputies undoubtedly remember that during the movement of March 31 a bigot - perhaps Sheik Vahadeti - fired, from the Parliament, a gunshot on the soldiers camped in Hagia Sophia square, and that they retaliated.

This incident - being designed to cause the massacre of the Deputies - was, as seen, a duplicate of the one which was used in Adana. The similarity between the two incidents is remarkable.

My honorable colleague, Yusuf Kemal Bey said: “. . . *Although there were some Armenian houses in the vicinity of the one where the gunshots were fired...*” By that, he seems not to dismiss entirely the possibility that gunshots were fired by Armenians. However, in my opinion, the slightest doubt is not allowed in this respect, since all the Armenians living outside of their own quarter had been killed on April 4, so that on the 12th - date of the second

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massacre - not a single Armenian could be found there. Therefore, the gunshots could have been fired on the soldiers only by a Moslem.

It is impossible to find strong enough words to depict the horror and ferocity of this second massacre, which lasted two days.

It was during this slaughter that they burned alive the sick and wounded who had arrived from surrounding farms and villages and those who were in the school building.

In his report, Djevad Bey has judged it superfluous to speak about the terrible death that these unfortunate ones found in the flames; he does not say one word of the disemboweled expectant mothers, of the slaughtered little ones and of thousands of unspeakable atrocities. But he has taken care to note that a great quantity of bombs and dynamite exploded during the fire in the Armenian quarter. The best refutation of this slander is given by the very fact that the Armenians, during their self-defense, never made use of bombs or dynamite. They carried out their self-defense with standard weapons, while it is clear that had they been in possession of such resources, they would have been using them as well, and their effects would have been very easily recognized. As we did not find the slightest trace of similar explosives, to be able to suppose their use, it is quite natural to infer that this is a simple calumny aimed at imposing responsibility on the Armenians.

As for the so-called canons, which allegedly were found during the unrest in the surrounding areas of Adana, these were only two water pipes, encased in wood and loaded with gunpowder. Armenians of the village of Nadjarlu had improvised them, to use, short of any other means of defense; and that proves once again that the Armenians of these areas were far from nurturing ideas of revolt.

All these details decisively show a reality; it is that in Adana the government officials and oligarchs took care in advance to prepare circumstances likely, in their view, to minimize their responsibility in the massacres which they meditated; they decided to lay - at least officially - the responsibility on the Armenians. To reach this objective and be able to justify the savage fury of the Moslems, all sorts of lies were spread and they had recourse to the odious means of shooting at the soldiers' camp.

Djevad Bey adds that the Armenians purchased a large quantity of weapons and that a quantity of 12,000 firearms was imported to Adana in the course of a few months.

It is true that Armenians purchased weapons, but all the quantity imported was not purchased by the Armenians. On the contrary - as indeed, everywhere else - most of these weapons were acquired by Moslems.

Here, a question arises:

Do the Armenians have the right to purchase weapons?

In my opinion, this question is of major importance for the resolution of the Adana events, and deserves to be answered before any other.

I think it is impossible to deny the Armenians a common right of all Ottomans. Also the Armenians having been from time immemorial - and they are still - exposed to all sorts of attacks, aggravations, and massacres, they are, more than the Empire's other elements, in need of getting weapons for their self-defense. The government can prohibit the Armenians only when it denies all the Ottomans without any exception the right to bear arms and has *completely disarmed them*. But to deny this right to a race which uses the weapons only for its self-defense, while it is granted to offensive elements - which are currently armed - would be quite simply sentencing the Armenians to extermination by Moslems like a herd of sheep. No Ottoman would ever agree such injustice.

Consequently, the fact that Armenians carried arms, following the example of other elements, cannot be looked at as a sign of rebellion or insurrection; one cannot do that without violating justice and common sense. And one is led to agree that the Adana events were such that the Armenians could not but submit to the necessity of assuring their legitimate self-defense.

Doubtless, a day will come, when the constitutional government will enforce its power on thugs and criminals and will disarm all Ottomans. Then nobody will see the necessity to think about self-defense. However, I am persuaded that, until the arrival of that happy day, no law, no conscience could blame the Armenians for their legitimate self-defense.

This is not all.

Everyone agrees that the dangers of a return to totalitarianism are not yet completely ruled out. Consequently, every Ottoman has the duty to be on guard against such an event, and, in any case, to defend the Constitution with weapons.

It is general knowledge that the committees of both Armenian political parties, i.e., *Dashnak* and *Hunchag*, have, like the *Ittihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti*, been concentrating all their efforts on the achievement of this sacred duty.

During the events of March 31, in Constantinople the Armenians of the capital city were ready to defend the Ottoman Constitution at the cost of their lives. In Adana, as well as throughout the Empire, the stand of the Armenians was the same. There was no evidence to indicate that the Armenians nurtured an idea contrary to these patriotic feelings, that is to say, a separatist idea. The fact that they publicly purchased weapons could be attributed to no ulterior motive. If the Armenians had been malicious with regard to the Ottoman homeland, they would not have devoted themselves, during the events of Constantinople, with such total dedication and generosity, to the defense of the Constitution and law enforcement, in spite of the agony that the events of Adana had aroused in their hearts.

I believe that any impartial Ottoman will be indignant about the odious calumnies launched against the Armenians, despite their correct and loyal attitude.

CAUSES OF THE UNREST

In Osmaniye, Hamidiyeh, Tarsus, Dörtyol, Hadjin and elsewhere, things have, relatively speaking, happened in the same way. Fabricated lies, artificial tensions due to fake alerts of attacks by Armenians were items of the same brand.

For example, Assaf Bey, Governor of Djebel-Bereket, telegraphs on April 2 to the *vilayet* and the Kaymakamate of Osmaniye that rumors of an attack attributed to the Armenians of Dörtyol are unfounded and that the latter are, on the contrary, asking for help. He also telegraphs the same day to the *vilayet* that the Tajiri tribe - which was engaged in the devastation at Osmaniye - had just attacked Dörtyol. All the telegrams which he received from Osmaniye, Hamidiyeh and other surrounding villages announced that everywhere it was the Moslems - natives or other groups from Adana - who perpetrated the crimes and violated public order.

Despite this, on April 3, the same Assaf Bey sends, cynically, a telegram to the Ministry of the Interior, that the Fedayeens of Hassan-Beyli and Zeytun have gathered in order to devastate all the Sandjak and most probably will come to Adana.

On April 4, in a telegram to the ministry and *vilayet*, he solicits the mandate to release the 400 prisoners of Bapas-Kaleh in order to turn them into a battalion and arm them with guns and ammunition, which he requests from Alexandretta. He puts his plan into execution, releases the prisoners, arms them and incites them against the Armenians.

How to explain such a way of acting and how to qualify it?

Assaf Bey argues that the massacre of Hamidiyeh began following a gunshot aimed at Arslan Bey by the Armenian priest of that city. However, it was proven that the said priest had paid 40 liras for the purchase of a plot of land and had gone to the local government offices in order to take possession of the official act of purchase. It is thus against common sense to state that an individual doing business in government offices, could have perpetrated a murder, and it is clear that the motive put forward was nothing more than a simple lie.

Besides this, a Frenchman, Mr. Sabatier, and an honest Moslem named Abdul-Khalek have certified that the priest was killed by the Moslems for no reason whatsoever.

In my opinion, the true character of the Adana events emerges to a sufficient degree from the festivities in which the “*victory*” won over the Armenians and, generally speaking, the Christian element was celebrated. On April 12, while some gendarmes were expelling from town a distressed group of poor Armenians who had survived the killings, other gendarmes, in the presence of all the senior officials of the *vilayet* were chanting “*Long live Sultan Hamid! Down with Liberty!*,” and were *demolishing the arch of triumph* in the city’s square, which had been erected just after the proclamation of the Constitution.

This incident is very significant.

III.- GOVERNMENT STANCE BEFORE AND AFTER THE EVENTS

After presenting the above facts, it seems unnecessary for me to care about the attitude of the governor, Djevad Bey, and that of Adana's officials, as well as the Governor of Djebel-Bereket. I think that their attitude proves - in all conditions defined by law - that they are absolutely guilty of *provocation, organization and collaboration*. However, what is most horrible in these dreadful events is, in my opinion, the way the Armenians were treated after the massacres, and the appalling measures which were practiced to exterminate the survivors.

After the massacres, there were hardly any Armenians left in Adana. Some were exterminated, others had managed to flee; the remainder, like a flock of sheep, had been placed under the supervision of some gendarmes. Thus, when the investigations began, one saw, on one side, poor human wrecks, who had exhausted their tears on the bodies of their loved ones, and on the other side, all the troublemakers, organizers of the crimes, thugs, and murderers. Under these conditions, what did the local government do? It jailed all the prominent people among the survivors and had them chain-beaten on charges of rebellion against the government and use of weapons against soldiers.

This strange process had the result of teaching all those who did not already know it that the massacres were organized by the local government itself.

It has never been denied that the Armenians used weapons. No one wanted to deny either that soldiers and other Moslems were killed by the bullets of Armenians. The problem is to know whether, under such circumstances, the use of weapons can be punished. That is the question to which, to this day, the court-martial completely closes its eyes.

As we have already said, the Armenians having taken refuge in their quarter, in their homes, the Moslem mob attacked them there so that the Armenians were busy with their self-defense. There is not any doubt about it. The facades of all the houses from where the Armenians retaliated to the attack are riddled with bullets fired either by soldiers or by the *Bashi-Bozooks*.

Which law or conscience could allow the punishment of a person who killed his attacker in such circumstances?

Self-defense is not only a right recognized by law, but also an intrinsic right established by the human conscience. There isn't a man, nor even a beast, that does not feel the instinctive need to defend itself.

What reasoning could be referred to consider that the Armenian element be deprived of this right?

Prior to setting-up the courts-martial, the local government put in place false witnesses and accusers with the intent of concealing its crime. Taking advantage of the return of Armenians who had escaped the massacres and given the fact that these helpless ones did not dare express themselves freely,

GOVERNMENT STANCE BEFORE AND AFTER THE EVENTS

it strove hard to hide the magnitude of these horrific events and modify their nature. All those Armenians who had made use of their weapons legitimately in self-defense, were charged with crimes under the pretext of inquiring or collecting false testimonies.

The aforementioned government marked the end of its activity by sending before the courts-martial this crowd of innocents to be convicted.

IV.- COURTS-MARTIAL

I will not say anything that might detract from the reputation and honesty of the officers who formed the courts-martial. However, I must declare that they did not possess to a sufficient degree the required statutory and legal knowledge. Similarly, I cannot cover the depth of my surprise that naïveté drove them to adopt as legal foundation senior local officials and people from various classes of the populace who organized pseudo witnesses and provided them with false testimonies from public prosecutors, in trivial and major cases, where all, with no exception, were so deeply involved.

The verdicts of the courts-martial of Adana, being given on this basis, are, indeed, lacking in judicial and legal value.

Six Armenians were sentenced to death by the afore-mentioned courts, as guilty of having killed about fifty Moslems in a Khan called Ohan Oghlou Khan. However, it is surprising that the following were not taken into consideration:

1) That these killed Moslems were not residents of this Khan.

2) That these people in this Khan next to the Armenian Quarter, where they had nothing to do, were all shady people from various parts of the city, which proves that they were gathered there with the sole intention of attacking the Armenians.

3) That their deaths coincided precisely with the attack against the Armenians.

I cannot stop myself seeing a replication, reviewed and enhanced, of the Hamidian massacres of Constantinople: The authorities ignored the nameless perpetrators of the crimes of which Adana and its surroundings were the scene and which took the proportions of a national tragedy, and these felons were spared, whereas the unfortunate Armenian survivors, guilty only of having escaped death in self-defense, were convicted and executed.

The Effendis of the courts-martial seem to have been totally unaware that in criminal matters judges are not compelled to accept as plain truth all witnesses' statements and that, on the contrary, they are legally required to examine whether the given testimonies agree with the material possibilities, and, consequently, are acceptable or not.

It is as a result of its inadequacy in judicial matter that the courts-martial kept on convicting people who ran away from the marketplace and took refuge in the homes of foreign residents, where, even according to statements from distinguished foreign witnesses, they never went out throughout the entire duration of the unrest.

One must also consider that the courts-martial officers were not sufficiently well informed about either the history of the Constitution or the political life of Ottoman citizens, because they speak about the existence - apart from the Dashnaktsutun committee - of a so-called revolutionary

committee called Droshak, and it seems completely unaware that the Dashnaktsutiun committee is, at present, as legitimate and respectable a political party as the *Ittihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti*. The sentences of the court are based on the same prejudices as the Armenian committees were exposed to under the old regime, and so they do nothing other than disrupt the order of things and the political and social life instituted by the Ottoman Constitution.

Can all this enhance our dignity, our national prestige in the eyes of the civilized world?

V.- CONCLUSION

Before taking the decision to divulge these horrible truths, I hesitated many times, and I thought for a long time. I even had the idea to tone them down to avoid distressing my Moslem colleagues.

However, responsibility for crimes perpetrated by members of a nation or members of a religion should not collectively weigh on this nation or that religion.

Islamic law, far from accepting such atrocities, does not allow the least injustice. It orders the search for the truth in everything. Therefore, I have not thought it necessary to hide the things that I have noticed and of which I am convinced.

I do not think that the disclosure of these truths can increase the discord between the elements, because I am hopeful that this savage lunacy will not last long.

Under the former regime, it was customary to conceal crimes, to deny, distort the facts.

Due to this wicked system, the disease which the country was suffering from was like a purulent wound in the form of a gangrene in the side of the Empire.

But, a disease can be cured only if it is diagnosed and treated.

If concealed, it will never be healed.

This at least is my opinion.

Before I conclude, I am compelled to add, with deepest regret, that the members of the *Ittihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti* party participated in the organization and execution of the ferocious tragedy of Adana. This reality was confirmed by various elements of the province: Consuls, American missionaries and Latin priests.

Moreover, the reaction of the foreign press to these horrors has been such that public opinion is almost convinced that they are the work of the *Ittihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti*.

In case the incriminated party members are not expelled and serve the sentences that they deserve, the heavy accusations against the *Ittihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti* will become indisputable.

At the present time, when the government is, so to speak, exclusively in the hands of our party, we can provide immediate assistance to the victims, punish without exception the culprits with all the rigor of the law, and take effective measures to prevent the recurrence of such calamities, rehabilitate the committee and the government and save the homeland.

APPENDIX I
HAGOP BABIGUIAN'S THREE TELEGRAMS AND
THE NUMBER OF THE VICTIMS

Telegram of May 25, 1325 (1909)

To the attention of the Prime Minister

Our committee took note of the telegram that Adana religious leaders had transmitted to your Honor.

In my opinion they are perfectly right.

Already it was not difficult to foresee that the military council would reach this conclusion. That is why I considered as an obligation the request for the postponement of the judgments. Unfortunately, this advice was not taken into consideration. I had received a telegram from Tarsus, signed by Assad Rauf Bey, asking that Armenians who have been unfairly incarcerated - Kevork Effendi - be released from jail while their proceedings continue.

Your Honor ordered the court to proceed with this request, but the command was not executed. It was the duty of the military court to hasten the examination and verdicts for Bagdadi Zadeh, Saleh Boshnak, Ihsan Fikri, and their collaborators in Adana and Sayid Agha, Hadji Khalil Bey, and Hasan Agha, in Baghcheh as well as in Osmaniye and Ihsaniyeh. Then as soon as order was reestablished the examination of civil and other offences should have been passed on to conventional courts. The courts-martial, instead of proceeding that way - which was its entire responsibility - during the audiences of its two-month-long session, even strove to reveal the existence of an Armenian revolt. All of its activities were focused on the punishment of the poor survivors, whose only crime was that they had been protecting their own lives. The court's decision relied solely on the testimony and declaration of municipal and military officials, as well as criminals such as Bagdadi Zadeh, author and organizer of the unrest.

I learned from a reliable source that around Hadjin, a large number of Armenians consisting of teams of 7-8 persons were chain-beaten, and killed by the most horrible processes.

I arrived here late last night and was informed, contrary to the instructions given by Your Honor, that Kevork Effendi and Armenians belonging to his class were subjected to greater severity, and that a number of Armenians have started to emigrate.

The former Governor, Djevad Bey, in his newsletter published in the press, claimed that the massacres started following a conversation - otherwise known as Djevad Bey's falsehood - according to which a woman and some Moslems were killed in the vineyards by Armenians.

However, judicial documents and authentic information definitely confirm that the rumors of the massacres in that district spread after the Ramadan Bayram. My colleagues also confirmed this point in their telegrams.

In my opinion, in the Sandjak of Djebel-Bereket alone, the minimum number of massacred Armenians exceeds 3000. Except in the area of Dörtyol, where the Armenians put up a legitimate resistance, no building belonging to Armenians remained undamaged in the whole province.

Therefore, if the military court does not impose a ban on the intimidation of the Armenian survivors, we will be opening up incurable wounds in the present and the future.

I have the honor, to declare this to Your Honor for the last time.

