

# MUSA DAGH DURING THE ARMENIAN MASSACRES OF 1909 IN OTTOMAN NORTHWESTERN SYRIA

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If the *raison d'être* of Armenian revolutionary societies was to improve the lot of their people in the Ottoman Empire, no opportunity promised greater hope than the Young Turk revolution of 1908. Earlier in the decade, Armenians, Turks, and other Ottoman exiles had held talks in Paris to formulate a common program in their quest for a liberal Ottoman state. But disgruntled Ottoman army officers staged coup in Macedonia, marched on Constantinople on July 23, 1908 and forced Sultan Abdul Hamid II to restore the constitution of 1876.<sup>1</sup> This paper discusses the political climate that prevailed in northwestern Syria at the time, the bloody events that occurred the following year, the situation in Musa Dagh, the subsequent relief efforts, and the persistent fear of renewed massacres up until World War I.

## EUPHORIA AND DISILLUSIONMENT

In Aleppo, as elsewhere across the empire, the news of the 1908 revolution caused “astonishment bordering incredulity,” for “such a sudden break with the past was wholly unexpected.” Be that as it may, a hastily-formed local committee of twenty-one members representing “with fairness the public, the army and the clergy, without distinction of race and creed,” established contact with the central Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), the party that was to rule the empire through the turbulent years of World War I. The celebration was also marked by the release of twenty-two Armenians from Aleppo prison as part of a general amnesty granted to political detainees and exiles.<sup>2</sup> Assessing the times with prophetic clairvoyance, British consul H.Z. Longworth wrote: “The present is still a period of doubt and uncertainty, but the outlook, in this vilayet [province] at least, need no longer, I think, be regarded with misgivings. Reactionists there are no doubt in numbers—men whose interests are bound up with the late corrupt system, men that are animated by a spirit of fanaticism, men that are opposed to female emancipation, and men that are by nature aggressive. Any one of them may possibly someday incite the Mohammedans to bloodshed and plunder.”<sup>3</sup>

In Antioch, too, a jubilant mood prevailed. On August 10, at 10 p.m., all government officials and the British and German vice-consuls attended a public rally near the municipal hall, which was richly decorated for the

occasion. After several orations on “liberty and reforms,” people from the crowd suddenly “rushed up holding the Turkish banner in their hands and asked the Kaimakam, the Kadi [judge], and many other officials to take an oath that they will never henceforth take any bribes, and that their judgements, their acts, and their treatment of the people would be in accordance with the law.” Fearful of serious trouble, the officials acceded to the demand, and the celebration ended in confusion.<sup>4</sup>

As reality replaced euphoria, the ineptness of the emergent regime became apparent. Because the CUP lacked the necessary cadres to run the country according to the essence of the liberal constitution, many traditionalist and reactionary bureaucrats maintained their positions in the new administration and fomented anti-constitutional sentiment. Such agitation was particularly strong in the provinces, where Muslim fundamentalists, angered by the elevation of the “infidels” to parity before the law, blamed the Armenians for their advocacy of the new constitution that departed from the *Sharia* (Islamic Law). This, coupled with Turkish apprehension regarding growing Armenian economic strength and an “image of combativeness,” fueled an atrocious wrath in the province of Adana in April 1909, which left in its wake 20,000-30,000 Armenian casualties.<sup>5</sup>

#### BLOODSHED AND DESTRUCTION

The massacres were not confined to Adana province; they also engulfed Armenian communities in northwestern Syria that were part of Aleppo province. Kirik Khan was among the first places to be targeted. On April 5/18, 1909, a murderous crowd of about 6,000 Kurds, Cherkez, Turkmens, and others, after looting and burning businesses and homes, surrounded the Armenians who were huddled in two buildings for safety. Intense fighting ended in negotiations, whereby the besieged consented to embrace Islam and came out. The treacherous ruffians then opened fire and abducted, raped and or circumcised many of the surviving women and boys.<sup>6</sup> The losses were staggering for such a small Armenian community: 82 killed, 15 unaccounted for, and 121 buildings pillaged and gutted, including 66 houses, 34 shops, 15 inns and 1 hotel, 3 coffee shops, and 2 bakeries.<sup>7</sup> A European traveler, who visited Kirik Khan after the carnage, observed the following from his hotel window:

Farther up the road were gaunt fire-blackened walls, and then I noticed that the shops across the way were new. In proportion to its population Kirk Khan had seen, at the time of the Adana outbreak, one of the worst massacres in the country. Few indeed of the Armenian portion of its inhabitants had escaped. These flimsy new shops with their somnolent Moslem shopkeepers and flyblown goods represented one of the changes

produced by massacre—the dispossession of a race apt in the competition of trade by another more apt in the competition of killing.<sup>8</sup>

An estimated 250 Armenians survived and made their way to Beylan, where other Armenians from nearby Atik, Kanli Dere, Sari Chinar, Soghanj, Mezgitonu, and Haji Musalli had escaped, leaving behind 8 dead persons and 58 destroyed homes. From April 18-28 the Armenians at Beylan stayed behind locked doors in anticipation of further trouble. The local *kaimakam*, however, described as a righteous and conscientious Ottoman, prevented bloodshed by ordering his troops to shoot any intruders on sight.<sup>9</sup>

Anarchy prevailed in Iskenderun/Alexandretta, as armed Muslim throngs roamed the streets and infested the surrounding countryside, plundering Armenian and other Christian properties with the local government's overt support.<sup>10</sup> In this menacing atmosphere, the town's Christian population searched in a frenzy for safe havens. Thousands of terrified refugees filled the convents, hospices, and schools belonging to the Terre-Sainte Franciscan and Carmes Déchaussés orders, as well as consular compounds. Many others left the city altogether for Cyprus, Egypt, and Europe. A British *Prince Line* vessel served as a floating hotel for escapees for a fee.<sup>11</sup> Despite the governor's assurances that there was no reason to panic, "the government had organized everything for the extermination [of Armenians]; it had even formed a committee composed of the governor, the president of the municipality, secretaries of the tribunal, and other Turkish notables, in such a manner that no person could escape death."<sup>12</sup> Moreover, 300 prisoners were released and armed, and all Turks (and other Muslims) received instructions to wear white bands on their headgear to distinguish them from Christians and thus "avoid any mistakes."<sup>13</sup> On April 19, the city's entire foreign diplomatic corps paid the governor and his council a visit to protest and also to inform them of the scheduled arrival of a British warship the following day. The Turks canceled their murderous plan after this meeting.<sup>14</sup>

The Armenians of Antioch were less fortunate. Hatred against them had been brewing for some time, as explained by British consul Raphael A. Fontana of Aleppo:

The Massacre was worked up by the Antioch Agas [notables], with the connivance of the Authorities. The Agas have been locally all powerful, the idea of liberty, and of the curtailment of their petty authority and power to tyrannise was abhorrent to them, and the Armenian was made the scape-goat upon which they were only too ready to vent their reactionary wrath.... Meetings were held in the Mosques, and word was circulated among the Moslim people that Armenian intrigue had curtailed the Khalif's

power and imperiled the Sheriaat, and that the Armenians were planning armed revolt.<sup>15</sup>

Accordingly, both the city reserves and a large segment of the civilian population were distributed Martini rifles and ammunition from the local barracks. And as the situation worsened, a deputation consisting of the British vice-consul, the Armenian bishop, and Catholic priests met with the *kaimakam* and his council, hoping to avert a calamity. The *kaimakam* instead gave “a contemptuous reply” to an official letter handed him by the British vice-consul, and the municipal council dismissed rumors of an impending disaster as false. The Antioch Telegraph Office held back the British diplomat’s subsequent cables to his consulate in Aleppo.<sup>16</sup>

As feared, in the afternoon of Monday, April 19, 1909 Muslim instigators called upon their co-religionists to finish off the Armenians because they had allegedly risen. Thousands of armed men marched on the Armenian quarter to kill and plunder. Within a few days, the bulk of the city’s Armenian male population had been wiped out. Women and children were carried off and or outraged. The Apostolic clergy were bludgeoned to death on the church premises in the most gruesome manner. A prominent Armenian public servant met a similar fate. Looted and torn down, Armenian homes were left beyond recognition. A similar treatment of the remaining Christian inhabitants—who had taken refuge in the British vice-consular and missionary compounds—was averted thanks to the intervention of the city commandant.<sup>17</sup>

Hardly had the bloodletting in Antioch subsided than ominous clouds gathered around Kesab. On Thursday, April 22, an Armenian delegation met with the *mudir* (sub-district governor) of nearby Ordu to secure assurances that they would be protected if attacked. But while the talks were still in progress, thousands of Turks and Arabs from Antioch, Jisr al-Shughur, and Idlib entered the district in preparation for a general assault on the Armenian enclave early next morning. Faced with certain annihilation, the womenfolk and children withdrew toward the sea, while several hundred of their armed men busied the assailants with defensive tactics. The survivors were then rescued by a *Messageries Maritimes* steamer and another French cruiser, taken to Latakia, looked after foremost by the American Presbyterian Mission, and returned to Kesab in a week, that is, when relative calm prevailed.<sup>18</sup>

“Can you imagine the feelings of the Kessab people as they climbed on foot the long trail up the mountain, and then as they came over the ridge into full view of their charred and ruined dwellings?” asked one missionary, adding: “Their stores of wheat, barley, and rice had been burned; clothing, cooking kettles, furniture and tools had gone; their goats, cows and mules had been stolen; their silk industry stamped out; their beloved churches

reduced to smoldering heaps. The bodies of their friends and relatives who had been killed had not been buried.”<sup>19</sup> Kesab and vicinity sustained the following losses: 153 persons killed; 79 women widowed; 64 children under fifteen years of age orphaned; 516 houses burned; and 62 stores gutted, not to mention a loss of \$10,000 suffered by the Protestant community alone.<sup>20</sup>