Telegram of May 31, 1325 (1909)

[Reply]

We left yesterday and after crossing through the villages of Osmaniye and Harouniyeh arrived at Baghcheh at a late hour. The populace of that village was in ecstasy, searching for stolen and plundered furniture and materials and even excited about the re-occupation. Armenians are once again threatened by the Moslems. I do not know how but they learned about the latest incidents in Dörtyol and on this occasion they say that this spot has been shelled. They told the Armenians that the Church in Dörtyol has been destroyed, and we shall massacre all the rest of you who are still alive. The 25 Moslem soldiers who are present here would be unable to protect you, there are enough Moslem women to tie the hands of these soldiers.

The few Armenians who evaded the massacres, and escaped this evil were terrified and came to Baghcheh accompanied by a corporal commanding the soldiers. After their arrival in Baghcheh, the soldiers burned the remaining four houses which were still standing there.

Despite all these horrors, which we witnessed on our way, in every place that we went we saw the Mufti of Baghcheh - under the surveillance of the troops in Dörtyol who was circulating freely with his friends.

We have been absolutely convinced from our investigations that prior to Ramadan Bayram the relations between Moslems and Christians were good. It is around that time that rumors of the massacres began to spread. Complaints were presented in this regard to the governor of Djebel-Bereket and it is for that reason that a judicial inquiry was initiated.

According to propagated news, the Mufti of Baghcheh declared in his sermons that the Constitution was the work of Armenians, that the Constitutional Committee was prejudicial against Moslems and that it had established equality, which was opposed to the *Sharia*. This is the same Mufti who, days in advance, was aware of the events which were to take place that

Wednesday morning in Adana, and in the evening of that same day in Hamidiyeh; he had sent some men to Harouniyeh to Hadji Khalil Bey and Hassan Agha in order to organize with them the massacres and plunder, which began on Friday.

Again, it was this same Mufti who had collected a bribe of 30 golden liras in order to protect the rented house of some Germans in Baghcheh.

In spite of everything, and no one can deny these facts, I am extremely surprised to see that the Mufti and his henchmen circulate freely.

This is a fact, as well as the entry of the Mufti into Baghcheh accompanied by his son, where they were hailed by the Moslem populace with a fusillade of gunfire as a sign of joy. Using threats, he constrained the Armenians to forward a telegram in favor of the Mufti, and even to sign a statement of satisfaction - he will find a new source of encouragement for the crimes he has carried out. On the contrary, for the Armenians, the above-mentioned incidents will sooner or later be equal causes for despair.

My true feelings as an "Ottoman" prompt me to conclude that in this category of cases it is impossible to try to impose friendly relations between elements, not only in places such as this, but within the entire Empire.

These people have acted in such a way that the tragic consequences cannot be condensed into a telegram. However, in the name of the fatherland I beg you to make them abandon their plan.

Telegram of June 7, 1325 (1909)

[Pleading about the Verdicts and Proceedings of the Military Court]

To the attention of the Prime Minister

It is kindly requested that Your Excellency postpone the military court rulings until our investigations are completed.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Regrettably, Babiguian's telegrams were ineffective. Referencing Article 56 of the Criminal code, twelve Armenians were sentenced to death by the Tribunal. Six of them, Adana natives accused for killing Turks, when their only crime was trying to defend the lives of their loved ones, were hanged in Adana on May 28 (June 11). Regarding the remaining six who were not from Adana, two of them were sentenced to death and hanged in Adana, whereas the remaining four had their sentences commuted to life imprisonment.

NUMBER OF VICTIMS

The number of Armenians killed in Adana and its surroundings reached approximately 21,000. This number was divided in the following manner:

ARMENIAN VICTIMS IN ADANA AND SURROUNDINGS	Number
Adana and its surrounding farms	9780
Tanreh-Verdi and its surrounding	1280
Saigh-Kechid	850
Esseh-Hadjeli	1558
Osmaniye	1111
Bostan Çiftlik	1277
Kurtlar	3623
Subtotal	19,479
Other Christian Victims	
Greeks	250
Syrians	850
Chaldeans	422
Subtotal	1522
Total	21,001

The total number of victims given by the archbishoprics of Armenians, Armenian-Catholics, Protestants, Greeks, Syrians and Chaldeans exceeds 21,000, and our last examination confirmed the number.

Independently of these victims, others, whose number is unknown, were killed on various Moslem farms.

APPENDIX II
HAGOP BABIGUIAN'S INTERVIEWS BY THE PRESS

A.- By a reporter of *Itidal*⁴¹ newspaper

Reporter: *Is your mission in Adana over, or are you going to return there again?*

Babiguian: The work I was supposed to do is over. There are no more issues for me to investigate.

Reporter: *What is the result of the investigations? What was the cause of the massacres?*

Babiguian: The results of my investigation show that, beginning with the Proclamation of Liberty, the adherents of the despotic regime showed signs of discontent and intended to massacre the Christians; this is obvious and is proved by official judicial documents.

Reporter: *Did Sultan (Abdul) Hamid take part in this?*

Babiguian: There are disagreements in this regard in Adana, and in the course of the investigations I was not able to find proof of it.

Reporter: *Did the local administration or the central government play a role in the massacre?*

Babiguian: The central government did not take part in it, but was the reason for it. And the local administration took part in it. In particular Governor Djevad, military commander Mustafa Remzi Pasha, Djebel-Bereket *mutassarif* Assaf Bey, Abdul Kadir Bagdadi Zadeh, Saleh Boshnak Effendi, and the editor-in-chief of *Itidal*, Ihsan Fikri Effendi, were definitely involved.

Reporter: *Did the Christians cause the massacres?*

Babiguian: The Christians did not cause the massacres. I am absolutely convinced of that.

Reporter: *What do your colleagues think?*

Babiguian: My colleagues agree with me; only Yusuf Kemal Bey had some disagreements, but eventually he was convinced as well.

Reporter: *Will peace be lasting after this in Adana? Have measures been taken to prevent such incidents from recurring?*

Babiguian: By virtue of strict and just measures, the government will be able to maintain peace, tranquility, and order in Adana. However, the military tribunal has not been guided by impartiality. If it is impartial, there will be no problematic issues left.

⁴¹ Simonyan, pp. 221-222; *Piuzantion*, No. 3861, June 23 (July 6), 1909, pp. 297-299.

B.- By an editor of *Tasvir-i-Efkâr* newspaper⁴²

Editor: What did you see when you arrived in Adana?

Babiguan: Regarding what I saw, I can tell you in brief that the details of the Adana incidents published in European newspapers do not overstate the situation but rather understate it, compared to what I saw.

Editor: In your view, what was the cause of the events?

Babiguan: The Adana events had two powerful causes - the forces of reaction and despotism. At the beginning of July, despotic tendencies appeared. The former *mufti* of Baghcheh went here and there, declaring that the Constitution and Liberty were the doing of the Christians, that they were against the *Sharia*, and thus he agitated the Moslems against the Christians and the Constitution. The joy and elation of all strata of the population in the first days after the proclamation of the Constitution were replaced by hostility and vindictiveness against the non-Moslems.

Editor: It is said that Armenians caused the insurrection. Is that true?

Babiguan: The documents I have with me prove that this assumption is absolutely wrong.

Editor: It is said that Armenians wanted to declare independence in Cilicia - is that true?

Babiguan: The investigation proves that this assumption is absolutely baseless. The talk and reports about Armenians aspiring for independence are the result of either a flawed inquiry or the deliberate distortion of the truth.

Editor: How are the victims going to make their living henceforth?

Babiguan: For now, they have no means of subsistence. The majority of Armenians are preparing to emigrate to America and elsewhere.

⁴² Ibid., pp. 222-223. An extensive interview with Babiguan was published in the June 25, 1909 issue of *Tasvir-i-Efkâr* (Ibid., p. 225).

APPENDIX III
SENTENCES OF ADANA'S COURTS-MARTIAL

The planners and perpetrators of the Adana Genocide of April 1909 made use of a sophisticated strategy, i.e., the legal approach, to carry out its denial campaign. However, as will be noticed in this section, the Western-style legal procedure adopted by the Ottoman government was nothing other than a smokescreen, to try and prove its innocence in the tragic events of April 1909.

The legal operation was executed in four steps. First, investigators were appointed; second, courts-martial were set up for undertaking, allegedly, the legal investigations of the tragic events; third, dummy witnesses were created; and finally, sentences were passed in order to arrest the alleged criminals and to punish them.

However, in reality, these courts had been set up with the primary objective of portraying the Adana massacres as simply a fratricidal confrontation between two religious communities of the Empire, Christians and Moslems, underlining the fact that the latter had paid a much heavier human toll than their adversaries. These courts were also mandated to incriminate the Armenian survivors, who lived in a state of terror, in order to have them end up either on the gallows or in prison. As to the real criminals, organizers of the massacres, these received, very light sentences:

... 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 organizers. 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...⁴³

However, Turkey was being confronted, on the one hand, with diplomatic and military pressures from the Western Powers and, on the other hand, with the civilized world shuddering from horror. Fearing a military intervention from the Western Powers, whose armada was anchored a few miles off the shores of Cilicia, the Interior Minister, Ferid Pasha, promised to carry out a thoroughgoing investigation of the Adana events, while requesting in return that the West would trust his administration of Justice.

Immediately after the massacres, the Adana *Vilayet* administration appointed an investigative team that was supposed to conduct an impartial

⁴³ Ferriman, pp. 64-65.

investigation and punish the guilty, though in fact its real purpose was to lay the entire blame on Armenians.⁴⁴

As a consequence of the first massacre in Adana, a court of inquiry, largely composed of local officials was assembled. Among the members of this court were: Abdul Kadir Bagdadi Zadeh (a Moslem notable of Adana).⁴⁵

Subsequently, two more officials, Djevad Bey (governor-general of Adana) and Mustafa Remzi Pasha (military commander of Adana), joined this court.

The primary concern of this court was the disarmament issue. A plan for a house-to-house search was put in place for collecting arms from the Armenians and, allegedly, from the Turks.

Upon instructions received from his government, Vice-Consul Doughty-Wylie, who was presiding over the newly formed International Relief Committee, with the assistance of the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople and the Armenian Prelacy of Adana, persuaded the Armenian leaders that *“There is no danger anymore, so the weapons must be surrendered.”* Shortly thereafter, a telegram came from the Constantinople Patriarchate demanding that the weapons be handed over. The Adana Prelate, Bishop Moushegh Seropian, took a similar stance.⁴⁶

With such reliable assurances and disregarding the eventuality of further massacres, the Armenians handed over their weapons used for self-defense, thus becoming the defenseless prey of their enemies.

The second wave of the massacres was larger in scale and more violent than the first. While the massacres in the city of Adana were taking place, rumors spread throughout the province that Armenians had revolted in Adana, killed all the Muslims, and were going to destroy the villages. This caused extreme anxiety and provoked retaliatory attacks by the Muslims on Armenian villages.⁴⁷

A large number of Armenians *“were arrested by order of this preliminary commission. These arrests caused an absolute panic amongst the already terrified people ... although this preliminary court of enquiry made no public decision, yet the report which was drawn up by it did undoubtedly prejudice the members of the court-martial when they arrived at Adana...”*⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Simonyan, p. 50.

⁴⁵ Woods, pp. 179-180, 187.

⁴⁶ Simonyan, p. 50.

⁴⁷ Bedross Der Matossian, *“From Bloodless Revolution to Bloody Counterrevolution: The Adana Massacres of 1909,”* Genocide Studies and Prevention: An International Journal: Vol 6: Iss. 2 Article 6. (2011), p.163.

⁴⁸ Woods, p. 180.

Anticipating the potential adverse impact of a biased court of enquiry's report on the courts-martial, the Armenian Patriarch at Constantinople lodged a protest with the Turkish authorities requesting its quashing.

In effect, two courts-martial composed of officers drawn from the military high command in Constantinople were set up in Adana. They accepted with no hesitation the recommendations of the preliminary court of inquiry, thus provoking a strong protest from the Patriarch, who submitted his resignation to the Grand Vizier.

It was noted that a long time passed before any arrests were made; and when such arrests were made, the Armenians noted with dismay, and foreign observers with astonishment, that there were more Christian prisoners than Mohammedans. In the sentences meted out, also, the same curious proportion was observed as between victims and criminals. For example, the court-martial at Adana, towards the end of June, condemned four Armenians to ten years' and four to five years' hard labor, while it condemned only two Mohammedans to five years' and one to one year's hard labor.⁴⁹

The argument advanced by these courts suggested that the Armenians had conducted a rebellion and that the behavior of the Turks was a justified reaction based on fear of a Christian insurrection.

Trials were conducted in an unprofessional, biased and deceptive manner not conducive to obtaining the truth.

The members of the court-martial themselves examined and cross-examined the accused, after which witnesses for the prosecution were called. If the accused desired to summon any witnesses in his defense these men were then examined. The interrogation of the witnesses, whether for the prosecution or defense, was not, however, carried out in the presence of the accused.⁵⁰

Having set up an interrogation procedure, courts-martial were to recruit dummy witnesses in order to carry out their dirty work, under the cover of legality.

Dissatisfied with laying the entire blame for the crime on Armenians, the military tribunal did all it could to manufacture culprits responsible for the far-fetched "rebellion" looking for them first of all within the ranks of the *Dashnak* and *Hunchag* parties.

Armenians were summoned for questioning and arrested based on false statements that were taken by the military tribunals as irrefutable truths. There was no lack of so-called witnesses among the Muslim population. They were also able to find witnesses among self-seeking Armenians...

⁴⁹ Abbott, p. 303.

⁵⁰ Woods, p. 183.

Based on their false statements, the investigators applied force and coerced arrested Armenians into signing statements prepared in Armenian. Based on such evidence dozens of people were arrested and tortured each day.⁵¹

On May 26 (June 7) 1909, despite MP Babiguan's intervention,⁵² the military court sentenced to death twelve Armenians, six of whom were from Adana and were hanged in the city, whereas, of the remaining six, who were from Hadjin, two were hanged and the four others had their sentences commuted to life imprisonment.

Ultimately, the final verdicts of the courts-martial subjected the main culprits to very light sentences, not exceeding a few months:

Nine Moslems and six Armenians (three of them were absolutely innocent) were subjected to capital punishment in the autumn of 1909, besides twenty-five Moslems who were hanged during the month of December of that year.

... Far more unsatisfactory are the circumstances under which certain of the prisoners were condemned to death. It seems almost certain that at least three of the Armenians actually hanged were, in fact, entirely innocent.⁵³

Abbott had already noted that "*...The procedure of the military court was inspired by a conception of equity that failed to earn the gratitude of the Armenians or the approval of anyone else...*"⁵⁴

Not trusting the military authorities, the Parliamentary Commission insisted on an independent investigation on the spot, forcing the court martial to change its president and "*was finally compelled to publish a report that could not be criticized for lack of candor. It frankly stated that fifteen persons were already hanged, that eight hundred deserved death that fifteen thousand deserved hard labor for life and that eighty thousand deserved minor sentences...*"⁵⁵

However, the multitude of the miscreants seemed to have rendered the literal application of strict justice a perilous undertaking; hence, the military judges were led to recommend a general amnesty.

Sensational Convictions

After three and a half months of waiting in troubling anxiety, finally, on July 16, 1909, these people (as listed below) were arrested and brought to trial before Adana's courts-martial.

It was noticed by reading the official reports of the commissions of inquiry

⁵¹ Simonyan, p. 210.

⁵² Appendix I, Telegram of June 7, 1325(1909).

⁵³ Woods, p. 183.

⁵⁴ Abbott p. 304.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 304.

sent to Adana that Djevad Bey by his sluggishness and incapacity, Mustafa Remzi Pasha by his recklessness and lack of energy, Assaf Bey by his cowardice and multiple fallacious messages in all directions in the Province of Adana and the district of Djebel-Bereket, and Ihsan Fikri by the publication of seditious articles, had aroused the Islamic populace of the country to march against the Christians, to plunder and exterminate them forever.

Let one read below the sentences of Adana's courts-martial against these major culprits, main sponsors of the events which devastated two beautiful provinces of the Ottoman Empire.

Names & Sentences

1° Djevad Bey, former governor-general of the province of Adana, to six years' exclusion from the public service without remuneration.

2° Mustafa Remzi Pasha, former military commander of Adana, to three months' imprisonment.

3° Assaf Bey, governor of Djebel-Bereket, acquitted (later, sentenced to four years' exclusion from public service).

4° Ihsan Fikri, editor and proprietor of Adana's *Itidal*, main author of the articles inciting the Turkish populace, before and during the massacre, against the Armenians (see especially his famous article of April 5, 1909) was sentenced to two years' exile.

5° Ismail Sefa, collaborator of Ihsan Fikri, to one month's imprisonment.

6° Osman Bey, central military commander of Adana, to 3 months' imprisonment.

7° Abdullah Effendi, central vice-commander of Adana, to 3 months of the same.

8° Bashir Agha, Officer in Adana, to 2 months' imprisonment.

9° Abdul Kadir Bagdadi Zadeh Effendi, who had always been guilty of inciting Muslims against Christians was acquitted, however, had to remain in exile for two years.⁵⁶

These sentences could not satisfy the Armenians, who asked for severe penalties against the main culprits of the events.

The Armenians were disappointed. The multiple promises of the Ottoman government to punish the culprits were ignored and the Patriarchate's report had no results. Adana's courts-martial passed derisory judgements condemning the main instigators of the events of April 1909 to light sentences and innocent Armenian survivors to heavy sentences and hard labor.

The frustration engendered among the Armenians resounded in the resignation of the highest ecclesiastic authorities whether in Constantinople or in Sis, seat of the Cilician catholicossate.

⁵⁶ Georges Brézol, *Les Turcs ont Passé Là*, Brézol, 66 Blvd. Ornano, Paris, 1911, p. 252.

Indeed, the Armenian Archbishop of Coumcapou (Constantinople), HH Monsignor Elie Tourian presented his resignation to the Sublime Porte. A few days later, HH Monsignor Sahag, Catholicos of Cilicia, whose seat is in Sis, did the same, by protesting like the first, that justice and moral satisfaction were not being granted to the so patient Armenian nation. - . The Patriarch, HH Monsignor Tourian added that it would be impossible for him to return to Coumcapou as long as the main instigators of the Adana events were not punished in an exemplary way.⁵⁷

Commenting about the sentencing of the “partisans of the old regime” by the Young Turks, a Russian diplomat wrote, “the New Regime displayed rather too obvious a mildness.”⁵⁸

In his circular of August 8, 1909 (22 Redjeb 1327) addressed to the provincial authorities about the Adana massacres, Turkey's Grand Vizier, Hussein Hilmi Pasha, acknowledged the innocence of the Armenians and was convinced that the instigators of the massacres would be punished unequivocally. He declared among others:

...it is indisputably established that the Armenian nation has not deviated from the devotion that she has always exhibited vis-à-vis the Ottoman Empire...

... the real instigators and those of the officials who have failed in their duty will naturally be punished in accordance with laws...⁵⁹

However, disappointed and as a sign of protest at the unacceptable performance of the government, the Grand Vizier resigned at the end of December 1909.

To seal forever the chapter of the Cilician massacres the newly appointed *Vali* of Adana, Djemal Bey, along with the Grand Vizier Ibrahim Hakki Pasha, replacing Hussein Hilmi Pasha, tried hard to implement a reconciliation scenario between the two adversaries.

To this effect they used a tactful approach which would, undeniably, appeal to the civilized world: A Forced Pact of Reconciliation between Moslem Elements and the Christians of Cilicia was planned. The new *Vali* of Adana, Djemal Bey, offered an official banquet – a comedy played by the representative of the Ottoman Government.

It is on February 10 (1910) that the brilliant idea of reuniting in a banquet the various elements of Cilicia evolved in the imagination of the leaders of Ottoman politics.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 255.

⁵⁸ A. Nekludoff, *Diplomatic Reminiscences Before and During World War, 1911-1917*, translated from French by Alexandra Paget, London, John Murray, 1920, p. 22.

⁵⁹ Brézol, p. 251.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 256.

With the courts-martial having ceased their activities, such a Banquet would display appropriately to the rest of the world a sign of genuine reconciliation between Christians and Turks.

At the repeated insistence of foreign consuls some representatives from the Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, including some local Armenians, attended the banquet grudgingly. In reference to such a pact of reconciliation, a foresighted, Brézol wrote:

But this pact was all a facade, there is no possible union between a people with a bruised heart and murderous people, unconscious of the vile perpetrated things. Can there be any affinity between two races which have never been able to get along, especially after such tragic events?

In any case, it is distressing to note the injustice of a government which seemed to want to draw her inspiration from the republican motto: Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity.⁶¹

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 258.

APPENDIX IV
AN OVERVIEW OF THE WEST'S REACTION TO THE ADANA
MASSACRES⁶²

From the humanitarian point of view, the reaction of the West was incompatible with the magnitude of violence suffered by the victims of the Adana massacres. Political considerations seem to have prevailed in this case, since the West was pursuing, adamantly, a foreign policy tending to encourage the CUP in its plan of secularization and Westernization of the Ottoman Empire. Consequently, avoidance of undermining the CUP's authority and tarnishing its reputation and track record was mandatory for the West. Human rights issues, however, were being sacrificed and, regrettably, relegated to the background.

FRANCE

French media were quick to draw attention to the Adana atrocities. Under the title "Massacres of Christians in Turkey" *Le Petit Journal* wrote:

In Muslim countries, political unrest almost always provokes manifestations of religious fanaticism. Once again Armenian Christians were massacred *en masse*. In Adana, their bazaars were looted and burnt. Several hundred people were killed. Women and children were mutilated in a horrible manner. A witness of these horrors writes that the town looks like a slaughterhouse and is partly destroyed; thousands of people are homeless, and famine is imminent.⁶³

Le Matin updated readers and published a letter addressed to the newspaper:

Until now, there have been only vague echoes of the massacres that have taken place in Asia Minor following the Turkish counter-revolution. The following letter, addressed to us by Mrs. Caroline Furet, Senior member of the French colony of Adana, is the first direct correspondence arriving in Paris, and relating some of the appalling occurrences of which Asia Minor is once more the theater. Here is the letter:

⁶² For an extensive compilation of excerpts from the American press, see Richard Kloian, *The Armenian Genocide, News Accounts from the American Press: 1915-1922*, the Genocide Education Project, 5th ed. (2011); <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1909/04/21/101817175html>; for excerpts from the Canadian Press, see Katia M. Peltekian, *Heralding of the Armenian Genocide: Reports in the Halifax Herald, 1894-1922*, Armenian Cultural Association of the Atlantic Provinces, Halifax, N.S. Canada, 2000; for excerpts from the British press, see Varoujean Poghosyan, "The Echoes of the Armenian Massacres of Cilicia in 1909 in the Times" (www.armeniandiaspora.am/images/menus/622/PoghosyanV.pdf).

⁶³ *Le Petit Journal*, May 2, 1909.

To the Editor-in-Chief of *Le Matin*.

Sir:

When something happens, against all justice and all humanity, and the victims inspire in each country feelings of generous pity, it is your newspaper, the mouthpiece of truth and brotherhood that one must address, because one is sure of finding a sympathetic echo and a pen ready to publish.

Our Adana (Asian Turkey), a very quiet city, with an Armenian population for the most part, which is very hardworking, has just been, for a week and especially for three days, from 14 to 16 April, the theater of the most atrocious scenes of massacre, plunder, fire and other unspeakable tragedies.

The sight is horrible. The shops, the bazaars are no longer but bloody ruins, as murder, with unheard-of refinements, accompanied the horrors of the attack. More than eight thousand dead, not to mention bodies thrown into the river. Not only is the city devastated, but its surroundings, its vineyards, farms and even the whole department have suffered and been devastated in the areas occupied by Armenian families. There are more than 20,000 victims in the entire department (*vilayet*).

And what had the victims of these incredible acts of barbarism done so awful to remember? They had dared, they, the Armenians, to defend themselves against bands of Turkish *Bashi-Bozooks*, thrown at them by fierce and implacable enemies!

Never mind those fatal hours which took away the happiness, the fortune, the life of so many honest Armenian citizens, the fathers of families who leave after them weeping widows, orphaned children. How to live? All the supplies and all the reserves have disappeared, and the little that can be procured is held by thieves, who make them pay three times their value. But the foreigners agreed not to leave them this infamous profit.

The crops are lost! Those who remain and cannot emigrate due to duty or lack of money are still in danger. And who knows what can happen, for the governor of the city hasn't any energy at all (...). As soon as suspension of the carnage was proclaimed and traffic in the streets congested with corpses became possible, courageous men took urgent measures for rescue and salvation. Ambulances were set up; relief flew from everywhere. If acts of cruelty have taken place, heroism has had its divine hours.

Are the community, the Armenian colony, out of danger? Who can say? It is good that Europe should know through your mouthpiece what is happening at the moment when there is so much talk of peace and conciliation between Turks and Christians.

Mrs. Caroline Furet,

Dean of the French colony of Adana⁶⁴

Jean Longuet, editor and specialist in international questions for *l'Humanité*, under the title of "The Adana Killings" published in its issue of May 9, 1909 an article highlighting Ottoman violence. He solemnly warned the new regime:

The honor and interest of the Young Turks require the immediate cessation of these horrors, a severe repression of their perpetrators, effective relief for survivors plundered, ruined, doomed to famine. It is certain that they have already been very late to act. It took nothing less than the energy of our friends the Armenian MPs Zohrab and Vartkes to induce the Ottoman Court to vote in principle for the punishment of the guilty. [...] The slightest indulgence, the slightest weakness with regard to these bandits would be complicity, which would place today's masters as low as the Great Assassin himself, in the opinion of the civilized world.

The impunity of the slaughterers of thirteen years ago has only allowed the present renewal of their sinister exploits.⁶⁵

French media went on publishing news and materials about the Adana massacres for quite some time. The *Journal des Voyages*, for instance, under the title "Fire and Murder in Adana," wrote:

We would probably not have come back to the events that took place in Adana if chance had not got us in touch these days with a fellow countryman on his return from Asia Minor. He was in Adana at precisely the time of the massacres, and he was able to provide us with absolutely unpublished information on the importance of this atrocious extermination. Thirty thousand slaughtered people, three hundred farms burned, more than ten thousand stolen cattle, material losses exceeding one million TL (about 25 million FF), such is the balance sheet of the massacres of the Armenians in the province of Adana, he says. And Europe has not intervened!

The slaughter lasted three days, during which brutes turned fanatical by the holy war to the *giaour* pitilessly exterminated the unfortunate Armenians crushed by their numbers.

Indeed, Adana is a province of 600,000 souls, of whom 35 to 40,000 are Armenians drowned in a mass of 400,000 Muslims. The latter, therefore, had strength on their side, and all the more so because, for some time, without any apparent cause, the Turks had been stockpiling large quantities of arms of all kinds. In four or five months far more than 3,000 TL (about 70,000 francs) of arms of every caliber -- revolvers, pistols, rifles or carbines of German, Austrian or Belgian manufacture were sold in Adana.

⁶⁴ *Le Matin*, May 10, 1909.

⁶⁵ Jean Longuet, "Les Tueries d'Adana," *l'Humanité*, May 9, 1909.

As soon as the signal for the carnage was given, bands of *Bashi-Bozooks* came down from the *vilayet's* villages to the town. They went on horseback, pistol in hand, rifle slung across the shoulder, the *yatagan* at their side, and, in their path these fanatical, bloodthirsty and tireless looters, spread disaster and death. The looting stopped at sunset only to start again with renewed vigor at dawn.

The armed hordes, which traveled up and down the country in every direction, had organized the most appalling hunt for man which was ever practiced. They advanced, threatening, acting with their truncheons, searching the fields. Woe to those who were lying down in wheat fields hoping to escape the watchful eye of assassins! There was no pity for them; they were shot, one by one, struck with a blow of a club, slashed by the *yatagan*. The cemeteries themselves were not respected; the murderers massacred the unfortunates who had taken refuge there.

The Armenian suburbs tried in vain to defend themselves; they were soon reduced to impotence and obliged to allow themselves to be destroyed defenseless. The Turks seized all the fuel oil containers found in the Armenian warehouses and, after unplugging them, sprinkled the houses and set them on fire. Soon, flames climbed the walls, threatening, and there was terrible panic in the house on fire: men, women, children wept, begged, implored, terrified by the atrocious realization of being burned alive. Some of them fled from the fire, but they had hardly crossed the threshold when they fell under the gun or the *yatagan*. Others clambered through windows. If they did not kill themselves, the murderers finished them with bayonets. Or else they found themselves sprinkled with fuel oil and, living torches, burning clothes, grilled flesh, atrociously burnt and asphyxiated by their own smoke, they were about to collapse on other corpses, in a dreadful agony of flames.

While fire devoured the dwellings, with sinister creaks, the narrow streets were strewn with mashed corpses or bleeding bodies in an indescribable jumble. Blood flowed from all sides and, to complete this frightful spectacle, moans, complaints of some, the victorious howls of others.

What an ignoble bloodbath! Children were massacred under the eyes of their parents, mutilated, slaughtered, thrown up in the air and skewered on the points of bayonets. Then came the turn of the women, who suffered the most atrocious tortures. A hospital full of sick and wounded was burned by the arsonists, who were unmoved by any human misery. And after the murder, it was plunder, devastation, until a bugle sounded followed by the cry: *Pashah tchog yasha!* (Long live the Sultan!), which marked the end of hostilities.

The conduct of the French priests and sisters of Adana was above all praise. The College of the Jesuites, located in the Armenian district, has hospitalized more than 4000 people. At the height of the melee, Father

Riondel ran through the whistle of bullets to seek help from the Muslims drunk with blood. They applauded him and put him in possession of a few sacks of rice and flour. The Father's boarders were thus saved from hunger, thanks to the courage of the French missionary. The sisters of Saint Joseph of Lyons received and lodged about a thousand Armenians and only just escaped being burned, too.

Another man who was also marvelous in composure and courage was M. Roque-Ferrier, consul of France in Aleppo. At the head of fifteen brave men, I saw him plunge into the ravaged country and intervene in the name of France, stopping torture, preventing fires, saving lives.

Alas! our unfortunate consul, victim of his heroism, has since succumbed to the consequences of typhoid fever, contracted at that time.

Be that as it may, these few interventions were able to save only a relatively small number of Armenians, in view of the considerable number of victims.

The report of Adana's council of war has since shown that, in addition to the various causes of animosity between Christians and Muslims, there was a lack of ability and action on the part of the *Valis* and other local authorities.

This report concluded by saying that fifteen guilty men had already been hanged, that eight hundred deserved death, fifteen thousand forced labor, eighty thousand lesser penalties. If one wants to punish the guilty, it will be necessary to establish a military cordon around the city and operate with speed. In order to obtain a general reconciliation - it is always the report which speaks - it would be better to declare a general amnesty on the occasion of the national holiday.

Isn't that quite simply a way of sparing the Muslims, and would the Young Turk government, like its predecessor, continue to ignore the actions of the Turks themselves by giving them a special place in the great Ottoman nation?

It was on this doubtful sentence that our compatriot terminated his interesting interview, and accompanied it with a still more evasive gesture.

Eugène Betlier⁶⁶

French parliamentarians, on the other hand, took legislative action. Very involved in 1896 alongside Jean Jaurès (socialist leader), Conservative MP Denys Cochin vigorously challenged Stephen Pichon at the opening of the parliamentary debate on May 17, 1909. He explicitly mentioned the precedent of the great "Hamidian" massacres, criticized the derisory use made of the French ships in the rescue of the survivors and requested that an absolute

⁶⁶ Translated from original French text: "L'Incendie et le Meurtre à Adana," *Journal des Voyages*, October 24, 1909.

formal notification be made in the direction of “La Porte.”⁶⁷ Pichon warned the new power that it must improve its will to follow the rules of civilization and concluded with the full responsibility of the latter in the Adana massacres.

Pichon ended up by forcing the French Minister of Foreign Affairs to engage in an energetic declaration directed at the Young Turks...⁶⁸

French intellectuals were quick to react too. M. A. Adossidès, highlighted the story of the massacres in his book:

In Adana, as in the rest of the province, the watchword is to strike only the Armenians. In many cases this instruction is enforced, and in the final table a few hundred Greeks and Syrians will appear, but it is by exception or by mistake that they have been killed. The movement is directed against the hated race, the Armenians. And among these, men are especially hounded. As in primitive peoples and among the savages, it is a sort of tradition, in the wars of Islam and in those collective killings which are organized in full peace, to exterminate the males. As for women and children, they are reduced to slavery and converted to the faith of the Prophet. One spares especially the young girls, who serve to populate the harems. On this point as well, the rule was violated in the massacre of Adana, and innumerable creatures, women, virgins, infants, were sacrificed with incredible ferocity, most often after having suffered the last outrages.

Generally speaking, what is striking in the events of Cilicia is the cruelty, the incredible cynicism that one has shown to wipe out a whole people.

One reads in the Turkish commission of inquiry:

The Muslims, inebriated by the smell of gunpowder, perpetrated atrocities that made even us military shed tears.⁶⁹

Brézol also quoted excerpts from three clerics' eyewitness accounts. Rev. Fr. Benoît, of the Mission Française stated:

The executioners juggled with newly chopped off heads and even, in front of the parents, they tossed up in the air little children that they skewered on the tip of their cutlasses.

The tortures are alternately crude or skillfully refined. One subjects certain victims to a series of tortures applied with a consummate art, so as to prolong life in the flesh of the martyr, in order to make the feast last: one mutilates them slowly, methodically, by pulling out their nails, crushing their fingers, branding their bodies using red-hot irons, and then one scalps. Finally one reduces them to a pulp that one throws to scavenging dogs.

⁶⁷ “La Porte” called: Sublime Porte the court or government of the Ottoman Empire.

⁶⁸ Ferriman, pp. 110-111.

⁶⁹ Brézol, p. 299; Alexandre Adossidès, *Arméniens et Jeunes-Turcs, Les Massacres de Cilicie*, 1910, Paris, Stock, 2009 ed. by Le Cercle d'Ecrites Caucasiens.

Others, one breaks the bones little by little, one crucifies them or one makes them flame like torches. All around the victims, groups form and reform at these shows and applaud each gesture of the torturers.