The situation in the provincial capital of Aleppo was tense. Uncertainty triggered by all sorts of news and rumors spread. Panicked women took refuge in the German consulate. Most shops closed down. For all practical purposes business thus came to a standstill, except for the gun market, where both Muslims and Christians scrambled to purchase weapons.<sup>21</sup> According to a German consular report, “The big mercantile houses are selling huge quantities of guns, without the government doing anything.”<sup>22</sup> Even if the government tried to collect guns in Aleppo province, “probably it will encounter great resistance.” It would also fail to succeed because “it has no trustworthy troops to energetically conduct such an operation.” In Aleppo city, “the well-armed Armenians, who neither trust the government nor the Young Turk Committee, have decided firmly not to submit their guns.”<sup>23</sup> Be that as it may, a considerable number of Armenians, Christian Arabs, Jews, and youths fled to Lebanon.<sup>24</sup> Government troops, meanwhile, despite their unreliability, visibly increased in number and toured the city and its suburbs to maintain order. Some suspected provocateurs sent from Constantinople to foment unrest against the Armenians were jailed.<sup>25</sup>

Another momentous event raised new concerns. According to a German consular report,

The dethronement of [Sultan] Abdul Hamid [II on April 27, 1909] and the enthronement of the new sultan [Mehmed V] created mixed reactions in Aleppo. However, it has been received with joy by the Christians, especially Armenians. Except for a small number of Young Turks, the majority of Muslims do not appear to be happy. Only Muslim officials in the civil and military [sectors] participated in the celebratory events. The announced fireworks [or gunshots] were very sporadic; the most vociferous being [those of] the Armenians. The fireworks of joy were interpreted wrongly by the Muslims around the city, causing them to attack the Armenians [outside Aleppo].<sup>26</sup>

#### THE SITUATION IN MUSA DAGH

The news of butcheries in northwestern Syria ripped through Musa Dagh on April 20. At the village of Kheder Beg, after a panicky flight to surrounding caverns, the women and children took refuge in the Capuchin mission compound, where superior Father André hoisted the French flag as a deterrent. Men took up positions on the ridges overlooking the Svedia plain

below and barricaded the leading trails with rocks.<sup>27</sup> Early next morning the missionaries went to Svedia, where the *mudir*, as elsewhere, told them that “there is nothing [to worry about], assure your people.” Not believing him, the missionaries then wired for help from the French vice-consulate at Antioch, but to no avail. An Alawite expedited to deliver the message in person returned with information that the Capuchin friars at Antioch were safe and sound.<sup>28</sup>

As the tension continued through the week, “cries for help” from Svedia became “daily more urgent.”<sup>29</sup> This prompted James Martin, a British physician-missionary stationed at Antioch, to communicate the following to his consulate in Aleppo: “I am anxiously thinking of the numerous villages inhabited by people of that same [Armenian] race, in this Orontes valley and the mountains bounding it... And I venture to entrust you to use your esteemed—your best and most urgent—efforts to have British warships sent to the port of Swedeah ... as was done with so good effect and great advantage in the sad year 1895.”<sup>30</sup> In response, the *HMS Triumph*, accompanied by the French cruiser *Michelet*, anchored off the mouth of the Orontes River on Sunday, April 25, at 7:35 p.m.<sup>31</sup> “Had the Triumph been delayed only a few hours, ... thousands of Armenians of the Swedia villages would have been added to the victims.”<sup>32</sup> For, on the following day, several thousand *bashibozuks* (irregulars), having completed their sack of Kesab and environs, marched on Musa Dagh. As the assailants prepared to cross the Orontes River, the *HMS Triumph* fired warning shots, forcing them to flee to Antioch. En route, they pillaged a few abandoned Armenian cottages.<sup>33</sup>

“Boat loads of hysterical Armenians having represented [the] danger [as] pressing,” Captain William C. Pakenham of the *HMS Triumph* went to see the *mudir* at Svedia, who regretted that he was unable to protect the entire valley with the few soldiers available in his disposition. On April 27, Pakenham made a “ceremonial entry” into Antioch, where he warned the *kaimakam* and other high-ranking officials of renewed hostilities. Afterwards, “to advertise as widely as possible the presence of a British officer,” he toured the bloodied sector of town with a cortege of Ottoman troops, the British and French vice-consuls, and Dr. Martin. Having earlier “seen bodies in [the Mediterranean] sea and the [Orontes] river,” the Captain now witnessed “bullet wounds, bruises, [and] torn ears.”<sup>34</sup> The following afternoon Pakenham went to Yoghun Oluk and Kheder Beg in response to an appeal. He was accorded an “immense reception,” during which he “spoke hopefully.”<sup>35</sup> However, he reportedly refused to provide the Armenians with guns free of charge, demanding instead £5 per weapon.<sup>36</sup> He also shared lunch with the Capuchins in their convent, inspected their small makeshift

ambulance, and allowed four wounded Armenian inmates to be transported aboard the *HMS Triumph* for further treatment.<sup>37</sup>

At the villages of Bitias and Haji Habibli, the inhabitants had formed militias to guard the mountain passes. According to an eyewitness, even children “were mustered into the service of carrying something that looked like a firearm weapon, in order to make the Turks think they had greater strength that [sic] they actually had. So all of the people were often called from their homes to go out and show themselves along the side of the mountain or perhaps behind a stone wall, and walk back and forth with something over their shoulder...”<sup>38</sup> The peasant “army” was thus able to repel the Turkish bands from Arsuz and Karaksi trying to cross the Karachay River.<sup>39</sup> And when Turkish officials summoned the headmen of the Musa Dagh villages to Svedia to allay their fears, the latter refused to comply and instead asked the *mudir* to meet them on their turf. He declined.<sup>40</sup>

Abraham K. Seklemian, the editor of *Asbarez* (Arena) newspaper in Fresno, California, lauded the fighting spirit of the highlanders in his native Musa Dagh, at the same time sensing that a similar disposition might manifest itself in the future. He wrote in the summer of 1911 that, despite their economic decline and the resultant decline in morale

... The conscious self-confidence has not altogether left them; we find its proof in their glorious self-defense which they carried out during the Cilicia massacre. Indeed, at that time they did not make too much noise, not too much was said about them as was said about [other instances of resistance] in Hajin, Chork-Marzvan [Dört Yol], and elsewhere. But later it became apparent that it was a one-of-a-kind self-defense and demonstrated that there is high quality essence in those mountainous Armenians.<sup>41</sup>

Thanks to this show of force, and the presence of the *HMS Triumph*, Musa Dagh sustained relatively few casualties. Most victims belonged to a group of migrant workers who each year during the sericulture season were to be employed in the plain of Antioch. Estimated at 500-600, such laborers had left Musa Dagh after Easter 1909.<sup>42</sup> “Some of them, who had taken their families along, were killed in front of their wives and children.... The cadavers, stripped of everything, were left without burial in front of the houses where they labored, while the unfortunate women were obliged to carry on the work, otherwise they would not be paid.”<sup>43</sup> According to the priest, Fr. Nerses Tavugjian, who was actively involved in relief distribution after the carnage, Musa Dagh had the following casualties: from Kabusiye, 2 persons killed, one in Adana and one in Dört Yol; Kheder Beg, 17 persons killed outside the village, 4 families ravaged; Yoghun Oluk, 49 persons killed

outside the village, 31 families ravaged, more than 25 women widowed, the fate of 2 persons unknown, for a total of 68 persons killed, 35 families ravaged, more than 25 women widowed, and 2 missing.<sup>44</sup> Two Capuchin missionary sources put the number of deaths at 120<sup>45</sup> and 150,<sup>46</sup> respectively. Ostensibly to protect Musa Dagh proper, the Svedia *mudir* offered to deploy troops in the Armenian villages, but met with refusal (given the prevailing skepticism regarding his true intentions).<sup>47</sup> He then dispatched 200 soldiers to the Turkish village of Kabakli, between Yoghun Oluk and Kabusaiye.<sup>48</sup> This move proved deadly.

None of the victims from Musa Dagh caused more indignation than Armenak Sherpetjian. A distinguished attorney from Bitias practicing in Antioch, Sherpetjian, who had prepared a lengthy report about the atrocities, was assassinated as late as June 9 while on a visit to Kabusaiye with two companions.<sup>49</sup> The commander of the Turkish troops at Kabakli, Ibrahim, asked the advocate and his fellow travelers to identify themselves, “discovered his intended victim, ... ordered his soldiers to shoot ... and they only firing in the air, he, himself, ... shot” Sherpetjian six times in the chest.<sup>50</sup> “It would seem certain that the Molazim [Ibrahim] did this deed by order:—that, either, he had orders from the civil or military authorities to do it, or, else, that he was engaged and paid to do it by some of the, already redhanded, Antioch Aghas.”<sup>51</sup> Some Yoghun Oluk youths carried Sherpetjian’s corpse to his native Bitias, where it was autopsied by three government doctors and a commissioner and buried on June 14 amidst renewed fears.<sup>52</sup>

After staying at the Capuchin compound for three weeks and behind the barricades for a month-and-a-half, the villagers regained their homes. The most pressing need now was food, as it had been during the acute phase of the crisis. Cash was extremely short, because the silk season was destroyed and fruit could not be sold but locally at very low prices. When their cereal rations were consumed, the peasants were unable to purchase new supplies either because of outrageous markups or because it was still unsafe to travel to Antioch. Faced with imminent starvation, people ate raw or boiled grass and sprouts.<sup>53</sup>

Letters sent from Musa Dagh at the time provide corroborative glimpses of the domestic situation. Hovhannes/Vanes Yeghiarian, a Bitias notable, wrote to his brother in America: “If you ask [about] us, glory to God, although we are all physically comfortable, nevertheless we are both in a confused and miserable state. There are no jobs for people to work and earn their daily livelihood. The cereals being very expensive, all sorts of foods are likewise extremely expensive. Although the present is harvesting time, nevertheless we have people who have not seen the face of food for weeks.”<sup>54</sup> In turn, the parish priest Fr. Arsen Ter Arakelian and teacher (later priest) Vardan

Varderesian of Haji Habibli reported to Catholicos of All Armenians Madteos in Echmiadzin, Russian (or Eastern) Armenia, at the end of 1909: "...Still we do not trust our lives to our Turkish compatriots, and for this reason we have been reduced to extreme misery, no source of income has remained, we are nailed [down] to our places. We are unable to go to surrounding villages and secure daily rations."<sup>55</sup> The crunch worsened with the arrival of a number of widows and orphans from Antioch.<sup>56</sup>