Sometimes there are infernal abominations, sadistic orgies. One cuts off an Armenian the extremities of his body, and then one compels him to chew these pieces of his own flesh. One suffocates a mother after stuffing her mouth with the flesh of her own child. Others, one opens the abdomen and in the gaping wound, one pushes in, after having quartered it, the little one that she was carrying in her arms just now.⁷⁰

The Rev. Joseph, Superior of the Mission of Carmes, stated:

Women, children, and girls were outraged, dishonored, hung on trees, crushed on the rocks. When women's necklaces couldn't be removed easily, one cut off the head with a knife. To get the drop earrings, one pulled the ears off, and to get the bracelets one cut off the young girls' hands and one finished them off in the arms of their mothers.⁷¹

The Rev. Rigal,⁷² of the Catholic Mission wrote:

To compel a priest (*Derder*) to apostatize, one pierced his eyes with a Circassian dagger, and twisted it in the orbit covered with blood, as one gouges a piece of wood with an auger. With that same cutlass his tongue was cut out and his teeth broken.⁷³

The USA

Moslem Massacres Take 5,000 Lives. Fresh Outbreaks Reported at Marash and Hadjin, and in Vicinity of Alexandretta. Turks Blame Armenians.
Turkish Governor Refuses to Allow Party to Land from British Warship to Relieve Armenian Village

Constantinople, April 20.- No less than 5000 persons lost their lives in the massacres that have been going on in the *Vilayet* of Adana during the last eight days as a result of the outbreak of Moslem fanaticism. Of the total 2000 were killed in the City of Adana, and of this number more than 200 were

⁷⁰ Brézol, p. 301.

⁷¹ Ibid., pp. 301-302.

⁷² R. H. Kévorkian, "Adana. Les Massacres d'Adana in Lettres d'Ore, relations d'Orient (Confidential Review of the Jesuit Missions Edited by the Order in Lyons)," Brussels, November 1909; Society for the Propagation of the Faith, *The Adana Massacres and the Catholic Missionaries*, Press of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, 627 Lexington Ave., New York City, 1910.

⁷³ Brézol, p. 302.

Moslems. This information was received in Constantinople this morning through Consular channels.

Adana at present is quiet, but there have been renewed attacks on Christians at Marash in the *Vilayet* of Aleppo, about eighty miles northeast of Alexandretta. The Consular advices describe the situation as extremely precarious. The excitement at the port of Alexandretta is intense, although the presence of the British cruiser *Diana* at that port is expected to have a tranquilizing effect.

Disturbances are reported from Hadjin, in the northern extremity of the Adana *Vilayet*, where a large Armenian community is counted upon to defend itself vigorously.

A special dispatch from Mersin says that massacre and pillage continue in the interior, and that the authorities are either indifferent or are conniving in the slaughter. The British warship which sailed to relieve Dörtyol, an Armenian village on the coast, returned to Alexandretta today without having accomplished anything.

The commander of the vessel applied to the Governor of the district for permission to land a relief party, but the permission was refused.

There appears to have been a preconceived plan for the extermination of the Armenians throughout Anatolia, directed by some occult influence in the capital. People of position here, says the dispatch, were duly forewarned weeks ago, and great indignation is expressed at the callousness and incredulity of Europe.

Beirut, Syria, April 20, 1909.- Moslem fanaticism has broken out in the immediate vicinity of Alexandretta, and great excitement prevails in that district. Houses in flames can be seen from the streets of Alexandretta.

Larnaca, Cyprus, April 20.- Advices received here from Adana by way of Latakia, Syria, state that massacres began in the markets at Adana on Wednesday morning. The Armenians retired to their own quarters and resisted for forty-eight hours. The Christian bazaars were looted and burned. For several days the villagers came in from the surrounding country in hordes. They were armed by the authorities, who pretend to regard them as military reserves.

Women and children were horribly mutilated. The missionaries, Rogers and Mauer, were shot dead while fighting the fire. The massacres then spread to Tarsus and other places. The whole district is in a shocking condition. Thousands are homeless and famine is imminent. The 4000 refugees in the yard of the American College are in a pitiable condition. Provision, clothing, and physicians are urgently needed.⁷⁴

⁷⁴ *The New York Times*, April 21, 1909.

30,000 Killed in Massacres. Conservative Estimates of Victims of Turkish Fanaticism in Adana *Vilayet*. Tribesmen Besiege Towns and March on Others. Messengers to American Women Slain.

Clash Feared at Beirut

Beirut, Asiatic Turkey, April 24.- A conservative estimate now places the number killed in the Armenian massacres in Adana *Vilayet* at from 20,000 to 30,000. Help is needed everywhere along the coast.

At the town of Adana more than 100 girls are missing. It is known that twenty-one native pastors have been killed. Fears are entertained that other American missionaries than those whose deaths have been reported, have been murdered. There are 15,000 refugees in Adana and Tarsus and 5000 in Mersin.

Conditions at Hadjin, where five American women were reported two days ago to be in danger from the tribesmen, are becoming critical. A messenger dispatched for relief by Miss Lambert, the American missionary who two days ago sent an appeal to Constantinople, has been killed in the streets. A second messenger, a soldier, was shot at. The *Vali*, however, has given assurances about the safety of the Americans, and there are reports that the insurgents show signs of withdrawing. The town lacks food.

The Captains of the British, French, and German warships and the American and French Consular officials at Mersin to-day conferred with the Governor concerning the disturbances. They gave particular attention to the question of prompt relief for Hadjin. The Governor promised to do everything possible to calm the Mohammedans. The British Vice-Consul has telegraphed to the Hadjin mission to try to persuade the Armenians in the town not to fire on the besiegers, as the Mohammedans probably - will withdraw at the Governor's command.

Dörtyol is holding out.

An appeal for help has been issued from Latakia, as the mob is nearing that city, and American property is threatened.

Antioch is quiet, there being no Armenians left in that town.

The Armenian village of Kessab has been burned and many persons killed there. The women and children of Kessab are fugitives in the surrounding mountains, exposed to hunger and mob violence.

The situation at Beilan, a short distance south of Alexandretta, is most critical.

Native hordes are moving on Sueidia, eighteen miles southwest of Antioch.⁷⁵

Massacres Continue[.] Adana Terrorized

Adana is terrorized by 4000 soldiers, who are looting, shooting, and burning. No respect is paid to foreign properties. Both French schools have

⁷⁵ *The New York Times*, April 25, 1909.

been destroyed, and it is feared that the American school, commercial, and missionary interests in Adana are totally ruined...⁷⁶

To Demand Abdication of Sultan. One of American Missionaries
Murdered was Congregational Minister Rev. Daniel Miner Rogers,
Whose Parents Reside in New Britain and Who Was a Graduate of
Harvard

(Special from United Press)

Aleppo, Asiatic Turkey, April 18.- Twenty Christians were killed at Marash eighty miles north of here today, in a fresh outbreak of rioting by the Mohammedans. Marash is a town of 55,000 and numbers in its population thousands of Armenian Christians. If the latest outbreak is not speedily checked it is feared that the butchery in Adana will be eclipsed.

Constantinople, April 19.- Despite the fact that telegraphic communication with Mersin has been resumed, little news has been received and it is stated that all of the telegraph operators have been killed. Massacres are still in progress throughout the entire district. A belated message from the British Vice-Consul at Adana states that conditions there have not been exaggerated, that murder and riot prevail and he is significantly adding that "*even worse trouble is feared...*"⁷⁷

American Warships Are Nearing Alexandretta

Gibraltar, May 9.- The United States armored cruiser Montana sailed from here to Alexandretta. The Montana and North Carolina arrived at Gibraltar May 5th and the North Carolina sailed from Alexandretta two days later. The vessels were sent to Turkish waters to protect American interests.⁷⁸

Two Americans Killed[.] Much Property Destroyed

Constantinople, May 9.- The anti-Christian rioting in Asia Minor that began between 12th and 14th April has resulted in the loss of two American lives and the destruction of American properties by fire and otherwise valued in all at \$3,000. The only loss of life was at Adana where the Rev. Henry Maurer and Daniel M. Rogers were shot down while attempting to put down a fire that threatened the missionary building there.

The financial losses have been allotted as follows:

In the province of Adana, \$4,500, at Kessab should the reported burning of the Missionary buildings there be confirmed \$3,000, and in the city of Adana \$1,500. This last mentioned loss was incurred through the pulling down or burning of buildings attached to the girls' schools.

⁷⁶ *The New York Times*, May 5, 1909.

⁷⁷ *Bridgeport Evening Farmer*, April 19, 1909.

⁷⁸ *Albuquerque Morning Journal*, May 10, 1909.

A certain number of women escaped to Adana, whilst others threw themselves into the river to avoid the possibility of being safely housed in a Turkish harem.⁷⁹

30,000 Is Estimate of Killed in Massacres. Feared that Many American Missionaries Have Been Killed

Beirut, Asiatic Turkey, April 24.- A conservative estimate now places the number killed in the Armenian massacres in Adana *Vilayet* at from 20,000 to 30,000. At the town of Adana more than 100 girls are missing. It is known that 21 native pastors have been killed. Fears are entertained that other American missionaries than those whose deaths have been reported have been murdered.

There are 10,000 refugees in Adana and Tarsus and 5,000 at Mersin. Marash and Aintab are quiet, but conditions at Hadjin are becoming critical. A messenger dispatched for the relief by Miss Lambert,⁸⁰ an American missionary, who two days ago sent an appeal to Constantinople, was killed in the streets. A second messenger, a servian,⁸¹ was shot at. The *Vali* has given assurances of the safety of the American. Conditions at Alexandretta are unchanged. Beilan and Dörtyol are holding out. An appeal for help has been issued from Latakia, as the mob is nearing that city, and American property is threatened. Antioch is quiet, there being no Armenians left in town. No disturbances occurred in Beirut tonight.⁸²

In the conclusion of her book Rose Lambert wrote:

Space will not permit me to write in detail of the many who were crucified, thrown into the river, killed with swords and axes, burned by the thousands in the churches or in their homes, and of the many who were tortured and killed in such hideous and awful ways that dare not be repeated, but it is estimated that in the *Vilayet* of Adana between twenty and thirty thousand were slain and months later the plain was still strewn with their bones. On our trip to the coast, while resting under the large shade trees for a few moments, Armenian hands gathered the skulls and bones of their fellow countrymen and laid them at our feet.

Christians in Gravest Peril. Badkah⁸³ Wiped Off Map

Mersin, April 29.- The Christian village of Badkah was completely destroyed today by a Mohammedan mob. Nearly all true inhabitants were

⁷⁹ Woods, p. 155.

⁸⁰ Rose Lambert, *Hadjin, and the Armenian Massacres*, Fleming H. Revell Company, New York, 1911.

⁸¹ Servian: former word for Serbian.

⁸² *Bismarck Daily Tribune*, North Dakota, April 25, 1909.

⁸³ A misreading of Baghcheh.

murdered in the village of Adana. Messages received today say the situation at Hadjin is desperate. It is not learned whether Miss Rose Lambert and the four other American missionaries are safe. No relief from the threatened famine is in sight. Refugees from Badkah say the only Christians who escaped were those who were alarmed at the first sign of trouble and fled. The Mohammedan mob entered the city with a rush and slaughtered men, women and children. They then burned the bodies in their homes.

Thousands Starving

London, April 29.- A thousand widows and orphans, who escaped the massacres, are swarming toward the mission at Antioch, in the province of Aleppo. Many are starving, and several fell dead on the road. Massacres are still sweeping east and north.⁸⁴

AUSTRALIA

Armenian Massacres. United States Anxious

The United States government at Washington has enquired of the British Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sir Edward Grey, how far Turkey is taking steps to stop the Armenian massacres, in accordance with the Berlin Treaty.

During the massacres in the Adana *Vilayet* 19 Protestant pastors were killed.

Massacres continue at Antioch, in Syria, and in many Armenian villages in the vicinity of Alexandretta.⁸⁵

CABLEGRAMS (Sydney)

Adana, September 8.- In connection with the massacres at Adana, last April, Djevad Bey, *ex-Vali* of the district, has been sentenced to six years' exclusion from the public service, and Remzi Pasha, the military commandant, to three years' imprisonment. Other officials were acquitted. The Armenian Patriarch has resigned as a protest against the inadequacy of the sentences and the passing of sentence of death on four innocent Armenians.⁸⁶

GREAT BRITAIN

Mrs. Doughty-Wylie Spouse of the British Vice-Consul in Adana

The Turks kill the men half-way, and while the unfortunate ones are bathed in a pool of blood, their women are raped before their eyes.

For one is not content to massacre; one mutilates, one tortures.

⁸⁴ *The Evening Statesman*, April 29, 1909.

⁸⁵ *Sydney Morning Herald*, April 26, 1909.

⁸⁶ *Otago Witness*, September 15, 1909, p. 22.

We hear, writes Sister Marie-Sophie, the heart-rending screams, the howling of the unfortunate ones that are disemboweled, that are tortured. Many witnesses say that Armenians were tied up by both legs, with the head down, and slashed with axes, like the butchery of beasts. Others were bound with ropes and laid on a bed of wood to which they set fire; others still were nailed alive on the floors, on doors, on tables.

There are also atrocious games, sinister farces. One gets hold of Armenians, one ties them up, and once immobilized on their knees one cuts them up into slices or one saws up their children.⁸⁷

Moslem Outbreaks in Asia Minor

The situation in Cilicia is grave. Telegrams of yesterday's date from Adana describe the situation as desperate. A large part of the town has been burnt, including the quarter inhabited by the Armenians, who made a desperate resistance and inflicted heavy loss on their assailants before they were overpowered. The British Vice-Consul received slight injuries. Two American missionaries were killed and the mission is in great danger.

The town of Tarsus is on fire. The Christians are peaceable, but the Moslems murdering and looting.

At Mersin the situation is threatening owing to the paucity of troops and the activity of the Moslem agitators. The disturbances have spread to Ayas and the neighborhood of Alexandretta. As it is evident that the local authorities are quite unable to cope with the situation, the commanders of the British war vessels which were ordered to Mersin have received instructions to act on their own initiative. It is hoped that the approaching concentration of eight European warships at Mersin may save the town from the horrors which have overtaken Adana.⁸⁸

The Outbreaks in Asia Minor

(From our own correspondent)

Constantinople, April 18.- The disturbances in Cilicia have spread to Tarsus. I understand that the French Embassy is informed that a massacre of Christians has occurred at Marash.

Constantinople, April 18, Midnight.- A telegram from the British Vice-Consul at Adana, dispatched this afternoon, states that he has apprehensions of further trouble at that place. There is no further news from Tarsus or Mersin, while there is increased apprehension in regard to Alexandretta. A British warship is expected at Alexandretta to-night and a French warship at Mersin to-morrow.

⁸⁷ Brézol, p. 300.

⁸⁸ *The Times*, April 19, 1909.

The American Vice-Consul at Mersin telegraphs that things are quieting down.

The American missionaries, M[iste]r Rogers and M[iste]r Maurer, were killed at Adana on Thursday afternoon while attempting to extinguish a fire at the house of an aged Turkish woman.⁸⁹ Both of them were shot dead. The missions at Adana and Tarsus have now received adequate protection and are safe.

The number of killed in the fighting between Turks and Armenians at Adana is estimated at over 1000.

April 19.- Consular telegrams from Aleppo report that 20 persons have been killed and wounded at Marash, in the province of Aleppo, 80 miles north of the town of Aleppo. The authorities are behaving well and the disturbance has been stopped.

The Sheik-ul-Islam and the Armenian Patriarch have telegraphed to the ecclesiastical authorities in the *Vilayet* of Adana urging the naïbs, bishops, and priests to exert themselves with a view to stopping bloodshed and to counsel peace and concord.⁹⁰

The Outbreaks in Asia Minor (From our own correspondent)

Constantinople, April 20.- The *Vali* of Adana and the Mutessarif of Tarsus have been dismissed. According to the latest telegrams, all is quiet at Adana, though disorder persists in some neighboring villages. Over 3000 persons are homeless. Order has been restored at Tarsus.

The Press echoes the hope, already expressed by one of the Armenian Deputies in Parliament yesterday, that all persons found guilty of complicity in the massacres should be severely punished, and remarks that the failure to punish the authors of former outrages has led the worst elements of the population of Asia Minor to believe that crimes against the Armenians can be perpetrated with impunity.⁹¹

The Massacres in Asia Minor. Relief Voted by the Chamber

Constantinople, May 1.- In the Chamber today, a lively debate took place on the massacres at Adana. The late *Vali* and the Assistant Minister of the Interior were violently attacked and stigmatized as creatures of the Hamidian *régime*. Finally, after an agitated sitting, a resolution was adopted almost unanimously in favor of the formation of a Court-martial at Adana to try guilty parties, of dispatching a Parliamentary commission of inquiry and sending immediately a sum of £T20,000 to relieve the distress at Adana.

⁸⁹ Refer to the content of footnote 79.

⁹⁰ *The Times*, April 20, 1909.

⁹¹ *The Times*, April 21, 1909.

The Chamber also unanimously adopted a proposal to pension the families of the killed and wounded in the recent fighting at Constantinople.⁹²

The Massacres at Adana

Larnaca, May 3.- The following telegram of yesterday's date has been received here from Adana:-

Turkish letters and telegrams have been censored. The city is still lawless; the estimate of the number of killed in Adana is now 6500, more having been killed yesterday. In the entire province 30,000 have been killed and 35,000 are penniless, homeless refugees. Adana is being terrorized by 4000 soldiers, who are looting, shooting, and burning. No respect is being shown for the property of foreigners; both the French schools have been destroyed. Fears are felt regarding the American school, while commercial and missionary interests are totally ruined. Confidence in the authorities is still lacking, and further massacres of Christians are feared. The troops, instead of pouring water on the fires, feed the flames with kerosene. Fears are entertained regarding the American missions at Hadjin and Tarsus.⁹³

The Cilician Outbreak

(From our own correspondent)

Constantinople, May 17.- A Parliamentary Commission will shortly start for Adana, where the Court-martial has opened an inquiry. It is hoped that its presence and that of the Macedonian officers will guarantee the infliction of exemplary punishment on the reactionaries guilty of the massacre of Armenians and Greeks.

Details which have reached Constantinople show that the outbreak in Cilicia was marked above all others by the perpetration of infamous and hideous outrages upon women and children. It is therefore the more to be regretted that there are signs of a tendency in certain Turkish official circles to minimize both the extent and the horror of the massacres. The presence of Adana Deputies and officers of strong anti-reactionary tendencies should, however, prevent local influences from interfering with the course of justice.⁹⁴

CANADA

Turkish Soldiers Looting at Adana. More Christians Slain in the Town on Monday. Armenian Girls Sold. Black Treachery at Kozolook.

⁹² *The Times*, May 3, 1909.

⁹³ *The Times*, May 5, 1909.

⁹⁴ *The Times*, May 18, 1909.

It Seems to be the Intention of the Authorities to Authorize the
Complete Extermination of Christians - Entire Families Burned to
Death (Associated Press Dispatch)

Adana, Asiatic Turkey, May 3, via Larnaca, Cyprus, May 4.- Adana is still lawless. More people were killed in the city yesterday. There are 30,000 dead in Adana province as a result of the massacres, and 35,000 homeless and penniless refugees are wandering in the *vilayet*.

The deaths in Adana city alone are estimated at 6500. Adana is terrorized by 4000 soldiers, who are looting, shooting and burning. No respect is paid to foreign property. Both the French schools have been destroyed, and it is feared that the American schools, commercial and missionary, in Adana are totally ruined.

Troops No Protection

The new *Vali* has not yet inspired confidence. There is reason to believe that the authorities still intend to permit the extermination of all Christians. The troops here are making a pretence of throwing "water" on the flames: instead of water they use kerosene, and are thus purposely adding to the conflagration. Apprehension is felt here regarding the American missionary stations at Hadjin and Tarsus. All letters and telegrams sent out through Turkish channels are censored.

Trading off Armenian Girls

The correspondent was informed that at one place a party of 100 Armenians surrendered to the soldiers. The prisoners were taken to an open field, where the women were ordered to stand apart from the men. Everyone of the men was then shot. In many cases they were done to death with their women clinging to them, trying to save their lives. A large number of women were wounded because of their persistence. Turkish young men around Tarsus to-day are trading Armenian girls among each other for horses and modern repeating rifles.

The entire ten days seem to have been an insensate orgy of lust and violence in the name of race and religion. In the massacres of fourteen years ago there was no such desire to kill women and children as has been evidenced in the last ten days. There have been numerous instances of the murdering of women and children with deliberation, and there are other instances where women were brought out one by one and shot down, the bystanders clapping their hands at each fresh execution.⁹⁵

⁹⁵ *The Globe*, May 5, 1909.

NEW ZEALAND

The cables which came through from Constantinople during the week give ample confirmation of the suspicion which we expressed a week ago that the Sultan himself was a prime cause of the grave Turkish trouble which has been chronicled. From day to day it became apparent that Abdul-Hamid had engineered a coup by which he hoped to overthrow the authority and success of the Young Turk party and the rule of religious tolerance and union of the Ottoman Empire which that party had established, and it became equally apparent that the Sultan calculated upon a comparatively easy return to the rule of personal tyranny and malevolent oppression which he exercised unchallenged for a period of thirty years. The Sultan, however, obviously miscalculated the power of the opposition with which he had to deal. It is an old maxim that tyrants are always cowards at heart; and so we learn, without surprise, that when the Sultan found himself out-manuevered by the Young Turks, he withdrew to the picturesque seclusion of his private pavilion, feigned prostration, and expressed his willingness to abdicate.

It has now become apparent that while a large proportion of the Turkish population, especially the Moslem reactionaries may have viewed with distrust the revolutionary policy of the Young Turk party, even, these reactionaries have experienced so much of the results of freedom and justice under Constitutional government, that the bulk of them are not now prepared to return to the old order of personal Sultanic and satanic despotism without a bitter struggle for political liberty. This is shown by the large following of troops and inhabitants which Husni Pasha, the commander of the Salonica troops, has been able to muster. It is to be deplored that the convulsion at the center of the Empire should be accompanied by those excesses in the outlying districts which time after time in bygone years have horrified every civilized nation in the world - the atrocities perpetrated on Armenians where hordes of savage Moslems have brutally slaughtered helpless women and children, turning whole towns into ghastly shambles. William Watson, the English poet, on the occasion of one of these outbreaks wrote a series of sonnets entitled "The Purple East," when human blood was let flow like water, and those poems vividly visualize the state of Adana and Tarsus today.

In such revolutionary moments in semi-barbaric countries, however, these blood curdling massacres seem to be the inevitable concomitants of reform; but there are beacons visible in Turkey to-day to light the nation from darkness. Such may be found in the temperate operations of Husni Pasha and his followers, who seem anxious to effect a settlement without the spilling of human blood. The Sultan now avers that he has been "the supreme guardian of the Constitution," and it is reported that there has been some diplomatic intervention - possibly German or Austro-German - with a view to the Sultan's

retention. The Sultan has now had his lesson, and it is possible that the Constitution may once again proceed in peace.⁹⁶

Turkey.- Affairs in Turkey are in a most complicated state and each succeeding cable as it comes through shows the position as more and more involved. One day we are told that the Sultan has agreed, and is anxious, to abdicate the throne, the next that he will remain on that proud eminence. Then we hear that there is going on a terrible slaughter, thousands being massacred, including helpless women and innocent children; comparative quiet then, we are informed, prevails, only to be followed by news of further bloodshed. A most recent cable carries news which we trust will be the means of the Powers interfering and ending this civil war. The cable just referred to was one stating that nineteen clergymen were massacred in the village of Adana, and that the massacres still continued in Antioch and many Armenian villages in the district near Alexandretta.

On the other hand again a cable coming through on the 25th ... states that Constantinople itself was never known to be so quiet.

We have no reason whatever to question the accuracy of the cables, but the conflictingly varied reports which they convey render it almost an impossibility to arrive at an intelligent or accurate estimate of the chances of victory for one party over the other, so bewildering is this "whirling of political drama." Indeed it is not always clear on which side the parties are ranged - whether for the Sultan or for his abdication. It has been frequently averred for example that some of the leaders of the Young Turks organization have been aiding and abetting the reactionaries, and further, that soldiers who marched to the capital in the interests of the Constitution, finished up by cheering the Sultan who is the supposed head of the plot for the embarrassment of the Young Turks.

But, however difficult it may be to gauge the position of parties at present, it is not so difficult to discover the cause of the revolt. It may be easily traced back to the revolution of July last, when the Young Turk Party, headed by a body designating itself the Committee of Union and Progress, and also with the aid of the Army, succeeded in establishing a Constitutional government in place of what was known to be the most despotic rule in Europe. The present revolt was brought about in a manner quite as sudden as the one in July, and also, like its predecessor, it is being conducted by the Army, and indeed it was chiefly because it had the backing of the Army that the Committee of Union and Progress was successful in establishing a Constitution.

Subsequent events have shown, however, that it was only a Constitution in name, and the first to violate its terms were the Committee and the Army

⁹⁶ *The Star*, April 23, 1909.

which had set it up. True, the Committee appointed Ministers, but they themselves wielded the baton of power.⁹⁷

Reuter states that the authorities are attempting to punish only Christians in connection with the recent massacres at Adana. A special commission from Constantinople is forcing Armenians to leave the refugee camps, though no protection is offered.⁹⁸

The Passing of 1909

..In Turkey but a few months after the different races and religions all over the Empire had been embracing one another and rejoicing together over the proclamation of an era of liberty, justice, equality, and fraternity, the streets of Constantinople were seething with another revolution; and the Turkish army had risen in revolt against its officers and against constitutionalism. Meanwhile in Asia Minor and Syria Christians were being massacred in thousands in the name of the Prophet. The power of the Young Turkish party appeared to be toppling to its fall in its infancy. Their chief obstacle was the Sultan, a past master in intrigue, having the sympathy and support of all the reactionary and fanatical forces, together with all the agencies that had "been partners in the plunder of the Empire." When the Young Turks came in to power they readily found enlightened men to fill the offices in the capital, but they could not so easily replace the Sultan's agents in the provinces. The people were hardly educated to understand the change, and to them the palace meant 'supreme power.' Then they had to fight the so-called Liberal Union, a body professing to be more constitutional than the Young Turkish party. The Committee of Union and Progress were strong, however, and guided the destinies of their cause with an unfalteringly firm hand. They led their army against Constantinople and gained an all but bloodless victory, the only serious opposition being met with from the Sultan's bodyguard in the Taxim Barracks. At the cost of some five hundred lives all told, the city was reduced, and the Sultan was brought to book. He was forced to abdicate in favor of his brother, Mohammed Reshad, a remarkably enlightened ruler, who has since evinced his entire suitability for the position under the new and progressive regime. But Turkey's peace was not yet. Throughout the provinces of Asia Minor the feud between race and race, sect and sect, continued with appalling results. These massacres had no direct bearing on the revolution in European Turkey, but were the outcome of a brawl between Mohammedans and Armenians in Adana. These disturbances spread like a plague, and were not quelled before some 10,000 to 15,000 Armenians had been slaughtered. Under the new regime Christians, who in the past had "been viewed as fair game for all," were placed on an equality with Mohammedans, and it was decreed that

⁹⁷ *West Coast Times*, April 27, 1909.

⁹⁸ *Western Star*, May 21, 1909.

one fourth of the military strength be recruited from among them. The constitutional reforms effected have had a marked influence on the bearing of Turkey, and as the various sects which go to constitute the heterogeneous Empire of the Sultan realize the value of constitutionalism...⁹⁹

⁹⁹ *Omaru Mail*, Volume XXXVI, issue 10341, December 31, 1909.

APPENDIX V STATISTICS

A) POPULATION AND VICTIMS

1.- Armenian and Foreign Sources

Immediately following the Adana massacres, the Turkish government implemented a denial campaign trying to discharge itself of any responsibility in the latter. This cover-up operation was aimed at convincing world public opinion that the Adana massacres were nothing other than a very insignificant tragedy. The adopted strategy may be characterized as follows:

- a) Minimizing the overall figure of the victims in the massacres.
- b) Maximizing the number of Turkish victims so that it exceeds that of the Armenians.
- c) Questioning the size of the Armenian population of Cilicia.

The first data of the death toll published by the local authorities in the daily *La Turquie*, the mouthpiece of the Government, under the supervision of the *Vali Djevad Bey* gives a total of 1000 dead, of which 250 were Moslems.¹⁰⁰

On May 1, 1909, in his telegram to the Sublime Porte, Mustafa Zihni Pasha, the governor of the Adana province, reporting about the casualties of the Adana massacres stated as follows: “*The number of Muslims killed in the Adana vilayet is 1924, and the number of Muslims wounded is 533; the number of Armenians killed is 1455 and 383 Armenians were wounded.*”¹⁰¹

In its issue of May 15, 1909, the Young Turk daily *Tanin*, in Constantinople, reported that the number of people killed on all sides had not exceeded 4000, and all talk of 20,000 or 30,000 dead was a figment of the imagination of local Christians.¹⁰²

When addressing journalists in Constantinople about the number of massacred Armenians, Ferid Pasha, Minister of the Interior at the time of the events of 1909, asked “. . . How do you expect there to be 30,000 massacred from an Armenian population of 40,000 souls in Cilicia, since there are still 25,000 alive according to our statistics. There are some too, a large number, in Latakia; we will repatriate them.”¹⁰³

However, when reliable reports of the massacres sent by diplomats, press correspondents and nationals reached the West, revealing the exact death toll of Armenians to correspond to 30,000 souls along with thousands of sufferers,

¹⁰⁰ R. H. Kévorkian, “La Cilicie (1909-1921)-RHACIII, “Première partie: Les Massacres de Cilicie d’Avril 1909, 5- Les Pertes Humaines et Matérielles,” <http://www.imprescriptible.fr/rhac/tome3/p1ch4#1> .

¹⁰¹ Simonyan, p. 152.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Brézol, p. 365; Ferriman, p. 54.

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thus, bringing the real facts to light, Turkey changed her denial strategy, by accusing the Armenians being the instigators of the “Tragedy of Anatolia”, a policy which is still being pursued to this date.¹⁰⁴

ARMENIAN POPULATION BY SANDJAK

LOCATIONS	Number	LOCATIONS	Number
Sandjak of Mersin		Sandjak of Selefke	
Mersin (city)	2297	Kaipak Banessi	25
Tarsus	3139	Kichnèze	150
Koz-Olouk	290	Ekbeze	450
Subtotal	5726	Fassel (Eyri-Boudjak)	70
Sandjak of Itch-II			
Gulek (Cilicia)	370	Hadjar	40
Mara	85	Kupedji	15
Subtotal	455	Demrèke	5
Sandjak of Djebel-Bereket		Teyèke	120
Erzin-Yarpouz	243	Lslahié	5
Dörtüol	4850	Kaya-Bachi	25
Odjakli	1940	Baghcheh	26
Euzerli	1056	Keller	178
Nadjarli	457	Entilli	132
Osmaniye	740	Kunèsse	60
Subtotal	9286	Pacha-Tchiftlighi	17
Sandjak of Adana		Bostan-agma-	30
Adana (city)	17,844	Tchiftlighi	
Ermeni-Keuy (Hay-Kugh)	120	Bandjé (Central Caza of Boulanik)	722
Indjirlik	250	Kizladj	60
Cheikh Mourad	160	Safranli	30
Ghayerli	84	Hassan-Beyli	1848
Guémi-Surène	37	Lapadjli	490
Mihmandar	43	Kharni	524
Abdi-Oglou	340	Gueuk-Tchair	208
Tangrih-Verdi	95	Kourdlar	66
Misis	500	Selefke	371
Hamidiyeh	418	Kouchjou-Moustafa	140
Subtotal	19,891	Subtotal	5807
	Total 41,165		

¹⁰⁴ Salahi Sonyel, “The Great War and the Tragedy of Anatolia,” *Turkish Historical Society*, Serial XVI-No 88, Ankara, 2000.

The Secretary of the Armenian Patriarchate, Krikor Papazian, put forth the Patriarchate figures of the Adana population. We rely on these figures as generally the patriarchate must, more than anyone, know the exact number of its flock. In addition, the book by Bishop Moushegh Seropian,¹⁰⁵ the prelate of Adana, may provide further details about the information reported in this Appendix.

The *Vilayet* of Adana, in the center of Cilicia, a most commercial and prosperous province of the Ottoman Empire, had a total population of 403,400 and an area of 40,000 sq.km. It had five *Sandjaks*: a) Mersin, b) Adana, c) Djebel-Bereket, d) Kozan and e) Selefke. The above table presents the Armenian population in these five *Sandjaks*.¹⁰⁶

These statistics cover only the Armenian Gregorian population; one must add to them the Armenian Catholics and Protestants.¹⁰⁷

Number of Armenian Catholics and Protestants	(Appr.) 9000
Official registrants of Adana and Hamidiyeh farms, as well as the floating, unregistered Armenian population	3000
Workers and daily laborers for agricultural work, without families, from various <i>sandjaks</i> , <i>cazas</i> and villages	(Appr.) 1000
Farmers, farmers-cultivator, mobile provincials	4000
Subtotal	17,000

Thus, the total population of Armenians in the *Sandjaks* of Adana, Mersin, Itch-Il, Selefke and Djebel-Bereket, would be: **41,165+17,000 = 58,165**. We do not know the exact population of the *Sandjak* of Kozan (Sis), because we do not possess the information village by village; however, we will not be much mistaken by listing approximations as follows:¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ Der Matossian, "*Shattered Dreams of Revolution*," pp. 47 & 165; Ferriman, p. 90; Brézol, p. 191.

¹⁰⁶ Brézol, pp. 366-367.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 367-368.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 368.

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APPROXIMATE POPULATION OF THE SANDJAK OF KOZAN (SIS)

Caza of Sis (town and surroundings)	4500
Caza of Kars-Bazar (town and surroundings)	1500
Caza of Fekkeh (Vahga) (town and surroundings)	3000
Caza of Hadjin (town and surroundings)	25,000
To add equally for the floating daily cultivators	2500
One would arrive to a minimum of	36,500
Total: 58,165 + 36,500 =	94,665

Hence, the Armenian population of the *Vilayet* of Adana would be about 95,000, excluding those of the *Vilayet* of Aleppo, where numerous victims had fallen too.

Furthermore, if one is to take into account also the victims of the massacres which took place in and around Antioch, Beylan, Alexandretta, Marash, and other localities of the *Vilayet* of Aleppo, we could firmly state that the Armenians lost thirty thousand men, not to mention the misery of the aftermath of the massacres, i.e. hunger, cold, dysentery and other diseases, that claimed the lives of thousands of women and orphans.¹⁰⁹

LIST OF ARMENIAN DWELLINGS OF ANTIOCH AND OF SURROUNDING AREA BEFORE THE MASSACRES OF 1909¹¹⁰

LOCATIONS	Number of Families	LOCATIONS	Number of Families
Antioch	110	Bitias	110
Hadjabli ¹¹¹	288	Yoghounolouk	214
Khederbey	310	Kéboussié	150
Vakif	30	Yacoubié	135
Kénié	130	Aramo	78
Ghénémié	55	Arfalié	45
Kessab & surrounding farms	1130	Karadouran	180
Alexandretta (city)	150	Beylan	455
Subtotal	2203	Krak-Khan	50
		Subtotal	1417
		Total	3620

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 369.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., p. 370; *Piuzantion*, May 6, 1909.