#### RELIEF DISTRIBUTION AND EMPLOYMENT PROJECTS

The economic misery was mitigated somewhat by outside relief. The French were among the first to extend a helping hand, as Admiral Dufaure de la Jarte of the *Victor Hugo*, four other French officers, and Fr. Jérôme, the superior of Capuchins in Syria, visited the area and distributed 300 French francs, especially among impacted Kheder Beg families.<sup>57</sup> Additional French and Catholic aid poured into the general district. The Apostolic Delegate in Syria, Monsignor Giannini, raised money in Beirut and the vicarages under his jurisdiction. The Propaganda of Rome, the Propagation of the Faith, Œuvres d'Orient, superiors of the Capuchin Order, individual philanthropists, and the French consul in Aleppo all contributed.<sup>58</sup>

An Armenian delegation from Aintab, consisting of the priests Fr. Tavugjian and Fr. Vahan Kiultalian, as well as the notable Gevorg Jepejian, toured Antioch, Kesab, and Musa Dagh from May 18-June 12, 1909 to distribute money, clothing, and bedding donated by the Armenians of Aintab, Kilis, and Aleppo. Aleppo had already sent 36 bales of clothing and bedding and about 300 liras (half of which from the Constantinople Patriarchate) when the delegation arrived in Antioch. Aintab contributed 44 bales, and Kilis an unspecified number. By June 3, the delegation distributed *manusa* (striped fabric) for shirts and underwear to 146 families/663 persons and 33 individuals in Antioch alone.<sup>59</sup> On May 19, the delegation formed an eight-member Relief Committee at Antioch that included, besides an Armenian chairman (Isa Temirjian), a secretary (Mihran M. Kirakosian), and a treasurer (Khosrov M. Misakian), French vice-consul Albert Potton as president and Dr. Martin as honorary member. The Relief Committee visited Dr. Martin's mission compound, which "for several months ... was 'home' for some two hundred Armenian widows and seventy orphans."<sup>60</sup> It also inspected the badly damaged Armenian church, where the *kaimakam*, commandant, and other government functionaries asked that the survivors present themselves the following day to reclaim their looted properties so that the government could find, return or replace them.<sup>61</sup> Although stolen goods began to surface within the next few days,<sup>62</sup> by the end of June such "materials from 82 Apostolic and 10 Protestant Armenian homes have been returned in very insignificant

quantities, none of which valuable goods.”<sup>63</sup> By the beginning of August, they still “barely constituted 15 percent” of the total losses.<sup>64</sup>

The Armenian General Benevolent Union (AGBU) in Egypt provided relief more than once. On May 15 and 21, 1909, respectively it sent 9,825 Egyptian piasters (Ep/kurush) and 9,750 Ep to Antioch, for a total of 19,575 Ep.<sup>65</sup> By September, the total aid dispatched by the AGBU to Cilicia and northwestern Syria amounted to 318,912.50 Ep, including 4,875 Ep earmarked for Musa Dagh.<sup>66</sup> Significantly, some Muslims in Cairo expressed their outrage at the massacres, and participated in the AGBU fund-raising drive. They also joined forces with the AGBU in obtaining a circular from the highest authorities of Cairo’s renowned al-Azhar Islamic university denouncing the butcheries as “Sharia crimes.”<sup>67</sup>

In January 1910, the AGBU sent an additional £60 to Musa Dagh via the Aleppo Prelacy. The latter assigned Fr. Khachatur Poghikian of Kabusiye and Constantinople native Kerovbe Arslanian of Antioch to distribute the money.<sup>68</sup> Bitias, Haji Habibli, Yoghun Oluk, and Kabusiye received 57.5 mejidiyes (silver coins) each; Kheder Beg, 74.5 mejidiyes; Vakef, 40 mejidiyes, for a total of 344.5 mejidiyes.<sup>69</sup> At the same time, the Antioch priest, Fr. Vagharshak Jerrahian, and notable Sahak Aramian distributed 55 Ottoman liras sent by the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople to the victims in Antioch.<sup>70</sup>

In Constantinople, an International Relief Committee (IRC) was formed in May 1909 to support the victims in the provinces of Adana and Aleppo. Its membership included high-ranking Ottoman officials, foreign bankers/financiers and relief personnel, and notable Armenians. The IRC had two components: One solicited funds from overseas sources, and one distributed the donations. The total aid sent to the suffering communities amounted to 15,841.94 Ottoman liras. Of this, Iskenderun and Dört Yol received 1,350 liras; Latakia, 380.51 liras; Antioch, 350 liras; Kesab, 1,901 liras.<sup>71</sup> To give some details, in October 1909 Dr. Léopold Favre, the representative of a Swiss philanthropic organization, toured and reported on Cilicia, Antioch, Kesab, and Musa Dagh. He painted a very bleak picture of the situation in Antioch, but more so in Kesab, where the originally allocated Swiss aid of 500 Ottoman liras had to be doubled later on to meet the needs for winter. As for Musa Dagh, he found the inhabitants of Yoghun Oluk to be more industrious than people in “other parts of Armenia” that he had visited.<sup>72</sup> Dr. W.W. Peet, chairman of the IRC’s relief disbursement section, sent 250 sacks of foodstuffs from Latakia to Kesab, with more in the pipeline. He also had 2,700 *ölçeks* (a measurement for grain) of seeds distributed in Antioch.<sup>73</sup> Also on March 9, 1910 on behalf of the IRC, American missionary-physician Dr. Fred Shepard of Aintab deposited 100 Ottoman liras drawn on

a Bible House check for the establishment of a factory for Armenian widows in Antioch.<sup>74</sup>

The Armenians of Fresno, California, numbered among those who remembered their wretched compatriots in Cilicia and northwestern Syria. On May 11, 1909, they cabled to the Patriarchate of Constantinople 7,500 French francs earmarked for the destitute in Adana, Antioch, and Kesab, with an instruction: No confessional distinction was made concerning the recipients.<sup>75</sup> The Fresnoans also remitted 130.5 Ottoman liras (\$574) for Musa Dagh, of which 50 liras (\$220) was divided among impacted families, with the following details (amounts in kurush/piasters):

<i>Village</i>	<i>Persons with Killed Family Members</i>	<i>Persons Robbed</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Total Amount</i>
Bitias	33	45	78	1,014
Haji Habibli	67	55	122	1,586
Yoghun Oluk	137	42	179	2,327
Kheder Beg	62	20	82	1,066
Kabusiye	8	0	8	104
Total	307	162	469	6,097 <sup>76</sup>

After deducting 1.5 liras for expenses, the remaining 79 liras was shared by the villages to aid their needy inhabitants in general: Yoghun Oluk, Haji Habibli, and Kheder Beg (probably including Vakef) obtained 2,362 piasters each, and Bitias and Kabusiye 1,575 piasters each.<sup>77</sup> A letter of gratitude sent by the notables of Musa Dagh reached Fresno on August 16, 1909.<sup>78</sup>

In mid-May 1909, in addition to feeding the survivors huddled to date within the municipality limits in Antioch, the government began to distribute 6 *meteliks* (coins of small value) per adult and 4 *meteliks* per child per diem.<sup>79</sup> These individual handouts, which could potentially lead to pauperization, were terminated effective December 9 upon Locum Tenens of Aleppo Prelacy Very Reverend Shahe Gasparian's request. Instead he asked for a lump sum allocation of 1,000 liras to be used for the establishment of a carpet weaving factory (700 liras) and as capital (300 liras).<sup>80</sup> But the stoppage of individual financial help, even if in pennies, caused great anxiety particularly among the widows, some of whom resorted to unsavory relationships with Turks and Fellahin to survive.<sup>81</sup> About two months later, on February 18, 1910, the Aleppo government informed the Prelacy of the central government's allocation of an "adequate lump sum" of 5,000 liras to the damaged Armenian communities in northwestern Syria. Information on the number of victims in each place, the degree of their needs, and the amount to be given per location was accordingly requested.<sup>82</sup> The Prelacy within less than a week

prepared the list of eligible aid recipients for recommendation to the Aleppo governor,<sup>83</sup> as follows:

- Kesab: 4,065 persons, 810 families, 3,000 liras
- Beylan: 366 persons, 98 families, 750 liras
- Iskenderun: 120 persons, 30 families, 300 liras
- Antioch: 450 persons, no families, 750 liras
- Svedia (Musa Dagh): 166 persons, no families, 200 liras.<sup>84</sup>

Despite the Prelacy's promptness in compiling the above statistics, no money was obtained from the government for at least the following two months.<sup>85</sup> Five months later, on July 22, the Prelacy acknowledged a governmental contribution of 1,000 liras to the Antioch victims, and tasked V. Rev. Gasparian with overseeing its distribution on the spot. It is not clear if this amount was part of or separate from the originally announced 5,000 liras.<sup>86</sup> In early February 1911, the Armenian parish council of Antioch furnished the Prelacy with the list of Armenians in town who had obtained a total of 50 liras from the government.<sup>87</sup>

The distribution of pecuniary assistance constituted one way of alleviating misery. Engagement in gainful occupations for self-sustenance would be another, more dignified means. This required the creation of jobs. Thus having in mind the establishment of a carpet weaving factory in Antioch, V. Rev. Gasparian in early 1910 traveled to Aintab for consultations with local Armenian experts. When he reported back to the Prelacy Civic Council, it decided to form a special committee to manage the projected factory and its finances.<sup>88</sup> The committee, which was unanimously elected, consisted of the following notables: Dr. Samvel Shmavonian, Poghos Papikian, Khachatur Pastajian, Harutiun Ter Asaturian, and Gevorg Aghjaian.<sup>89</sup>

The factory envisioned for Antioch encountered two major difficulties. The first had to do with the relatively long distance between the "center" (i.e., Aleppo) and Antioch (in terms of fast, unencumbered communication). The second obstacle was the lack of expert workers and, particularly, capable directors in Antioch who could handle all aspects of manufacturing.<sup>90</sup> Fr. Tavugjian proposed to solving this problem in the following manner: To loan 100 liras to two expert *manusa* weavers from Aintab, Hovhannes Ter Ghazarian and Haji Hovsep Hasirjian, then in Antioch, to establish looms and employ widows, with the understanding that both the profits and losses would belong to the two men. The Aleppo Prelacy decided 1) to ask for a copy of a similar contract that the Orphan Care Agency in Aintab had drafted for local usage, and 2) to inquire whether the fathers of the two men, apparently of impeccable credentials, would also affix their signatures to the proposed loan agreement with their sons. A factory in Antioch could materialize only after

receiving answers to these queries.<sup>91</sup> Information is lacking regarding the outcome.

Workshops continued to remain a high priority. In late May 1911, it was announced that the government had allocated 3,000 liras for Antioch, Kesab, Musa Dagh and elsewhere. The Aleppo Prelacy proposed that the money be spent to establish a filature factory. In order to consult with and/or persuade Kesab and Antioch Armenians regarding the project's implementation, as well as to comply with the Aleppo governor's request, the Prelacy asked V. Rev. Gasparian to accompany the governor on a tour to those places.<sup>92</sup> On his return, V. Rev. Gasparian presented the Prelacy with the governor's report concerning the arrangements made on the spot, as well as a copy of the regulations edited by the governor regarding the workshops to be established, one in Musa Dagh and one in Kesab. The original/official copy carried the signatures of the governor, the Locum Tenens, deputy (*vekil*) to the Antioch *kaimakam*, and Kesab, Antioch, and Musa Dagh representatives. The 3,000 liras would be delivered to the Armenians on one condition: They had first to form committees that would manage the workshops.<sup>93</sup> Again, information is lacking as to whether this amount was part of the original 5,000 liras that the government had previously allocated or a new subvention. At any rate, when Fr. Jerrahian, notable Sahak Aramian, and Martir agha Iskenterian of Haji Habibli on July 2, 1911 informed the Prelacy of their wish to reach an agreement with a prominent Greek Orthodox merchant named Rizkallah Havad (or Hawad) for the start of filature work in Musa Dagh, the Prelacy refrained from expressing any opinion because the workshop's managerial board had not yet been constituted, as demanded by the Aleppo governor.<sup>94</sup>

In the final analysis, the establishment of a factory (or factories) in northwestern Syria seems to have been the result of collaborative efforts between local agencies and the Armenian leadership in Constantinople. In 1910, the Civic Council of the Armenian National Central Committee in the capital organized a caretaker agency for women who had lost their husbands in the Cilician massacres. Dubbed the Central Committee of Widows' Custodianship of Cilicia, this body established carpet weaving, sock knitting, and/or filature factories in various parts of Cilicia and northwestern Syria, including Antioch and, reportedly, Musa Dagh and Kesab. Although short-lived, they were deemed very successful enterprises.<sup>95</sup> A sock workshop did in fact operate in Antioch. However, it closed down after one or two years "due to domestic and external intrigues." Of the 100 Ottoman liras earned from the liquidation of yarns and furniture, 40 liras was given to the widows who were laid off, and the remaining 60 liras was loaned to a Greek merchant with the understanding that its interest would pay the Armenian priest's

salary. As for the machines, which were put up for auction, they failed to generate any income because of their damaged parts or uselessness.<sup>96</sup> We do not know if factories were also opened in Musa Dagh and Kesab.

#### WIDOWS, ORPHANS AND ATTEMPTS AT COMMUNITY REVIVAL

The issue of widows became a major concern from the outset. According to one report, the number of Armenian women in northwestern Syria who had lost their husbands was as follows:

Location	Apostolic	Protestant	Catholic	total
Antioch	103	9		112
Svedia (Musa Dagh)	45	15	6	66
Iskenderun	17			17
Kirik Khan	26	3	4	33
Beylan	10	2	1	13
Total	201	29	11	241 <sup>97</sup>

For some reason, the Kesab widows were excluded from the list. In any case, finding means of livelihood for these women and preventing them from moral decline required urgent attention. Fr. Tavugjian explained:

The Antioch women left without providers, and orphans, are in need of the assistance of a strong hand. They now live scattered and without relief; this condition debases them further and leads them to a terrible moral downfall. If a few capable personalities do not arrive in Antioch ready to sacrifice quite a large sum, the remaining widows and orphans will decay morally for good. The important elements for their salvation are spiritual awakening, education and enough work for means of subsistence.<sup>98</sup>

Fr. Jerrahian, for his part, described the widows' "extreme needy and pitiful condition," and asked the Aleppo Prelacy to expedite aid and make other arrangements to deal with their predicament. The Prelacy had already reached an agreement with the special envoy of the Patriarchate of Constantinople to Antioch, Sargis Svin (Suin), to relocate the widows to Kilis. Fr. Tavugjian, as the most suitable person, would be asked to carry out this plan after obtaining permission from Catholicos (Pontiff) Sahak Khapayan II of Cilicia. In the meantime, until Fr. Tavugjian's arrival in Antioch, the Prelacy would send £12.5 there for "immediate distribution."<sup>99</sup> In fact, this amount was part of a new AGBU assistance totaling £42.5. The balance of £30 would be given to Fr. Tavugjian to cover the Antioch-Kilis transportation expenses of not just widows but thirty to thirty-five families.<sup>100</sup> Information is lacking whether the planned relocation took place.

In June and July 1910, Fr. Tavugjian worked tirelessly to resolve the issue of widows. Several hurdles existed. First, he tried to persuade the few married men still alive to return to their homes in order to instill confidence and a sense of security among the widows. The problem was housing: Most houses were not yet fully repaired; and they were situated in Muslim neighborhoods and therefore deemed unsafe. Besides, some survivors lingered on hoping to get more government aid. Second, the priest attempted in vain to convince most bachelors to marry widows; they wanted to wed younger girls “who were not of much use” but who owned property. In addition, some mothers insisted that their sons “could not manage homes [yet].” Third, Fr. Tavugjian sought potential husbands for the widows and bachelorettes from nearby Armenian communities and especially Zeytun in Cilicia.<sup>101</sup>

The Prelacy supported the latter idea by deciding to pay 5-7 liras to each groom from communities near Antioch and 8 liras to each youth from Zeytun. The differences in amount depended on whether they brought mules to transport their brides.<sup>102</sup> Sure enough, twenty to twenty-eight muleteers from Zeytun arrived in Antioch on July 20, 1910. But they were in for a rude awakening; even widows and eligible young women in extremis, some twenty-five in all, refused to marry them because of their incompatibility in terms of lifestyle, mentality, and low economic status. In other words, the bachelors were rough mountainous peasants, whereas the women were urbanites with different outlooks and expectations. The muleteers returned home two days later dejected and empty-handed.<sup>103</sup> Only one Zeytunsi married an orphaned girl from Kheder Beg.<sup>104</sup> To be sure, a few weddings took place in Antioch among local couples, and between men of Sasun origin and Antioch ladies.<sup>105</sup> It is uncertain whether youths from Musa Dagħ and/or vicinity sought wives at Antioch.

Besides the widows, Armenian orphans in the Antioch district required special attention. By late June 1909, 10 orphans were taken in by French Christians in town, 27 were cared for by three English sisters from Beirut, and 12 were sent to Aleppo (no specific destination mentioned), for a total of 49 orphans. Two hundred orphans still remained to be dealt with.<sup>106</sup> Basing its report on a lengthy document on a letter written by V. Rev. Gasparian, a newspaper reported in late January 1910 that there were 163 orphans in Antioch: 23 boys and 33 girls in various orphanages, a number in school, and the rest “in the hands of foreigners.”<sup>107</sup> In August, the director of Eastern (or Oriental) Orphanage at Bursa sent his son to Antioch to bring back 10 orphans, 5 from the city and 5 from Yoghun Oluk.<sup>108</sup>

The issue of orphans was not just a local problem; it became a “national priority” for the Armenian leadership in Constantinople. Two factors shaped

this agenda. First, given the presence of many European and American orphanages in the empire, where thousands of Armenian children, rendered parentless as a result of the 1894-96 massacres, were sheltered, “every child educated in a foreign culture by a non-Armenian institution appeared as one more member of the group destined to swell the ranks of other peoples and undermine the historical Armenian collectivity a bit further. Far from constituting a rejection of all things foreign, this reaction was, rather, the fruit of a new national impulse, a collective will to survive as a group. When the Cilician massacres happened, these painful memories were still very active....” Second, the Armenians entertained a “feeling of humiliation over the fact that they were not themselves in a position to educate ‘their’ orphans.”<sup>109</sup> Accordingly, the National Assembly (or Chamber of Representatives) of the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople tasked a specially constituted committee, dubbed Orphan Care Central Committee of Cilicia, to establish Armenian orphanages there. From August through October 1909, this Committee inaugurated six orphanages—in Adana, Marash, Hajin, Aintab, Hasanbeyli, and Dört Yol—with a total of 1,426 wards.<sup>110</sup> Reportedly, the Locum Tenens of Aintab, a priest by the name of Harutiun, collected the parentless children in the Antioch district and took them to the newly-established orphanage in his town.<sup>111</sup> As implied below, this campaign did not remove all the orphans from the said district.

It is of note that, none of the above places were situated in northwestern Syria. Within a year, however, various considerations necessitated a reassessment of localities. In September 1910, the Orphan Care Central Committee decided to consolidate the six existing orphanages in Cilicia into three, without necessarily reducing the overall number of orphans, as follows: One in Hajin, one in Hasanbeyli, and one in “one of the most suitable villages in the sub-district of Svedia,” to be determined at a later date. These three locations were “considered the most suitable in terms of economy, health and other important advantages.” However, the implementation of this decision was deferred to the following year given the approaching winter and the unavailability of suitable buildings. In the meantime, a building would be built thanks to a 1,000-lira donation by the Merchants Club of Constantinople.<sup>112</sup> As far as Svedia (Musa Dagh) was concerned, we do not know if an orphanage was actually established there by World War I.

The widows and orphans lived under other types of pressure, as well. One stemmed from the legal status of their fixed properties. According to Ottoman law, any real estate that remained unclaimed for three years would be transferred to the *miri* (state treasury). In order to prevent this from happening, around Easter 1911 both Catholicos Sahak II and Prelate Bishop Nerses Danielian of Aleppo, upon the Patriarchate’s request, urged Fr.