¹¹¹ Should be Hadji Habibli.

As in those areas people were rather prolific, one can without any exaggeration assume an average of six persons per family; this would still make an Armenian population of about 22,000 souls for Antioch and its surroundings, which would have to be added to that of the *Vilayet* of Adana without counting Aleppo, Aintab and other cities.

The Armenian population of the **two vilayets combined** would thus correspond to an aggregate figure of 150,000, well above the Turkish claims, and this without taking into account the 25,000 daily workers who came to the *Vilayet* of Adana, in the spring season. A figure which brings the number of Armenians to about 175,000 to 200,000 souls.¹¹²

2.- Turkish Sources¹¹³

A list produced by the Turkish newspaper *Tasvir-i-Efkâr* published in Constantinople on July 31/August 13, 1909 gives the following figures for the victims of the Adana events: 6429 dead, of whom 5243 Christians and 1186 Moslems.

Baban Zadeh Mustafa Zihni Pasha, the new Governor, was at last obliged to admit 20,000 victims in his *vilayet*.¹¹⁴ According to Babiguian's formal declarations to the *Tasvir-i-Efkâr* reporter, only 620 were Moslems and the remaining 19,400 non-Moslems...¹¹⁵

Tasvir-i-Efkâr reports that the victims in Adana (city) are listed as: 2740 Christians and 782 Moslems distributed as follows:

Gregorian Armenians	1771	Chaldeans	133
Catholic Armenians	173	Syrians	418
Protestant Armenians	149	Catholic Assyrians	63
Greeks	33		

Total: 2740

“Furthermore, it (the newspaper – A.G.) notes that the value of the burnt-out buildings is 10,604,000 piastres (about 2,439,000 francs), and that of undamaged buildings is 61,825,000 piastres (14,220,000 francs). We do not know how this assessment was established. We know, however, that the districts set on fire were those inhabited only by Armenians.”¹¹⁶

These figures in *Tasvir-i-Efkâr* show particular originality with the newspaper even managing to give us the number of innocent victims of diverse Christian nationalities by gender.

¹¹² Ibid., pp. 370-371.

¹¹³ Ibid., p. 371.

¹¹⁴ Ferriman, p. 56.

¹¹⁵ Brézol, pp. 190-191.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., p. 372.

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These figures excel in their hypocrisy. We know that never were so many Moslems killed despite of the bombs, dynamite and rifles of all kinds attributed to the Armenians. It is the latter who are the real victims of the surprise. The weapons which entered by way of customs at Beirut, Suedia, Latakia and Mersin were intended to arm the villagers and the Moslem mountain dwellers; this makes perfect sense. For had the Armenians received weapons illegally or clandestinely in the quantity stated in these slanders, they would have put up extreme resistance everywhere like in Dörtyol, Hadjin, and Sis. They would have made others pay dearly for their lives, instead of being decimated.

VICTIMS IN THE *VILAYET* OF ADANA BY RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION¹¹⁷

LOCATIONS	Christians	Moslems	Totals
Adana city	2739	782	3521
Baghche (Boulanik)	752	9	761
Hamidiyeh	378	175	553
Tarsus	463	45	508
Osmaniye	372	66	438
Erzin	208	12	220
Sis (Kozan)	114	1	115
Hadjin (city)	15	78	93
Kars-Bazari	60	17	77
Islahié	50	-	50
Kara-issalou	44	-	44
Khassa	33	-	33
Ilvanly	13	1	14
Fekké	2	-	2
	5243	1186	6429

The few modern light guns that they possessed during the first events were treacherously collected. The authorities had them disarmed, and the following events from 12 to 14 April, they had them massacred and set them on fire, knowing them to be defenseless.

MP Babiguan, recorded several descriptions of these horrors. The unfortunate MP was carried away by an angina pectoris, it is said, at the beginning of August 1909, on his return from Adana. He reported from Adana that a trivial number of the Moslems had died in the fight. Several amongst them had succumbed when they killed one another for loot that they would not share.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 373-374.

VICTIMS OF THE CITY IN ADANA BY
GENDER AND NATIONALITY ¹¹⁹

NATIONALITY	Men	Women	Totals
Moslems	738	44	782
Greeks	32	1	33
Gregorian Armenians	1545	226	1771
Catholic Armenians	170	3	173
Protestant Armenians	138	11	149
Chaldeans	126	7	133
Catholic Syrians	58	4	62
Syrians	379	39	418
	3186	335	3521

Tanin wanted to reverse roles and incriminate the Armenians once again, claiming that there were many more Turks massacred. However, its article was written with an excess of gall and contradicted the truth, which was altered in a way too clumsy to believe.

It had its reply as it deserved through a campaign in the Armenian newspapers of Constantinople, *Jamanak*, *Arévelk*, *Djéride-Charkié*, which published sensational articles on June 11 and 12, 1909, and silenced it skillfully.

Tanin and *Itidal* had always fought against the Armenians and tried to sow discord and upset the fraternity granted by the Ottoman Constitution.

GOVERNMENT'S DATA FROM THE GOVERNOR
OF THE VILAYET OF ALEPPO ¹²⁰

LOCATIONS	KILLED
At Marash (city)	43
At Enderine (suburb)	25
At Antioch	172
At Kessab	9
In diverse parts of the <i>Vilayet</i> of Aleppo	205
Total	454

and **8797** afflicted

¹¹⁹ Ibid., p. 373.

¹²⁰ Ibid., p. 374.

NATURE OF THE EVENTS IN ADANA PROVINCE¹²¹

At Adana (city)	Extensive massacres, looting and arson.
At Misis	Massacres, looting and arson.
At Hamidiyeh	Massacres, looting and arson.
At Sis (Kozan)	Seat of the Catholicossate of Cilicia. No massacres.
At Osmaniye	Arson of churches. Massacres and looting by the <i>Redifs</i> ¹²²
At Bandjé	Massacre, looting and arson.
At Yarpouz	Events of little importance.
At Erzin (in Djebel-Bereket)	Events of little importance.
At Dörtöyl	Massacres of Moslems. Armenians in uniform barricaded in the village. Guns made from iron water pipes were used by volunteers from the <i>Pochol</i> tribe. A lot of people came from outside. ¹²³
At Mersin	No troubles.
At Tarsus	Massacres, looting and arson.
At Ayas	Massacres and looting.
At Islahié	No troubles.
At Khassa	The monastery of Ekbez was besieged. Some women were kidnapped by the Moslems. ¹²⁴
At Iskenderun (Alexandretta)	Nothing in the town itself. Some houses set on fire in its surroundings.
<i>Vilayet of Aleppo</i>	
At Beylan	No troubles.
At Kerek-Khan	The Armenians were massacred and the villages set on fire by the Moslems.
At Antakieh (Antioch)	The soldiers, <i>Redifs</i> , in agreement with the rebels perpetrated large-scale massacres and looting.
At Kessab	This village is essentially Armenian; the Moslems attacked it, they massacred all its inhabitants and destroyed everything.
At Marash	Some people killed, insignificant looting. ¹²⁵

¹²¹ Ibid., p. 375, as quoted from *Tanin*, the official mouthpiece of the Young Turk CUP.

¹²² This is the first confession of the soldiers' participation in the carnage and the booty. This has its importance as it comes from an official CUP newspaper.

¹²³ The newspaper does not give precise details on the massacres, looting and arson to stifle the Christians in their last refuges, their churches. It wished to find out, absolutely, that there were water pipes canons and that they were used by the Armenians of Dörtöyl. Furthermore, there is no tribe by the name of Pochol. It is a pure invention, a word thrown at random, like a find. It is not an Armenian word either.

¹²⁴ The Vali gave assurance that Christians had not been kidnapped.

¹²⁵ This is a list prepared by a mouthpiece who boasts of being fair, well informed and truthful. He has not laid down a few figures to show clearly the number of dead on either side. It is stated in the list that there were 72 Moslems killed in Hadjin; and how many in other cities and villages? One should have pushed frankness further and, since the Moslems attacked this

B) APPROXIMATE LIST OF AFFLICTED ARMENIANS IN CILICIA

An approximate number of afflicted Armenians was reported by Brézol¹²⁶ who quoted data from two different sources, an English newspaper with information gathered by its special correspondent, and *Piuzantion* (May 11/24, 1909) which filled in some missing data.

The number of victims reported by each of these sources corresponded to 72,500 (without counting towns such as Sis, Aintab, Antioch and others) and 25,800, respectively, thus, totaling a figure close to 100,000 souls.

Ferriman also reported the data released from the Catholicos, summed up in the following table:

APPROXIMATE LIST OF AFFLICTED ARMENIANS¹²⁷

In Adana (city)	20,000
Marash	2825
Hadjin	15,000
The peasants of Djebel-Bereket in refuge at Dörtyol	16,000
Alexandretta natives and refugees	15,000
Mersin	1500
Antakya (Kessab, Haji Habibli)	10,000
Latakia	4000
Tarsus	4000
Beylan	800
Cyprus (refugees)	700
Total	89,825

or that village, say also which houses and towns were attacked by the Armenians. As long as the writer has not dared clarify these facts, it indicates categorically that the Moslems attacked Christians everywhere at the same time with precision, ferocity and a perfect togetherness. The onslaught was cleverly studied and planned in advance. The Armenians were caught by surprise everywhere, even in the midst of their work in the fields; they were shot down, and if they tried to defend themselves, they were mutilated pitilessly. *Tanin* acknowledged, grudgingly, on June 10, 1909, that soldiers had participated in the massacres as well as in the lootings. It added that they were *redifs*, when one knows very well from by all private correspondences and consular reports that they were soldiers sent from Dede-Agadj (3rd Army Corps, the very Army of the Constitution). See also in this respect the Fayek and Mostidjian report. At any rate, it is still a confession from the Young Turks; previously, they denied energetically any involvement of regular soldiers. On the same date the same newspaper also replied to the newspaper *Le Matin* of Paris, contesting the facts and accounts published there on June 5, 1909 about the events in Adana.

¹²⁶ Brézol, p. 378.

¹²⁷ Ferriman, p. 64.

“The number of the afflicted at some localities i.e., Sis, Elbistan 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 figure of 100,000.”¹²⁸

“Mr. Schiphert, who has traveled on horseback in the area, writes from Aintab, that he came across 3,000 refugee women and children huddled in the small Protestant church of Bahdjé (Boulanik). Some were wounded and all were hungry. Mortality is enormous especially among children. There wasn’t a single man. He adds that he saw the same state of affairs in different localities, on his way.”¹²⁹

C) LOSS OF MATERIAL PROPERTIES

This section reports the 2016 updated US\$ reparations that Turkey is mandated to compensate the Armenian nation for the loss of material properties incurred by the latter as a result of the Adana massacres of 1909.

Woods’ eyewitness account of the aftermath of the Adana Massacres gives a panoramic picture of the calamity:

...it was not until I drove across the Cilician Plain that I actually realized, not only the magnitude and horror of the massacre which had actually taken place, but also the intense hardships to which the Christians were subjected, as a result of the losses which they had sustained in it. More than 200 villages were attacked. Men were murdered, whilst women and children were, at any rate temporarily, carried off by the Turks. It is estimated that about 20,000 Christians perished in the villages during these terrible weeks...¹³⁰

Brézol details, that “In response to the widespread reports that the *Vilayet* of Adana had become an expanse of burnt-out land, the newspaper *Tanin* of Constantinople on July 1909 reported the results of a detailed investigation of damaged Christian and Moslem properties showing that 4,823 houses, shops and various buildings located in Adana and its surroundings had burnt down and been consumed by fire; of these 386 belonged to Moslems. “Turkish official statistics clearly demonstrated on which side the balance of criminality leaned...”¹³¹ Armenian material losses were huge. “In the city of Adana alone, they amounted to 300,000 Ottoman gold lira (at 1909 prices).”¹³²

Though the Ottoman parliament had voted immediate aid to the victims, it was certain that the afflicted and the disaster’s victims would not receive relief

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Brézol, p. 378, quoting *Manzoumè-Efkia* of May 18/31, 1909.

¹³⁰ Woods, p. 154.

¹³¹ George F. Abbott, *Turkey in Transition*, Edward Arnold, London, 1909, p. 305.

¹³² Simonyan, p. 156. The Ottoman Gold Lira (LT) equaled 6.614 gr. of fine gold.

for the totality of their losses. In place of a burnt-down house valued, for example, at 500 Turkish liras (fr. 11,500) one would be able to construct a small house for 20 TL (fr. 450); in place of looted furniture and goods, valued at 100 TL (fr. 2,300), they would be provided with various objects valued at around 10 TL (fr. 230). As to items destroyed on farms and fields, they would not be replaced; hence, one may conclude that at most only 10% of the value of material losses could be recuperated.

In order to estimate an approximate figure for the material damage, we examine the help sent to Adana, or collected, subscribed or voted for distribution to the victims:

A.	Sum initially voted by the Ottoman Parliament	100,000 TL
B.	Subscribed in Armenian circles, as well as through the International Relief Commission in Constantinople	25,000 TL
C.	Amount promised by the Ottoman Government, to rescue ruined merchants	100,000 TL
D.	Sum voted a second time by the Government to send through the Ottoman Imperial Bank	130,000 TL
	Total	355,000 TL

“Tenfold TL 355,000 = TL 3,550,000, equivalent to French Francs = 81,650,000. It be assumed that the material losses would amount to this sum, taking as a basis the aid figure, of which 90% are Armenian losses.”¹³³

The above figures are very conservative estimates, when figures as high as 22 million TL are reported in the relevant literature.

Ferriman¹³⁴ also reports the Turkish government’s biased position during its distribution of material assistance to the victims:

The Government Relief Committee at Adana distributed relief only to women and to men below 18 and over 60 years of age, providing 2 ½ d. per head. (In Great Britain: 77s. 10 ½ d. [934.50 d.] equaled a standard ounce of 11/12 pure gold).¹³⁵

¹³³ Brézol, pp. 379-380.

¹³⁴ Ferriman, p. 66.

¹³⁵ Carroll Quigley, *Tragedy and Hope. A History of the World in Our Time, Vols. 1-8*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1966, Chapter V.

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In fact, the Armenians in Adana held a preponderant position in the domain of business, agriculture, culture, etc., and according to the most recent statistics, one may note that:

40% of the Armenians were involved specially in agriculture and crop work, 30% exclusively in all kinds of commerce and 20% in industrial businesses.

75 to 80% of commercial and agricultural businesses were handled by the Armenians. This provoked jealousies, and this is why they were not approved of by the majority of the population, who disliked them.

During the events ... all factories, shops and other objects and property belonging to the Armenians were set on fire, ransacked and carried away, not only from the town but at a distance of 12 hours in the round, 70 to 80 farms were plundered and destroyed with their inhabitants.

The losses and damages are estimated at 2.5 million TL (fr.58 million). The harvests as well, which were abundant that year (1909), were entirely lost. If one evaluated exactly the amount that the Armenians would have made from their sale, one would arrive at the global figure of 8 to 10 million liras (fr. 230 million) as the actual losses of Armenians in Adana.¹³⁶

Only a few months following the Adana massacres, the dwellings of the Armenian survivors were subjected to an unexpected disaster caused this time by the forces of nature. Torrential rains triggering severe floods caused tremendous material damage to what remained of the survivors' properties. No human losses were reported.

On 7(20) November 1909

A dispatch from Adana's governor says that there are in the town 278 collapsed houses; another 150 had to be demolished to avoid accidents. Two other neighborhoods are still submerged. One estimates the overall number of collapsed houses at about 600. The governor's dispatch describes the city as being in a very lamentable state.

...As it appears from all these telegrams, the damages and losses from the floods can be assessed at a minimum figure of 25 million francs; this would form, with the ruin caused by the sad events of April 1909, an aggregate amount of 500 million at the lowest estimate, not including the costs of the consequences of the massacres and the loss of men and property that one has not been able to assess up to now...¹³⁷

With nearly 107 years having elapsed since the Adana massacres, the material losses valued then at fr. 500 million will be reported here in terms of 2016 US\$. The updating process of the said amount was carried out based on the fluctuations of the financial market over that span of time. In this process,

¹³⁶ Brézol, pp. 338-339.

¹³⁷ Ibid., pp. 294-295.

the history of the price of US gold, the US inflation rate and returns from the US Stock Market have all been reviewed independently from each other. Given the fact that prior to 1914 the US and European currencies had a fixed parity with gold, the reported investigations have taken as the basis of the computations the quantity of fine gold equivalent to the material losses.

Considering the fact that “exchanges were stabilized on the gold standard because by law, in various countries, the monetary unit was made equal to a fixed quantity of gold, and the two were made exchangeable at that legal ratio. In the period before 1914, currency was stabilized in certain countries as follows:

In the United States: \$20.67 equaled a fine ounce (12/12 pure gold).

In France: 3,447.74 francs equaled a fine kilogram of gold.”¹³⁸

One French Franc (fr.) corresponding to 0.29 gr. of pure gold equals 0.00932 ozt. (troy-ounce of pure gold with 1 ozt. = 31.103 gr.), and with its mint parity to the Turkish Lira: fr/TL= 0.044, compensation of fr. 500 million equals approximately TL 22 million.

With the above data in hand, three scenarios were investigated in updating the amount of fr. 500 million, i.e. the estimated amount of the Armenian material losses.

1. Gold

The said compensation of fr. 500 million is equivalent to 4.66 million ozt. of gold. Taking the approximate average price performance of pure gold¹³⁹ over the last 10, 20, 30 and 40 years on the New York Market, i.e., \$1199, \$782, \$650 and \$577 per ozt., this corresponds to: \$802/ozt., which is close enough to its median value of \$716/ozt., and hence selecting a value of \$750/ozt. is deemed conservative enough. This would yield for the cost of reparations in 2016 US\$ an approximate amount of US \$3.5 billion.

2. Inflation

In this scenario the evaluation of the said compensation in 2016 US\$ is based on the Average Annual Inflation rate.¹⁴⁰ Noting that in 1909, on the one hand, the value of 1ozt. of gold was \$20.67 and on the other hand the estimated quantity of pure gold was about 4.66 million troy ounces, the corresponding value of the latter was about US \$96.32 million.

Taking as a reference the average yearly US inflation rate between 1913 and 2016 to be about 3.18% yields a cumulative inflation of 2749% over the period stretching between 1909 and 2016. This tells us that what would have

¹³⁸ Quigley.

¹³⁹ Micheal W. George, “GOLD (Au), Metal Prices in the United States Through 2010,” Specific Investigations Report 2012-5188,” *U.S. Geological Survey*, Reston, Virginia, 2013, pp. 58-62; <https://pubs.usgs.gov/sir/2012/5188/sir2012-5188.pdf> ; <http://www.kitco.com/gold.londonfix.html> .

¹⁴⁰ Stephen Reed, “One Hundred Years of Price Change: the Consumer Price Index and the American Inflation Experience,” *Monthly Labor Review*, U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, April 2014; <https://doi.org/10.21916/mlr.2014.14>

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cost US\$ 96.32 million in 1909 would now cost about US\$ 2.74 billion, in 2016 US\$, reflecting the inevitable depreciation of the purchasing power of the US Dollar resulting from inflation over that span of time.

3. US Stock Market

Finally, if such a substantial amount of cash had been invested in the US stock market, considered as a long-term reliable safeguard against inflation, and with the Dow Jones Industrial Average (DJIA)¹⁴¹ index denoting its performance, one may note that its average gains registered over the last 10, 20 and 90 years were about: 6.04%, 6.93% and 7.5%, respectively, despite two financial crises.¹⁴² Moreover, assuming a conservative annual dividend of 6.0% to cover the period of 1909-2016 yields a cumulative profit of about 51000%. Hence, the initial invested cash would, within a period of over 100 years, have inflated the original invested capital corresponding to the material losses, to approximately US\$ 49.14 billion.

ESTIMATED HUMAN AND MATERIAL LOSSES RESULTING FROM THE ADANA MASSACRES

Estimated Cost in Human Lives

Massacred	30,000
Survivors (victimized)	100,000

Estimated Material Losses in 2016 US\$ (billions)

Based on Variations of Price of Gold	3.50
Based on Variations of Inflation	2.74
Based on Variations of Stock Market Returns	49.14

¹⁴¹ <https://Google.com/finance/historical/> ; <https://finance.yahoo.com/>

¹⁴² The first being the US Stock Market Crash of 1929 and the Great Depression, which followed for some years (1929-1932), and the second in 2008, of shorter duration and less damaging than the previous crisis.

APPENDIX VI A PLANNED MASSACRE?

As mentioned earlier, the Ottoman government (the Ministry of Justice) delegated a fact-finding commission to Adana composed of Fayek Bey and Harutyun Mostidjian Effendi, respectively. The result of their investigations regarding the degree of responsibility and culpability of the massacres' organizers was completed on June 27, 1909. A very important point regarding the issue of the planning of the massacres was, indeed, being revealed:

. . . Despite that, from all sides of the province, as well as the governorate of Djebel-Bereket, telegrams and letters kept coming, ceaselessly, announcing, beforehand, the forthcoming deplorable events, which were to take place, however, the Governor general took, absolutely, no efficient steps to prevent the occurrence of such sinister projects, thus preventing evil by suffocating it when it was still time.¹⁴³

thus, underscoring, on the one hand, the planned nature of the massacres and the province's governorship full complicity with its authors, on the other hand.

The Adana massacres displayed an unparalleled sophistication given their speed, the number of victims, the violence, the devastation and the misfortune inflicted on the survivors. This is not to mention that the troops dispatched by the CUP to stop the massacres actively participated in them, and might be held responsible for the greatest part of the registered human disaster.

Indeed, 30,000 Armenian men, women and children all across Cilicia were systematically exterminated, approximately 1,000 souls per day, within a matter of 30 days while 100,000 terrorized survivors were rendered homeless, penniless and starving.

To start with, targeting the Armenians of the *Vilayet* of Adana hints at the possibility of treachery as "The *Vilayet* of Adana was the only province containing a considerable Armenian population which in 1895 escaped the besom of destruction. And upon the promulgation of the Constitution in 1908, it was the most prosperous province of the Empire . . . Alas, this fair province was not to escape its baptism of fire and blood."¹⁴⁴

Indeed, "the Adana massacres not only resulted in huge Armenian loss of life, but also led to the destruction of one of the most important Armenian economic centers in Anatolia."¹⁴⁵

¹⁴³ Brézol, pp.220-236.

¹⁴³ Fred Douglas Shepard, M.D., "Personal Experience in Turkish Massacres and Relief Work," *The Journal of Race Development*, Vol. 1. N° 3, Jan., 1911, ed. by G.H. Blakeslee & G. Stanley Hall, Mass., USA, p. 326.

¹⁴⁵ Der Matossian, "From Bloodless Revolution to Bloody Counterrevolution," p. 164.

H. Charles Woods, an eyewitness of the mass destruction of Armenian and other Christian houses in the town of Adana proper, stated that “During the afternoon and evening of this ‘Black’ Friday the illumination from the burning houses (some 800 of which were entirely destroyed) was so powerful that when darkness came, it was actually possible to read and to sign papers by its light.”¹⁴⁶

Amongst the primary objectives of the revolution of the Young Turks of July 1908 one may cite the establishment of religious equality and the restoration of the constitutional liberties of the Empire’s minorities. Although, this valiant agenda was acclaimed by the minorities, the majority of the Empire’s population (Moslems) judged this anathema to them, being contrary to the *Sharia*. From that time, the grudge of the Old Turk towards the Armenians kept on intensifying.

Shepard explains that, “The matter had been brewing from the day when ‘equality’, was coupled with ‘liberty and fraternity’ on the banner of the ‘Young Turks.’ What! equality with Armenians? ... The Old Turk said to himself: Lo, all things are as they were of old and ever shall be. Please God, we will teach them upstarts a lesson of equality, and incidentally get unto ourselves much goods and many fair women.”¹⁴⁷

On the local level the Turkish press in Adana had for quite some time been playing an active role in shaping anti-Armenian public opinion in Cilicia, regardless of the type of government at Constantinople. Amongst the most influential newspapers was the one edited by Ihsan Fikri,¹⁴⁸ the self-proclaimed Young Turk, editor of *Itidal*, the official organ of the Young Turks in Cilicia. Deceitful news likely to incite the Turkish mob against the Armenians were constantly diffused through this newspaper, like: “*Armenians have betrayed the Revolution, quickly beginning to prepare for an uprising, by stockpiling weapons.*”

In his turn Burhan Nuri “pursued the anti-Armenian campaign on more abstract grounds, posing the rethorical question “Can the Armenians establish a State?”¹⁴⁹

When two Turkish youths were killed in an Armenian quarter as the result of a fight, it was reported to the public as the first sign of an “*Armenian uprising*“ by Ismaïl Sefa Özler, one of *Itidal*’s correspondents. It must be pointed out that Fikri’s colleagues, Sefa Özler, Nuri, and others were professional journalists highly experienced in inciting hatred and provoking baseless animosity against the Armenians.

The position of the anti-Armenian press was reinforced when

¹⁴⁶ Woods, p. 148.

¹⁴⁷ Shepard, p. 327.

¹⁴⁸ Der Matossian, “*From Bloodless Revolution to Bloody Counterrevolution,*” pp. 157-158.

¹⁴⁹ Der Matossian, “*Shattered Dreams of Revolution,*” p. 168.

...One of the editors of Beirut's 'Ittihad-i-Osmaniye' newspaper, Ahmed Adel Arslan Bey, was brought to Adana to write articles against the Armenians, attributing to them responsibility for the events, and he received one Turkish lira per day. He also published similar articles in the newspaper "Le Réveil," printed in French...¹⁵⁰

Obviously *Itidal* didn't miss any opportunity to accuse the Armenians of all sorts of wrongdoings likely to promote Armenophobia amongst the Turks: Most of the Armenian and European sources indicate that between the first and second waves, Ihsan Fikri, leader of the CUP in Adana, played an important role in inciting the masses against the Armenians. Through his newspaper, *Itidal*, he began to verbally attack the Armenians, using extraordinarily violent language to convince the masses that Armenians had attempted a coup d'état to establish the Kingdom of Cilicia. This provocation played an important role in mobilizing the masses and preparing them for the ensuing massacre.¹⁵¹

Regarding the accusations against the Armenians that they had been accumulating weapons in order to foment an insurrection, first and foremost, bearing arms for self-defense was perfectly legal. Brézol explains that, "... this race, massacred and decimated so many times, had even more than any other, the supreme right to arm itself for its self-defense."¹⁵² Besides, William Miller underlined that "No rebellion, no conspiracy to restore the Armenian kingdom could be proved in partial justification of the horrors which ensued not only at Adana, but at Tarsus and other places in Cilicia ... Fire completed the work of destruction; and special care was taken to destroy the account-books, in which the Armenians had registered the liabilities of their Muslim debtors..."¹⁵³

The British Vice-Consul Doughty-Wylie, reporting to the British Ambassador, Sir G. Lowther, highlighted the policy of deception pursued by *Itidal* which was solely intended to brainwash the Turks in order to stimulate, even further, hatred towards the Armenians:

...In the afternoon I went again to the konak to see Mehmet Ali Bey and gave him a message from Captain Thursby as to the ugly stories set afloat of Alexandretta. ...I told him in Captain Thursby's name and my own of the inflammatory language used by the local paper the '*Itidal*.' This paper talks perpetually of further punishment of Armenians and the danger of

¹⁵⁰ Brézol, p. 235.

¹⁵¹ Der Matossian, *Ibid.*, p. 167.

¹⁵² Brézol, p. 242.

¹⁵³ William Miller, *The Ottoman Empire, 1801-1913*, Cambridge Historical Series, edited by G. W. Prothero, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, England, 1913, p. 480.

foreign interference. He promised to send at once to the editor of the *'Itidal'* and reprimand him.

... Every Turk in the town is fully persuaded that the Armenians set light to their own houses, with, I suppose, the idea of bringing about foreign interference. They tell gruesome stories of Armenian atrocities on Moslems, such as poisoning the wells with dead bodies, the burning alive of wounded men, atrocities on women and the like.¹⁵⁴

In an earlier communication to Sir G. Lowther the British Vice-Consul Doughty-Wylie had emphasized the ferocity of the massacres and, particularly, the authorities' prior knowledge of them:

... I have for some time expected disturbances at Adana, but nothing on such an appalling scale.. . The massacre began in very distant places, on the same day and at nearly the same hour. The local provocation at Adana could not have effected this. I am inclined to think that some, at any rate, of the authorities knew of the intended massacre beforehand. ...I cannot think, however, that such widespread destruction was without some secret preparation on the Turkish side.¹⁵⁵

This confirms once more the planned nature of the Adana massacres.

It is important to note the common characteristics marking the extermination procedure of the Armenians as practiced by the instigators of these two consecutive massacres. One may refer to the strategy used by the press in inciting the masses, the duration of the massacres, the types of atrocities, the looting, the destruction and/or confiscation of Armenian properties such as homes, businesses, churches, schools, etc., pursuing, plundering and terrorizing survivors who had managed to find shelter in churches and schools or had taken refuge near foreign residents, and refusing the survivors the right to emigrate to any other country within the Ottoman Empire.

The speed at which the massacres had spread all across Cilicia and beyond its boundary, within a matter of a few days, despite the absence of appropriate means of communication, and reported in the European press¹⁵⁶ raises some serious questions.

A memorandum by the Rev. S. H. Kennedy, highlighting the siege of the village of Dörtyol by "*raging Muslim fanatics with lust and greed*" was

¹⁵⁴ Vice-Consul Doughty-Wylie to Sir G. Lowther, Inclosure 2 in No. 96, FO 424/219, Adana, May 2, 1909, pp. 107-108.

¹⁵⁵ Vice-Consul Doughty-Wylie to Sir G. Lowther, Inclosure 1 in No.83, FO 424/219, Adana, April 21, 1909, pp. 80-84.

¹⁵⁶ On May 7, 1909, the French newspaper *Le Figaro* published in three columns on the front page the testimony of a naval officer aboard the "*Victor Hugo*". He attested to the speed at which the massacres were spreading in Cilicia, the terrible scenes of murder, the innumerable corpses floating on the water, and the passivity of the European Big Powers.

transmitted to the British Ambassador, Sir G. Lowther, who forwarded it to the Foreign Secretary, Sir Edward Grey:

...For many reasons it seems plain to me that all that happened during these terrible last days of April was part of a preconceived plan. For the protection of upwards of 10,000 Christians surrounded by Moslem fanatics there were only some fifteen regular soldiers and these were stationed at a point about ten miles away...¹⁵⁷

General Mahmud Shevket Pasha stated that the massacres of Christians, "in or around Constantinople had been planned in Yildiz Palace."¹⁵⁸ In this respect, the, confidential, report of Baron Adolf Marschall von Bieberstein, German Ambassador at Constantinople, "Adana 1909," gave an account of the latter's long conversation with Shevket Pasha, on May 7, 1909.¹⁵⁹

This state of affairs was confirmed by US press correspondent William E Curtis:

...There is no longer any doubt that Abdul Hamid, the late Sultan, planned and ordered a general massacre of Christians in Constantinople and other parts of the Empire for Friday, the 14th of April, in order to force the European Powers to seize and occupy the city. In that way he hoped to save his throne...¹⁶⁰

Hence, would it not be ludicrous to claim that such a human tragedy could have taken place without its authors having had recourse to any planning, whatsoever? Der Matossian notes that on April 20, 1909 "Thousands of free copies of 'Itidal' were distributed in the streets of Adana. In this issue Fikri, along with his colleagues Ismail Sefa and Burhan Nuri, vehemently attacked the Armenians. In an article entitled "An Awful Uprising" (*Müdhiş bir İsyân*), Sefa stated that a wave of boiling rage and independence was destroying the country..."¹⁶¹

Such facts support clearly the planned nature of the Adana massacres:

¹⁵⁷ Sir G. Lowther to Sir Edward Grey, Report No. 138, FO 424/219, Therapia, June 15, 1909, pp. 195-200.

¹⁵⁸ Yildiz Palace: Residence of the Sultan in Constantinople.

¹⁵⁹ Matthias Bjørnlund, "Adana and Beyond: Revolution and Massacre in the Ottoman Empire Seen through Danish Eyes, 1908-1909," *Haigazian Armenological Review*, Vol. 30, 2010, p. 148.

¹⁶⁰ William E. Curtis, *Around the Black Sea (Asia Minor, Armenia, Caucasia, Circassia, Daghestan, the Crimea, Roumania)*, Hodder & Stoughton, New York, George H. Doran Company, 1911, p. 172.

¹⁶¹ Der Matossian, "From Bloodless Revolution to Bloody Counterrevolution," p. 162.

The terror inflicted by the regular army sent on a peace mission was willed by the local authorities and encouraged by senior Young-Turks officials in Constantinople.¹⁶²

Christopher J. Walker reports the Young Turks' policy in handling the Adana massacres, after regaining power on 24 April. "One of the first actions of Mahmud Şevket was to order two regiments of Rumeliot troops – crack Young Turk soldiers – from Beirut and Damascus to Adana. But shortly after their arriva,l at dusk on 25 April, further bloodshed and fire began in the city, perpetrated in a more thorough and brutal manner than before Rumeliot troops opened fire on the Armenian quarter, and in the words of H. Charles Woods (who visited Adana soon after these events)," for a time at any rate [the army], took part in the looting of houses and the killing of innocents."¹⁶³

Walker notes as well that, "It is not only the city of Adana that suffered the outbreaks in April 1909. All across the Cilician plain villages were attacked and plundered - over 200 in all. Armenians were slaughtered, whether landowners, farmers, peasants or migrant workers assisting with the barley harvest ..."¹⁶⁴

On his trip to Turkey, right after the 1908 revolution, Sir William M. Ramsay was eyewitness to the massacres of Christians at Adana, which also convinced him of the planned nature of the massacres. He noted that:

... an organised scheme of massacre had been planned at some centre and systematically preached by agents, who either had or pretended to have a religious character as hodjas and dressed accordingly, is beyond dispute or question.¹⁶⁵

MP Krikor Zohrab, in the debate of May 4, 1909 in the Ottoman Parliament on the subject of the massacres at Adana declared:

...There is not sufficient evidence to judge the matter fully. I saw the telegram from the Ministry of the Interior, of which complaint has been made, and its purport was in keeping with the traditions of the old régime. It did not say "Kill the Armenians," but "Restore order." The hon. Members know that that was the formula used under the despotic régime; formulas depend upon their interpretation, and it is certain that the phrase,

¹⁶² Duclert, p. 102.