Kiultalian to return to Antioch to settle the issue of title deeds belonging to survivors. After studying inheritance laws, and basing his argument on the existing cases, Fr. Kiultalian submitted a report to the Antioch *kaimakam*. The latter, however, in cahoots with the officer in charge of title deeds, deferred action hoping to “A. confiscate the Armenian properties; B. keep the orphans unsheltered and poor; C. receive extra sums from individual supplicants and divide [them between themselves].” Both men were removed from office abruptly in response to a cable that Fr. Kiultalian sent to Constantinople (apparently complaining about their conduct). Their successors issued title deeds expeditiously and without charge.<sup>113</sup>

Taxation also caused stress. The widows, being afraid to return to their homes surrounded by Muslims, rented them out at minimal fees and instead paid much higher rates to live in safer Greek neighborhoods. The government, then, as before the massacres, demanded taxes on revenues generated from rental properties, without any consideration to the financial hardships that the widows were still experiencing as late as winter 1911-12.<sup>114</sup> This policy was probably not enforced strictly in the district, because on the eve of Musa Dagh’s resistance to the genocide in 1915, the government demanded arrears from widows.<sup>115</sup>

Besides tackling the above challenges, a strong show of support to and solidarity with the anguished survivors by a high authority had become a moral imperative. Catholicos Sahak II, as the supreme spiritual leader, naturally understood the urgency of that obligation and accordingly paid a pastoral visit to his flock. After stopovers at Iskenderun and Beylan, he arrived in Antioch on June 29, 1909,<sup>116</sup> where he stayed for about five days.<sup>117</sup> He then toured the Musa Dagh villages, and subsequently Kesab and the satellite hamlet of Kaladuran.<sup>118</sup> Wherever he went, people greeted him with open arms. He, in turn, preached to and consoled them, thereby uplifting their spirits. He also presided over the ground-breaking ceremony of the new Kesab Armenian national school building, and made a personal donation. At Latakia, the final leg of his official journey before leaving for his headquarters in Sis via Aleppo, he was accorded an immense reception by high-ranking government representatives, foreign diplomats, other Christian delegations, and the Armenian Church leadership and community at large.<sup>119</sup>

Catholicos Sahak II’s visit was essential but not sufficient for the revival of community life after such trauma. The need for a return to at least a semblance of normalcy was felt greatly in Antioch, among other place. As a first step, Fr. Jerrahian reopened and (re)consecrated the desecrated church in the summer of 1910. The Catholicosate of Cilicia and the Patriarchate of Constantinople replaced many of the looted ecclesiastical objects such as vestments, metal plates, and books. A teacher recruited from Marash and an

expert in liturgy, Artashes Charkhapanian, took a leading role in the religious services with the assistance of the two expert *manusa* weavers from Aintab alluded to above. The priest delivered intelligent and uplifting sermons, thereby bringing about a spiritual awakening among the survivors who had generally stayed away from church previously.<sup>120</sup>

The AGBU, in turn, sponsored several schools in Cilicia and northwestern Syria, among them those of Yaqubiye, Kesab, Musa Dagh, and Antioch.<sup>121</sup> Thirty-five to forty pupils attended the Antioch school.<sup>122</sup> Fr. Harutiun Tumayian, the parish priest of Antioch who had succeeded Fr. Jerrahian after his return to his native Zeytun sometime in 1912 or early 1913, concurrently served as teacher. An active man, he took fund-raising initiatives, especially in Musa Dagh, where notables from Yoghun Oluk, Haji Habibli, and Bitias (and a few from Antioch) in one instance pledged 350 Ottoman piasters for education in Antioch.<sup>123</sup>

What was more, the AGBU showed keen interest in the physical wellbeing of Armenians in the general area. It accordingly hired dedicated doctors to practice in certain centers: Drs. S. Kiupelian in Hajin; Levon Melitonian in Zeytun; M. Karajian in Kars-Bazar; Stepan Keshishian in Antioch; Samvel Mkrtichian in Kesab. They gave weekly public lectures on health issues at AGBU and affiliated schools, examined the pupils monthly, treated the sick ones and their parents, and provided free medication. Generally speaking, whereas the Armenian population's health in the above locations was "not altogether unsatisfactory," certain "endemic" diseases like smallpox, eye ailments, malarial fever, dysentery, and "inherited" syphilis required effective treatment, including vaccination. The majority of these health problems resulted from "ignorance, carelessness and the lack of hygienic measures."<sup>124</sup> But despite all the efforts to resuscitate and improve Armenian life in northwestern Syria in the aftermath of the massacres, this Christian minority continued to live in constant fear, as discussed below.

#### MOCKERY OF JUSTICE AND CONSEQUENCES

The government's first attempt at investigating the Antioch massacres met with failure, as the members of a Court of Inquiry, set up in early May 1909, were compelled to leave town under local Muslim threats.<sup>125</sup> A second, more serious probe began on June 16 under martial law in the districts of Alexandretta, Beylan, Kesab, and Antioch.<sup>126</sup> At the same time, Aleppo province governor Reshid Bey embarked on an inspection tour of the bloodied localities in his jurisdiction, starting from Antioch. Before leaving for his mission, he rebutted in an Aleppo paper "the news printed in Istanbul that he had in the past donated 4,000 liras for the Aleppo [province] massacres." The German consul's views of Reshid Bey's behavior and tenure, however,

were not positive. He wrote: “Reshid Bey is known here to be not a sympathizer of the new [constitutional] order. My personal impression, based on my relations, is that he is not a sympathizer. He has no energy and takes no initiative. He has no power and does not feel secure in his position. He has not worked for the welfare of the people since his assuming of the governor’s role, something the local press has stressed.”<sup>127</sup> In any case, the governor’s itinerary “did not resemble his annual trips, but rather had to do with the establishment of the military tribunal in Antioch.”<sup>128</sup> The latter interrogated him for his alleged role in the bloodshed, and the local *kaimakam* testified that the governor was indeed guilty of the crimes committed.<sup>129</sup> Notwithstanding the evidence against his innocence, Reshid Bey was able to cut short his visit “because he had to be in Aleppo for the [annual] tax auction.”<sup>130</sup>

By the court’s admission, “the Armenians had given absolutely no reason or pretext for the massacre.” The *kaimakam*, too, was absolved of wrongdoing because, it was argued, “he was deceived by his subordinates, and was unaware of what was passing under his very eyes.”<sup>131</sup> But the majority of the defendants were found guilty. Hence, some twenty Muslims were condemned to death, five of the most influential notables of Antioch to banishment for life in African Tripoli and Asia Minor, and another 400 criminals to penal servitude behind bars. By the end of September, martial law had been revoked and the findings and sentences of the court transmitted to Constantinople for “approval and confirmation.”<sup>132</sup> However, higher authorities in the capital overruled those decisions, and instead decreed that each case should be retried by the Adana Court.<sup>133</sup> To add insult to injury, by spring 1910 the five Antioch notables had been granted “free pardon” by Sultan Mehmed V on the occasion of the anniversary of his accession to the throne.<sup>134</sup> “It is to be regretted—wrote consul Fontana—that the release of the five Notables ensued upon the visit to Antioch of the Vali of Aleppo, who cannot fail to have learned how overwhelming was their responsibility for the massacre there.”<sup>135</sup> Equally important, the Christian population of Aleppo, greatly disillusioned by the amnesty, felt that “in the event of further troubles, there will be no precedent of exemplary punishment inflicted to avert Moslem onslaught upon the Christians here or elsewhere in the Vilayet.”<sup>136</sup>

Indeed, the Turkish menace to non-Muslims in the Antioch district continued unabated reaching ominous proportions in April 1911, when the acquisition of firearms made verbal threats to life and property seem real.<sup>137</sup> What was more, “The Mohammedans in Antioch had engaged the Mohammedans from 70 mountains [sic] villages south of Antioch to come down and help them in their bloody work.”<sup>138</sup> “This massacre, as announced, was not to be confined to Armenians, but to extend to all Non-Moslems and

without distinction of age or sex.”<sup>139</sup> Particularly terrorized was the Greek Orthodox community, which was targeted for elimination on Greek Easter. As a result, many took temporary refuge in the British vice-consular grounds. Others began to abandon the area altogether.<sup>140</sup> Fortunately, Dr. Martin had obtained information “before the time fixed for the massacre. Immediately he took steps, informing the Syrian [Ottoman] Governor of Aleppo through the British Consul, and asking for reinforcement for the barracks; at the same time applying [through a secret code] to the British Embassy in Constantinople for a Warship,” which came.<sup>141</sup>

When first appealed to, the district governor of Antioch denied the existence of a crisis. But the matter was taken more seriously in Aleppo, where the acting governor general dispatched his police chief together with thirty gendarmes to Antioch, and ordered the *kaimakam* of Harem and the acting *kaimakam* of Jabal Simaan to conduct an investigation.<sup>142</sup> Political rivalries and machinations within the ruling elite of Antioch rather than religious differences were found to be the culprit: “The President of the Committee of Union and Progress at Antioch [who was one of the five notables pardoned by the Sultan earlier] was the bitter enemy of the Caimakam, and the unscrupulous mover of menace to the Christians in the hope of discrediting the Caimakam, and giving rise to some disturbance which would precipitate his dismissal.... The Committee, composed largely of ignorant and undecided persons, were mostly drawn in the wake of the President.... Thus ... there was a party in town that would stand at nothing.”<sup>143</sup> Despite this conclusion, and the persistence of real danger, the first week of May 1911 witnessed “the release from the prisons of Aleppo and Antioch of Moslems imprisoned as partakers in that [1909] massacre. And it seems ... a strange time the Government has chosen for such release. If the Government wishes to incite to a further ‘sack,’ such procedure, adopted just at this time, would well fit the purpose.”<sup>144</sup>