¹⁶³ Christopher J. Walker, *Armenia: The Survival of a Nation*, rev. 2nd ed., London, Routledge, 1990, p. 185.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 185-186.

¹⁶⁵ William Mitchell Ramsay, *The Revolution in Constantinople and Turkey*, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1909, pp. 202-203.

“Keep order and protect the foreigners and banks in particular,” would be misunderstood there...¹⁶⁶

On May 5, 1909 *The Times* of London reported the conduct of the European (Salonica) army delegated to Adana allegedly to protect its citizens: ...Adana is being terrorized by 4000 soldiers, who are looting, shooting, and burning... further massacres of Christians are feared. The troops instead of pouring water on the fires, feed the flames with kerosene...¹⁶⁷

It is interesting to note that following criticism from the Western Press: “*Tanin* acknowledged thus, despite itself, on June 10, 1909, that soldiers had participated in the massacres and looting, however, adding that these were “Redifs”, when it is well known, from all private correspondences and consular reports, that these were regular soldiers from the 3rd Army¹⁶⁸ corps sent from Dede-agatch (Constantinople).”¹⁶⁹

Woods’ letter of July 29, 1911 to the editor of the *Times* of London, confirms the involvement of the Young Turks in the Adana massacres: ...the Salonica troops, who arrived from Roumelia between the two massacres, actually took part in the second slaughter at Adana. At Tarsus, too, the leader of the mob which seized rifles and ammunition from the Government barracks on Friday, April 15, 1909, was a well-known Young Turk, at that time said to be an important member of the local Committee of Union and Progress.¹⁷⁰

Quoting German diplomatic sources Matthias Bjørnlund confirms that: ...detailed information on central aspects of the counter-coup and the Adana massacres, strongly support the assertion that troops deployed by the CUP were crucial perpetrators, even instigators, of the wave of massacres that took place 24-27 April.¹⁷¹

He adds that there was on “...11 June 1909, a lengthy article based on an account by German ‘Berliner Tageblatt’s’ special correspondent described in grueling detail the slaughter of Armenians in Adana, with an emphasis on mob rule, desperate resistance, and troops deployed by the CUP as co-perpetrators,

¹⁶⁶ See Sir G. Lowther to Sir Edward Grey. “Summary of the Debate in the Chamber of Deputies on the Adana Massacres,” Report No. 24, FO 424/219, Inclosure in No. 84, Constantinople, May 4, 1909, pp. 87-92.

¹⁶⁷ *The Times*, “The Massacres at Adana,” Larnaca, May 3, London, 5 May 1909.

¹⁶⁸ Called also the Army of deliverances (*Hareket Ordusu*) formed in Salonica by CUP officers under the command of General Mahmud Şevket Pasha.

¹⁶⁹ Brézol, p. 377.

¹⁷⁰ Charles Woods, “The Adana Massacres,” *Times*, August 3, 1911, p. 4.

¹⁷¹ Bjørnlund, p. 127.

A PLANNED MASSACRE?

while this 27 August 1909 article with new information on the scope and background of the massacres made it to the front page, describing a well-planned political assassination on a big scale...”¹⁷²

Benefiting, on the one hand, from favorable European opinion and, on the other hand, having neutralized all internal opposition by forging an alliance with the Armenian political parties and others, nothing stood in the way of the Young Turks to execute the secretly planned Adana massacres of 1909. Time has proven that it was the very same clique of Young Turks, from Salonica, who a few years later would be executing the well-planned Armenian Genocide of 1915, hence unveiling their sinister plan to exterminate the Armenian race.

¹⁷² Ibid., p. 128.

APPENDIX VII
ARTICLE 301 (TURKISH PENAL CODE)¹⁷³

Limits to freedom of expression in Turkey are another area of particular concern to observers. The main focus of these concerns is Article 301 of the Turkish Penal Code and the way it has been applied by the courts. The original text of the provision stated:

When Article 301 was first enacted in 2005, it stated¹⁷⁴:

1. Public denigration of “*Turkishness*,” the Republic or the Grand National Assembly of Turkey shall be punishable by imprisonment of between six months and three years.
2. Public denigration of the Government of the Republic of Turkey, the judicial institutions of the State, the military or security structures shall be punishable by imprisonment of between six months and two years.
3. In cases where denigration of “*Turkishness*” is committed by a Turkish citizen in another country the punishment shall be increased by one third.
4. Expressions of thought intended to criticize shall not constitute a crime.

Following the murder of “Hrant Dink” Article 301 was, superficially, amended by the Parliament of Turkey, on **April 30, 2008**, with the following changes:

Clause 1.

Replacement of the word "*Turkishness*" with the phrase "*the Turkish Nation*" (so "denigration of Turkishness" became "denigration of the Turkish Nation"); and

Reduction of the maximum penalty from three years to two;

Clause 3.

Removal of the special provision increasing the punishment for denigration when committed by a Turkish citizen in another country;

Requires permission of the justice ministry to file a case. The permission procedure of Article 301 will be carried out by the Directorate General of the Criminal Affairs of the Ministry of Justice where competent judges

¹⁷³ Amnesty International Public Statement: “*Turkey: Article 301 is a threat to freedom of expression and must be repealed now!*,” December 1, 2005).

¹⁷⁴ House of Commons Library, “*Turkey To Day*,” Research paper 08/90, December 8, 2008, p. 22.

ARTICLE 301 (TURKISH PENAL CODE)

are seconded to the Ministry. Even if a criminal investigation is launched upon the permission of the Minister of Justice, the prosecutor still has discretionary power to decide not to prosecute.

The amendments were adopted by the Parliament on 30 April 2008. The amended Article 301 now reads as follows¹⁷⁵:

1. A person who publicly degrades the Turkish nation, the State of the Republic of Turkey, the Turkish Grand National Assembly, the Government of the Republic of Turkey and the judicial bodies of the State, shall be sentenced to a penalty of imprisonment for a term of six months to two years.
2. A person who publicly degrades the military or security organizations of the State shall be sentenced to a penalty in accordance with the first section.
3. The expression of an opinion for the purpose of criticism does not constitute an offence.
4. The conduct of investigation for such offence shall be subject to the permission of the Minister of Justice.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., pp. 24-25.

APPENDIX VIII
HUMAN RIGHTS STATUS IN TURKEY (2010-2011)

Respect For Media Freedom (Articles 7-9)¹⁷⁶

7. The Assembly welcomes amendments made to Article 301 of the Turkish Penal Code but deplores the fact that Turkey has neither abolished Article 301 nor completed investigations into the murder of “Hrant Dink” in Istanbul on 19 January 2007, especially as regards possible failures of the police and security forces. Criminal charges have been brought against many journalists under the slightly revised Article 301, which still violates Article 10 of the “*European Convention on Human Rights*.”

8. Referring to its Resolution 1577 (2007) “Towards decriminalisation of defamation,” the Assembly reaffirms that defamation and insult laws must not be used to silence critical comment and irony in the media. The reputation of a nation, the military, historic figures or a religion cannot and must not be protected by defamation or insult laws. Governments and parliaments should clearly and openly reject false notions of national interest evoked against the work of journalists. Nationalism must never again become the misguided reason for killing journalists, or depriving them of their rights or liberty.

9. The Assembly notes with concern that excessive sanctions have been imposed on media outlets. Government members and parliamentarians should not use their political influence to silence critical media, but engage in a constructive debate through all media.

Turkey 2010 Progress Report¹⁷⁷

The European Commission’s 2010 Progress Report on Turkey stated, insofar as relevant, the following:

“. . . As regards to “*freedom of expression*,” an increasingly open and free debate continued on a wide scale in the media and public on topics perceived as sensitive, such as the Kurdish issue, minority rights, the Armenian issue and the role of the military.”

“There were a few cases initiated on the basis of Article 301 of the Turkish Criminal Code (TCC) after it was amended in May 2008:

“According to the Ministry of Justice, since the amendment to Article 301 of the Turkish Penal Code, a decrease in the number of cases opened has been observed. The figures below cover examinations

¹⁷⁶ Recommendations and Resolutions adopted by the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe in the field of media and information society. Directorate General of Human Rights and the Rule of Law. Strasbourg, 2015, p.144.

¹⁷⁷ European Commission staff working Document, SEC(2010) 1327, Brussels, 9 Nov. 2010, p. 20.

concluded between 1 January 2010 and 31 July 2010: 369 files examined, 270 files for which permission was denied, 10 files for which permission was granted, **3.57%** file for which permission was granted...”

European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) in 2011
Case of Mr. Altuğ Taner Akçam v. Turkey¹⁷⁸

The court found a violation of freedom of expression (Article 10 of ECHR) in the investigation against Mr. Altuğ Taner Akçam, a historian writing about the Armenian genocide. Concerning the 2008 amendments ECHR states “... In this connection, the Court notes that despite the replacement of the term “*Turkishness*” by “*the Turkish Nation*,” there seems to be no change or major difference in the interpretation of these concepts because they have been understood in the same manner by the Court of Cassation.”

“... In the Court’s opinion... the scope of the terms under Article 301 of the Criminal Code, as interpreted by the judiciary, is too wide and vague and thus the provision constitutes a continuing threat to the exercise of the right to freedom of expression.”

“... It follows therefore that Article 301 of the Criminal Code does not meet the ‘*quality of law*’ required by the Court’s settled case-law, since its unacceptably broad terms result in a lack of foreseeability as to its effects.”

“...The foregoing considerations are sufficient to enable the Court to conclude that the interference in question was not prescribed by law.”

“There has accordingly been a violation of Article 10 of the Convention.”

¹⁷⁸ ECHR, Case of European Court of Human Rights. Case of “Altuğ Taner Akçam V Turkey,” *Second Section (Application No. 27520/07), Final Judgment*, Strasbourg, 25 October 2011, Para. 92, 93, 95, 96.

APPENDIX IX
CONVENTION ON THE NON-APPLICABILITY OF
STATUTORY LIMITATIONS TO WAR CRIMES AND CRIMES
AGAINST HUMANITY

Adopted and opened for signature, ratification and accession by General Assembly Resolution 2391 (XXIII) of 26 November 1968.

Entry into force: 11 November 1970, in accordance with article VIII

Preamble

The States Parties to the present Convention ,

Recalling resolutions of the General Assembly of the United Nations 3 (I) of 13 February 1946 and 170 (II) of 31 October 1947 on the extradition and punishment of war criminals, resolution 95 (I) of 11 December 1946 affirming the principles of international law recognized by the Charter of the International Military Tribunal, Nürnberg, and the judgment of the Tribunal, and resolutions 2184 (XXI) of 12 December 1966 and 2202 (XXI) of 16 December 1966 which expressly condemned as crimes against humanity the violation of the economic and political rights of the indigenous populace on the one hand and the policies of apartheid on the other,

Recalling resolutions of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations 1074 D (XXXIX) of 28 July 1965 and 1158 (XLI) of 5 August 1966 on the punishment of war criminals and of persons who have committed crimes against humanity,

Noting that none of the solemn declarations, instruments or conventions relating to the prosecution and punishment of war crimes and crimes against humanity made provision for a period of limitation,

Considering that war crimes and crimes against humanity are among the gravest crimes in international law,

Convinced that the effective punishment of war crimes and crimes against humanity is an important element in the prevention of such crimes, the protection of Human Rights and

fundamental freedoms, the encouragement of confidence, the furtherance of co-operation among peoples and the promotion of international peace and security,

Noting that the application to war crimes and crimes against humanity of the rules of municipal law relating to the period of limitation for ordinary crimes is a matter of serious concern to world public opinion, since it prevents the prosecution and punishment of persons responsible for those crimes,

Recognizing that it is necessary and timely to affirm in international law, through this Convention, the principle that there is no period of limitation for war crimes and crimes against humanity, and to secure its universal application,

Have agreed as follows

CONVENTION ON THE NON-APPLICABILITY

Article I

No statutory limitation shall apply to the following crimes, irrespective of the date of their commission:

(a) War crimes as they are defined in the Charter of the International Military Tribunal, Nürnberg, of 8 August 1945 and confirmed by resolutions 3 (I) of 13 February 1946 and 95 (I) of 11 December 1946 of the General Assembly of the United Nations, particularly the “grave breaches” enumerated in the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 for the protection of war victims;

(b) Crimes against humanity whether committed in time of war or in time of peace as they are defined in the Charter of the International Military Tribunal, Nürnberg, of 8 August 1945 and confirmed by resolutions 3 (I) of 13 February 1946 and 95 (I) of 11 December 1946 of the General Assembly of the United Nations, eviction by armed attack or occupation and inhuman acts resulting from the policy of apartheid, and the crime of genocide as defined in the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, even if such acts do not constitute a violation of the domestic law of the country in which they were committed.

Article II

If any of the crimes mentioned in article I is committed, the provisions of this Convention shall apply to representatives of the State authority and private individuals who, as principals or accomplices, participate in or who directly incite others to the commission of any of those crimes, or who conspire to commit them, irrespective of the degree of completion, and to representatives of the State authority who tolerate their commission.

Article III

The States Parties to the present Convention undertake to adopt all necessary domestic measures, legislative or otherwise, with a view to making possible the extradition, in accordance with international law, of the persons referred to in article II of this Convention.

Article IV

The States Parties to the present Convention undertake to adopt, in accordance with their respective constitutional processes, any legislative or other measures necessary to ensure that statutory or other limitations shall not apply to the prosecution and punishment of the crimes referred to in articles I and II of this Convention and that, where they exist, such limitations shall be abolished.

Article V

This Convention shall, until 31 December 1969, be open for signature by any State Member of the United Nations or member of any of its specialized agencies or of the International Atomic Energy Agency, by any State Party to the Statute of the International Court of Justice, and by any other State which

has been invited by the General Assembly of the United Nations to become a Party to this Convention.

Article VI

This Convention is subject to ratification. Instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Article VII

This Convention shall be open to accession by any State referred to in article V. Instruments of accession shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Article VIII

1. This Convention shall enter into force on the ninetieth day after the date of the deposit with the Secretary-General of the United Nations of the tenth instrument of ratification or accession.

2. For each State ratifying this Convention or acceding to it after the deposit of the tenth instrument of ratification or accession, the Convention shall enter into force on the ninetieth day after the date of the deposit of its own instrument of ratification or accession.

Article IX

After the expiry of a period of ten years from the date on which this Convention enters into force, a request for the revision of the Convention may be made at any time by any Contracting Party by means of a notification in writing addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations. 2. The General Assembly of the United Nations shall decide upon the steps, if any, to be taken in respect of such a request.

Article X

1. This Convention shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

2. The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall transmit certified copies of this Convention to all States referred to in article V.

3. The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall inform all States referred to in article V of the following particulars:

(a) Signatures of this Convention, and instruments of ratification and accession deposited under articles V, VI and VII;

(b) The date of entry into force of this Convention in accordance with article VIII;

(c) Communications received under article IX.

Article XI

This Convention, of which the Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish texts are equally authentic, shall bear the date of 26 November 1968.

1. In witness whereof the undersigned, being duly authorized for that purpose, have signed this Convention.

GLOSSARY OF FOREIGN WORDS

- Bashi-Bozooks: Body of Turkish irregular soldiery, raised in case of national peril.
- Bey: Lord, Esquire.
- Donmeh (Crypto-Jews): Jews followers of the 17th century Ottoman Jewish Messai Sabbatai Zevi, who converted publicly to Islam, but kept on practicing, secretly, their original religion.
- Effendi: Master.
- Emir: prince, commander, or head of State in some Islamic countries.
- Fatwa: Decree.
- Fedayeens: Revolutionaries.
- Ferman: Edict.
- Giaour or Gawvur: Infidel; above all Christian.
- Grand Vizier: Chief officer of State.
- Hareket Ordusu: Action Army.
- Hodja: Teacher or scholar.
- Kaza: District, division of a Sanjak.
- Kaymakan: Governor of a district.
- Kaymakanat: District.
- Khan: Inn, resthouse.
- Kiafer(eer): Infidel(s).
- Konak: Residence or mansion.
- Mukhtar: The head of local government of a town or village.
- Mutessariff: Governor of a Sanjak.
- Moslem: The alternate spelling of Muslim used until the first half of 20th century. Both refer to the Islamic faith.
- Naïb: Deputy, member of parliament.
- Padishah: Sultan or Great King.
- Pasha: A civil or military authority.
- Ramadan Bayram: Muslim Holy month.
- Raya: Tax payer but lower class citizen.
- Redifs: Reservists.
- Sharia: Islamic law.
- Sanjak: Region, sub-division of a *vilayet*.
- Takrir: Report.
- Vali: Governor-general of a *vilayet*.
- Vilayet: Province, county ruled by a *Vali*.
- Yatagan: Ottoman short sabre used extensively in Ottoman Turkey.

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