On Armenian Christmas, January 6, 1913, Turkish lads stoned the Armenian priest in Antioch, forcing him to cancel his planned visits to his flock to bless their homes.<sup>145</sup> This, seemingly isolated incident occurred at a time when the Balkan War (1912-13) was being fought between the Ottoman government and independence-seeking Christian subject peoples in that region, once again causing anxiety among the Christians in Antioch about a possible repeat of 1909. As before, Dr. Martin in February 1913 asked for a British warship for protection. The *HMS The Duke of Edinburgh* arrived in Svedia Bay shortly thereafter “and made her guns distinctly heard in Antioch....” Captain Kemp and some twenty of his officers also visited the Presbyterian mission in the city for about two days, and, together with the representative of the British consul, obtained assurances from the local

authorities for the safety of all non-Muslims in their jurisdiction.<sup>146</sup> Such guarantees, evidently given as lip service, were short lived. For, in April, Ottoman troops stationed on the coast near Kabusiye openly threatened the Armenians as “‘a people deserving to be massacred’.”<sup>147</sup>

The above developments clearly show that an atmosphere of terror persisted in the district of Antioch during the years following the 1909 massacres. The government's role remained ambivalent. While it provided relief to the massacre survivors, it did not take any firm measures to calm the Muslim populace bent on spilling blood at any given moment and thus allay the fears of its Christian citizenry. What was more, the notions of equality and fairness were not always taken seriously, at least at the local level. As early as January 1910, for instance, the village headmen and notables of Musa Dagh sent the Aleppo Prelacy Civic Council a petition to be submitted to the provincial government. In it, the signatories complained that their rights of representation in the Antioch administration and other municipal councils had been ignored by the local government. The Civic Council, however, taking into account the critical times, found it more prudent for Musa Dagh to resolve such issues locally rather than at the provincial level.<sup>148</sup> Such were matters, generally speaking, when the Ottoman government revealed its true intentions during World War I, by launching an exterminatory campaign vis-à-vis the Armenians and other Christian minorities in the empire. But the highlanders of Musa Dagh, having for decades undergone a certain degree of religious-spiritual, educational, and political-national transformation, as well as taking a high risk, successfully resisted the genocide in what became known as “The Forty Days of Musa Dagh.”

## ENDNOTES

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<sup>1</sup> Raymond Kévorkian, *The Armenian Genocide: A Complete History*, London and New York, I.B. Tauris, 2011, pp. 9-70.

<sup>2</sup> Great Britain, Public Record Office, Foreign Office (FO) Archives, Kew, United Kingdom, Class 424, File 216, H.Z. Longworth to G. Lowther, August 20, 1908.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., David Douek (Dowek) to H.Z. Longworth, August 11, 1908.

<sup>5</sup> Vahakn N. Dadrian, *The History of the Armenian Genocide: Ethnic Conflict from the Balkans to Anatolia to the Caucasus*, Providence, RI, and Oxford, UK, Berghahn Books, 1995, pp. 179-83. See also Kévorkian, *The Armenian Genocide*, pp. 71-96.

<sup>6</sup> Vardan H. Najarian, “Kirik Han ve Beylan Civari Vakiasi” (The Events in the Environs of Kirik Khan and Beylan), *Avetaber* (Herald) (Constantinople), no. 22 (May 29, 1909), p. 471; H.G. Mertenian, “Kirik Handan Maalumat” (Information from Kirik Khan), *Avetaber*, no. 25 (June 19, 1909), p. 540; *Biuzandion* (Byzantium) (Constantinople), April 25, 1909, May 6, 1909, May 15, 1909.

<sup>7</sup> Najarian, “Kirik Han ve Beylan Civari Vakiasi,” p. 471.

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- <sup>8</sup> W.J. Childs, *Across Asia Minor on Foot*, Edinburgh and London, William Blackwood and Sons, 1917, pp. 439-40.
- <sup>9</sup> Najarian, "Kirik Han ve Beylan Civari Vakiasi," pp. 471-72.
- <sup>10</sup> Germany, Auswartiges Amt., Abteilung A, Politisches Archiv, Bonn (now in Berlin), Türkei no. 134, microfilm roll 97, Band 24, V. Balit, manager of imperial vice-consulate of Germany at Iskenderun, to Dr. P. von Tischendorf, German consul of Aleppo, April 16, 1909; Th. (or Ch.) Belfante, vice-consul of Germany at Iskenderun, to Consulate General of Germany in Aleppo, April 18, 1909; Band 25, von Tischendorf to State Secretary Bernhard von Bülow, April 30, 1909; Belfante to von Tischendorf (?), April 23, 1909. A set of this and related microfilms containing German Foreign Ministry archival documents are found in the library of the University of Michigan, Dearborn.
- <sup>11</sup> Sabatino, "Les pères de Terre-Sainte pendant les massacres d'Arménie," *Les Missions Catholiques*, 41:2096 (August 6, 1909), p. 375; *Biuzandion*, April 21, 1909.
- <sup>12</sup> Sabatino, "Les pères de Terre-Sainte," p. 375.
- <sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>15</sup> Great Britain, FO 195, File 2307, FO 424, File 221, and FO 861, File 58, Raphael A. Fontana to Gerard Lowther, October 3, 1909. See also FO 195, File 2306, Fontana to Lowther, May 5, 1909, Inclosure in Consul Fontana's no. 10, of May 5, 1909: Vice-Consul Douek to Acting-Consul Catoni, April 30, 1909.
- <sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>17</sup> For the details of the Antioch massacre, consult *ibid.*; FO 861, File 58, James Martin to Fontana, June 16, 1909; Germany, Türkei no. 134, microfilm roll 97, Band 25, Martiros Missakian, imperial consular agent of Germany at Antioch, to von Tischendorf (?), April 22, 1909; Band 25 a, Missakian to von Tischendorf, April 24, 1909; Capuchin Archives, Maison Saint François, Mtayleb, Lebanon, File *Khoderbey 1910*, Fr. A.C., Briève relation sur Kodorbek et villages arméniens parsemés sur le mont Gebel Moussa, October 21, 1910; Zora Iskenterian, *Husher patmutian hamar* (Memoirs for History), Beirut, Sevan Printing House, 1974, pp. 23-36; Clemente da Terzorio, *Le missioni dei minori Cappuccini*, vol. V, (*Turchia Asiatica*), Rome, Cooperativa Tipografica Manuzio, 1919, pp. 467-68; P. Constant, *Capucins missionnaires. Syrie, Liban, Turquie*, Marseille, Imprimerie Saint-Léon, 1931, pp. 41-45; *Les massacres d'Antioche et de Tarse et la mission des Capucins en Syrie et Cilicie*, N.P., n.p., [1909?], pp. 10-26; Isobel Lytle, *James Martin: Pioneer Medical Missionary in Antioch*, Belfast, Cameron Press, 2003, p. 59; R.P. Célestin, "Les massacres d'Antioche," *Les Missions Catholiques*, 41:2088 (June 11, 1909), pp. 278-80; R.P. Jérôme, "Un an après les massacres," *Les Missions Catholiques*, 42:2133 (April 22, 1910), pp. 181-83; James Martin, "The Massacre of Armenians at Antioch," *The Friend of Armenia*, no. 38 (Summer, 1909), pp. 7-9; Vardan Varderes[ian], "Antakya Hadisesi" (The Antioch Incident), *Avetaber*, no. 22 (May 29, 1909), pp. 471; "Kilikian lurer" (Cilician News), *Arevelian Mamul* (Oriental Press), no. 20 (May 12, 1909), pp. 560-63; *Lusaber-Arev* (Light Bearer-Sun) (Cairo), May 15, 1909, May 18, 1909.

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The clergymen who were killed included the parish priest, Fr. Armenak Tonatosian; V. Rev. Daniel Hakobian, who was in town on a visit from the Ktuts-Lim Diocese in Van province; and the newly-ordained V. Rev. Arsen Harutiunian, who was dispatched by Catholicos Sahak II of Cilicia to inspect the Armenian parishes in the general area.

<sup>18</sup> For the details of the Kesab massacres, consult American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) Archives, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge Massachusetts, ABC: 16.9.5, vol. 15, Stephen Van R. Trowbridge, "The Sack of Kessab"; Austria-Hungary, Osterreichisches Staatsarchiv, Vienna, Die Akten des k.u.k. Ministeriums des Aussern, 1848-1918, Politisches Archiv, Abteilung XXXVIII: Konsulate, Carton 344, File *Beyrut 1909*, Telegram no. 8081, dispatched April 25, 1909, received April 27, 1909 (see also Carton 384, File *Lattaquia 1910*); France, Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères (AMAE), Quai d'Orsay, Paris (now in Nantes), Arménie-Anatolie-Cilicie, vol. 83, *1908 janv.-1910 fev.*, Note pour le Ministre au sujet des troubles d'Asie Mineure, May 12, 1909; Sabatino, "Les pères de Terre-Sainte," pp. 375-77; "Kasabdan bir Mektup" (A Letter from Kesab), *Avetaber*, no. 51 (December 18, 1909), p. 1108; Yusuf al-Hakim, *Suriyya wal-a'hd al U'thmani* (Syria and the Ottoman Era), vol. I, Beirut, 1966, pp. 178-81; Hakob Cholakian, *Kesap*, vol. I, Aleppo, Hamazgayin Regional Committee of Syria, 1995, pp. 89-98; Alper S. Temirian, *Kesap (1909-1946)*, Beirut, K. Tonikian Press, 1956, pp. 51-65.

<sup>19</sup> ABCFM, ABC: 16.9.5, vol. 15, Trowbridge, "The Sack of Kessab," p. 6.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 17, Effie M. Chambers, Report, July 17, 1909; *idem*, Chambers to James Barton, *Widows Kessab*, August 19, 1909 (in this report Chambers puts the number of widows at 54); *idem*, vol. 21, Chambers, Report of the Work in Kessab Field for 1909-10. See also ABC: 16.5, vol. 6, D.H. Koundakjian, *What the Protestants of Kessab Have Done for Their Church, Destroyed by Fire During the Recent Disturbances*, 1913. For conditions and relief efforts in Kessab after the carnage, consult FO 195, Files 2306-2307, FO 424, Files 221-222, and FO 861, Files 58-59.

<sup>21</sup> Germany, Türkei no. 134, microfilm roll 97, Band 24, von Tischendorf to von Bülow, April 23, 1909, April 24, 1909; Band 25, von Tischendorf to von Bülow, April 25, 1909

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, microfilm roll 98, Band 26, von Tischendorf to von Bülow, June 24, 1909.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, June 19, 1909.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, June 24, 1909; microfilm roll 97, Band 24, von Tischendorf to von Bülow, April 23, 1909, April 24, 1909; Band 25, von Tischendorf to von Bülow, April 25, 1909.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, microfilm roll 97, Band 24, von Tischendorf to von Bülow, April 23, 1909; Band 25, von Tischendorf to von Bülow, April 25, 1909, April 30, 1909.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, microfilm roll 98, Band 26, von Tischendorf to von Bülow, June 16, 1909.

<sup>27</sup> Capuchin Archives, File *Khoderbey 1910*, Fr. A.C., Briève relation sur Kodorbek; Paul Jacquot, *Antioche, centre de tourisme*, vol. III, Beirut, Imprimerie Catholique, 1931, pp. 506-07; Constant, *Capucins missionnaires*, p. 61; *Les massacres d'Antioche et de Tarse*, p. 28; da Terzorio, *Les missioni*, V, pp. 468-69; R.P.

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- Jérôme, "Au pays des massacres," *Les Missions Catholiques*, 41:2091(July 2, 1909), p. 316.
- <sup>28</sup> Jérôme, "Au pays des massacres," p. 316. Actually, the Capuchin missionaries posted at Kheder Beg met with the mudir at Svedia several times. Consult Capuchin Archives, File *Khoderbey 1910*, Fr. A.C., Briève relation sur Kodorbek.
- <sup>29</sup> Great Britain, FO 424, File 219, W.C. Pakenham to Cecil F. Thursby, May 2, 1909. See also FO 861, File 58, David Douek's urgent telegram to British Consulate, Aleppo, April 22, 1909.
- <sup>30</sup> Ibid., FO 195, File 2306, James Martin to A. Catoni, April 21, 1909. See also FO 861, File 58, Martin urgent telegram to British Consulate, Aleppo, April 22, 1909.
- <sup>31</sup> Ibid., FO 424, File 219, Curzon-Howe to Admiralty, April 24, 1909; idem, Thursby to A. Curzon-Howe, April 26, 1909; idem, Lowther to Edward Grey, April 28, 1909; idem, Pakenham to Thursby, May 2, 1909; idem, Curzon-Howe to Admiralty, May 12, 1909; FO 861, File 58, Douek telegram to British Consulate, Aleppo, April 26, 1909.
- <sup>32</sup> Ibid., FO 195, File 2306, Inclosure in Consul Fontana's no. 10, of May 5, 1909: Vice-Consul Douek to Acting-Consul Catoni, April 30, 1909.
- <sup>33</sup> Jérôme, "Au pays des massacres," p. 316; *Les massacres d'Antioche et de Tarse*, p. 28; Jacquot, *Antioche*, III, p. 507; Lytle, *James Martin*, p. 61; Constant, *Capucins missionnaires*, p. 61.
- <sup>34</sup> Great Britain, FO 424, File 219, Pakenham to Thursby, May 2, 1909.
- <sup>35</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>36</sup> *Asbarez* (Arena) (Fresno), July 16, 1909.
- <sup>37</sup> Capuchin Archives, File *Khoderbey 1910*, Fr. A.C., Briève relation sur Kodorbek; Jérôme, "Au pays des massacres," p. 316.
- <sup>38</sup> [Rose Ikarian Fiscus], "Rose's Story (as Recorded in 1953)," unpublished manuscript, p. 2. The location of the original manuscript is unknown. I have a copy.
- <sup>39</sup> Varderes[jian], "Antakya Hadisesi," p. 471; *Tzayn Hayreniats* (Voice of the Fatherland) (Constantinople), May 15/28, 1909; *Asbarez*, June 18, 1909, July 2, 1909.
- <sup>40</sup> *Asbarez*, June 18, 1909, July 2, 1909.
- <sup>41</sup> Ibid., August 11, 1911.
- <sup>42</sup> Ibid., June 18, 1909; Jérôme, "Au pays des massacres," p. 316; Jacquot, *Antioche*, III, p. 507. According to *Asbarez*, July 16, 1909, some Alawites rescued Armenian laborers by disguising them as Alawites.
- <sup>43</sup> Jérôme, "Au pays des massacres," p. 316.
- <sup>44</sup> Archpriest NersesTavugjian, *Tarapanki oragir* (Diary of Suffering), Toros Toranian, editor, Beirut, High Type Compugraph – Technopresse S.A.L., 1991, p. 28.
- <sup>45</sup> Capuchin Archives, File *Khoderbey 1910*, Fr. A.C., Briève relation sur Kodorbek.
- <sup>46</sup> Constant, *Capucins missionnaires*, pp. 61-62. For a partial list of the victims from Musa Dagh, consult Hakob Bampakian, "1909 i kotoradzin Musa-Taghi giugheren inkadz nahataknerne" (The Martyrs from the Musa Dagh Villages Who Fell during the 1909 Massacre), unpublished manuscript, Anjar, Lebanon. Compare the Yoghun Oluk section of this list with the following: Archives of the Musa Dagh Monument-Museum, Musa Ler Town, Armenia, Sedrak Yesayi Haykazyan, "Husher u busher

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- Musa Leran 1915 t. inknapashtpanutyany orerits” (Memoirs and Thorns from the Days of the 1915 Self-Defense of Musa Dagh), unpublished manuscript, Notebook 4, n.p.
- <sup>47</sup> *Asbarez*, July 2, 1909.
- <sup>48</sup> Capuchin Archives, File *Khoderbey 1910*, Fr. A.C., Briève relation sur Kodorbek; *Asbarez*, July 23, 1909.
- <sup>49</sup> Martin, “The Massacre of the Armenians at Antioch,” p. 9; Iskenterian, *Husher*, p. 36. Sherpetjian’s two companions were Karapet Tilikian from Bitias and Sedrak Iskenterian from Haji Habibli, both of whom escaped. Tavugjian, *Tarapanki oragir*, p. 23, cites the name of Karapet Re[n]jilian instead of Tilikian.
- <sup>50</sup> Great Britain, FO 861, File 58, Martin to Fontana, June 16, 1909; *Asbarez*, July 23, 1909. According to Tavugjian, *Tarapanki oragir*, pp. 23-24, Sherpetjian and his companions spent the night at notable Gevorg Paljian’s house in Kabusiye. The Mulazim surrounded the house with thirty to forty soldiers, ordered Paljian’s guests out, Iskenterian escaped, Paljian and Karapet agha (Tilkian or Renjilian) tied up Sherpetjian, and the Mulazim killed him. Tavugjian thus implies treachery or betrayal, which is not evident in any other source.
- <sup>51</sup> Great Britain, FO 861, File 58, Martin to Fontana, June 16, 1909.
- <sup>52</sup> *Asbarez*, July 23, 1909.
- <sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, June 18, 1909, July 16, 1909; Varteres[jian], “Antakya Hadisesi,” p. 471; *Tzayn Hayreniats*, May 15/28, 1909; *Pahak* (Sentinel) (Boston), June 22, 1911.
- <sup>54</sup> Gloria Hachigian Ericson, private papers, Orlando, Florida, Vanes S. Yegharian to his brother, Movses Yegharian, August 1, 1909, Bitias.
- <sup>55</sup> National Archives of the Republic of Armenia, Yerevan, Armenia, Class (*font*) 57, Index (*tsutsak*) 2, Document (*gordz*) 1828, Fr. Arsen Ter Arakelian and Vardan Varderesian to Catholicos of All Armenians Madteos, December 18/31, 1909, Haji Habibli.
- <sup>56</sup> *Tzayn Hayreniats*, May 15/28, 1909; *Pahak*, June 22, 1911. *Asbarez*, June 16, 1911, reported that the Armenian leadership was contemplating sending 70-80 more widows from Antioch to Musa Dagh.
- <sup>57</sup> Constant, *Capucins missionnaires*, p. 62; Jérôme, “Au pays des massacres,” p. 316; *Les massacres d’Antioche et de Tarse*, pp. 28-29; Jacquot, *Antioche*, III, p. 507.
- <sup>58</sup> Constant, *Capucins missionnaires*, p. 60.
- <sup>59</sup> Tavugjian, *Tarapanki oragir*, pp. 13-27, 39-46. *Manusa* is defined as “a kind of striped or designed cloth (worn by peasants).” See *New Redhouse Turkish-English Dictionary*, İstanbul, Redhouse Press, 1974, p. 731.
- <sup>60</sup> Lytle, *James Martin*, p. 61.
- <sup>61</sup> Tavugjian, *Tarapanki oragir*, p. 19.
- <sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21.
- <sup>63</sup> Germany, Türkei no. 134, microfilm roll 98, Band 26, von Tischendorf to von Bülow, June 29, 1909.
- <sup>64</sup> Hachigian Ericson, private papers, Yegharian to brother Movses, August 1, 1909.
- <sup>65</sup> Armenian General Benevolent Union (AGBU), *Yeramia teghekgagir* (Three-Year Report), Cairo, N. p., 1909, p. 22.
- <sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p. [57]. For the amount allocated for Musa Dagh, see also *Lusaber-Arev*, October 26, 1909, October 30, 1909.

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- <sup>67</sup> AGBU, *Yeramia teghekagir*, p. 22.
- <sup>68</sup> Armenian Prelacy of Aleppo (APA) Archives, Aleppo, Syria, Section D, Minutes of the Prelacy Civic Council Meetings, File 40, minutes of the March 11, 1910, March 25, 1910, and April 29, 1910 sessions. The Prelacy Civic Council asked Zaki Sukyas, a Greek Orthodox merchant from Antioch then conducting business in Aleppo, to deliver the money to Antioch. Citing his absence from that city, Sukyas instead recommended Balji Zade, a reliable Turkish merchant from Antioch, to make that transfer. The Civic Council agreed.
- <sup>69</sup> Armenian General Benevolent Union (AGBU) Archives, Saddle Brook, New Jersey (now in New York, New York), File 17 B, *Npast bashkhman tsutsakner 1906-1914, F-Z* (Lists of Relief Distribution 1906-1914, F-Z), Locum Tenens of Aleppo V. Rev. Shahe Gasparian to Chairman and Members of the AGBU Central Administrative Board in Cairo, April 15/28, 1910.
- <sup>70</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>71</sup> Hakob H. Terzian, *Kilikio aghete* (The Calamity of Cilicia), Constantinople, H. Asaturian and Sons Printing, 1912, pp. 817-18. For the full membership rosters of both components of the International Relief Committee, see *Biuzandion*, May 13, 1909.
- <sup>72</sup> *Biuzandion*, November 23, 1909. See also [Teny Pirri-Simonian, compiler and editor], *100 ans du génocide arménien: Mémoire et reconnaissance*, Antelias, Lebanon: A publication of the Armenofas Foundation/Catholicosate of Cilicia Press, 2015, p. 142.
- <sup>73</sup> *Biuzandion*, November 20, 1909.
- <sup>74</sup> APA Archives, Section D, File 41, The Income-Expense of the Victims' Chest for 1 January 1910-14 April 1910.
- <sup>75</sup> *Asbarez*, October 22, 1909, also mentions two additional sums of 3,000 francs and 1,000 francs sent from Fresno. The way they are described is somewhat vague.
- <sup>76</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>77</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>78</sup> Ibid., October 15, 1909. The "Thank You" letter indicates the sum of 43.5 liras instead of 130.5 liras. This discrepancy may be explained as follows: Either the larger amount was sent in installments (of which 43.5 liras was one installment), or, perhaps, the people of Fresno donated money twice, one sum being 130.5 liras and the other 45.5 liras (in addition to the 50 liras referred to in the text). The letter was signed by notables Movses Renjilian, Abraham H. Renjilian, and Vanes S. Yegharian (Ikarian) from Bitias; Martir Iskenterian and Grigor Margarian from Haji Habibli; and Khoren T.K Kiulyuzian and Hovhannes Geppurian from Yoghun Oluk. See *Asbarez*, October 15, 1909.
- <sup>79</sup> Capuchin Archives, File *Khoderbey 1910*, Fr. A.C., Briève relation sur Kodorbek; Tavugjian, *Tarapanki oragir*, p. 19.
- <sup>80</sup> *Biuzandion*, December 5/18, 1909.
- <sup>81</sup> *Asbarez*, January 28, 1910.
- <sup>82</sup> APA Archives, Section D, File 40, minutes of the February 18, 1910 session.
- <sup>83</sup> Ibid., File 41, minutes of the April 29, 1910 session.
- <sup>84</sup> Ibid., File 40, minutes of the February 24, 1910 session.

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- <sup>85</sup> Ibid., File 41, minutes of the April 29, 1910 session.
- <sup>86</sup> Ibid., minutes of the July 22, 1910 and August 5, 1910 sessions.
- <sup>87</sup> Ibid., minutes of the March 13/26, 1911 session.
- <sup>88</sup> Ibid., File 40, minutes of the February 11, 1910 session.
- <sup>89</sup> Ibid., minutes of the February 18, 1910 session.
- <sup>90</sup> AGBU Archives, File 17 B, V. Rev. Gasbarian to Chairman and Members of the AGBU Central Administrative Board in Cairo, May 4, 1910.
- <sup>91</sup> APA Archives, Section D, File 41, minutes of the July 8, 1910 session. The fathers were Ghazar Ter Ghazarian and Haji Avetis Hasirjian.
- <sup>92</sup> Ibid., File 41, minutes of the May 26, 1911 session.
- <sup>93</sup> Ibid., minutes of the June 30, 1911 session.
- <sup>94</sup> Ibid., minutes of the July 14, 1911 session.
- <sup>95</sup> Terzian, *Kilikio aghete*, pp. 826-29.
- <sup>96</sup> *Pahak*, October 15, 1914.
- <sup>97</sup> Terzian, *Kilikio aghete*, p. 833. In the source, the total number of widows in Antioch is put at 122, which is a calculation error.
- <sup>98</sup> Tavugjian, *Tarapanki oragir*, p. 29.
- <sup>99</sup> APA Archives, Section D, File 41, minutes of the March 20, 1910 mixed session; minutes of the June 3, 1910 session.
- <sup>100</sup> AGBU Archives, File 17 B, V. Rev. Gasparian to the Chair and Members of the AGBU Central Administrative Board in Cairo, May 21, 1910, June 8, 1910.
- <sup>101</sup> Tavugjian, *Tarapanki oragir*, pp. 35-38.
- <sup>102</sup> APA Archives, Section D, File 41, minutes of the July 8, 1910 session.
- <sup>103</sup> Tavugjian, *Tarapanki oragir*, pp. 38-39.
- <sup>104</sup> Ibid., p. 42.
- <sup>105</sup> Ibid., pp. 41-42.
- <sup>106</sup> Germany, Türkei no. 134, microfilm roll 98, Band 26, von Tischendorf to von Bülow, June 29, 1909.
- <sup>107</sup> *Asbarez*, January 28, 1910.
- <sup>108</sup> Tavugjian, *Tarapanki oragir*, pp. 41-42.
- <sup>109</sup> Kévorkian, *The Armenian Genocide*, p. 95.
- <sup>110</sup> Ibid., p. 96.
- <sup>111</sup> Aram Mirzoyan, “Vorbakhtnam gordzuneutyune 1909 T. Adanayi yev Halepi nahangnerum teghi unetsadz charderits heto” (Orphan Care Activity after the 1909 Massacres in the Provinces of Adana and Aleppo), *Journal of Genocide Studies* (a publication of the Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute, Yerevan) 1:1 (2013), p. 95.
- <sup>112</sup> *Azatamart* (Freedom Battle) (Constantinople), September 12/25, 1910.
- <sup>113</sup> Vahan Kiultalian, “Kilikio agheten verch” (After the Cilician Calamity), “*Tatev*” *Kronakan Taretsuys* (“Tatev” Religious Almanac) (Aleppo), 4<sup>th</sup> year (1928), pp. 238-40.
- <sup>114</sup> *Biuzandion*, January 12, 1912.
- <sup>115</sup> Catholicosate of Cilicia Archives, Antelias, Lebanon, File 23/1, *Antioch 1914-1940* (Antioch, 1914-1940), Fr. Harutiun Tumayan to Catholicos Sahak II, March 4/17, 1915.
- <sup>116</sup> *Biuzandion*, July 15, 1909.

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- <sup>117</sup> Ibid., July 22, 1909.
- <sup>118</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>119</sup> Ibid., August 24, 1909; Cholakian, *Kesap*, I, p. 98.
- <sup>120</sup> “Srtajmlik lurer Antioken” (Heartrending News from Antioch) *Tajar* (Cathedral/Temple) (Constantinople), 2<sup>nd</sup> year, no. 4 (January 31, 1911), pp. 70-71.
- <sup>121</sup> *Miutiun* (Union) (Cairo), 1<sup>st</sup> year, no. 10 (October, 1912): 150; 2<sup>nd</sup> year, no. 21 (September, 1913), p. 129.
- <sup>122</sup> “Srtajmlik lurer Antioken,” p. 71.
- <sup>123</sup> *Miutiun*, 2<sup>nd</sup> year, no. 17 (May, 1913): 80. The donors were : 20-piaster category: All from Yoghun Oluk: Fr. Abraham Ter Galustian, Nerses Gazanjian, Japra Gazanjian, Poghos Karpushian (Shemmassian), Martiros Geppurian, Gevork Shrigian, Poghos Karipian; 15-piaster category: From Haji Habibli: Sedrak Iskenterian, Yorke Iskenterian, Asatur Iskenterian, Iskenter Iskenterian, Hovnan Iskenterian, Hovsep Tutaglian, Grigor Margarian, Haji Khacher Martirian; from Bitias: Movses Chaparian, Abraham Renjilian, Hovhannes Hovhannesian; from Antioch: Sahak Aramian, Harutiun Ter Asaturian, Yesayi Yerkatagordzian.
- <sup>124</sup> *Miutiun*, 2<sup>nd</sup> year, no. 18 (June, 1913), p. 89.
- <sup>125</sup> Great Britain, FO 195, File 2306, Martin to Fontana, June 19, 1909.
- <sup>126</sup> Ibid., Fontana telegrams, June 17, 1909, June 23, 1909.
- <sup>127</sup> Germany, Türkei no. 134, microfilm roll 98, Band 26, von Tischendorf to von Bülow, June 16, 1909.
- <sup>128</sup> Ibid., June 24, 1909.
- <sup>129</sup> Ibid., June 19, 1909.
- <sup>130</sup> Ibid., June 24, 1909.
- <sup>131</sup> Ibid., FO 195, File 2307, FO 861, File 58, FO 424, File 221, Fontana to Lowther, October 3, 1909.
- <sup>132</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>133</sup> Ibid., FO 195, File 2337, FO 861, File 59, Fontana to Lowther, March 5, 1910.
- <sup>134</sup> Ibid., May 30, 1910. The released Turkish notables included Kaiserli Zade Hadji Nahad, Khalaf Aga Zade Husni, Bereket Zade Refaat Aga, the Ex-Kaimakam Muharem Pasha, Veresh Aga Zade Sheikh Omar, and his clerk, Ibrahim Bin Mohammed.
- <sup>135</sup> Great Britain, FO 195, File 2337, FO 861, File 59, Fontana to Lowther, March 5, 1910.
- <sup>136</sup> Ibid., May 30, 1910.
- <sup>137</sup> Ibid., File 2366, Fontana to Lowther, May 3, 1911.
- <sup>138</sup> Isobel Lytle, private papers, Newtownabbey, N. Ireland, Martin 7. Doc., “Ten Years of the Antioch Mission, 1905-1915,” p. 10.
- <sup>139</sup> Great Britain, FO 195, File 2366, Fontana to Lowther, May 3, 1911.
- <sup>140</sup> Ibid., April 25, 1911, May 31, 1911; idem, Fontana telegrams no. 20, urgent, April 19, 1911, no. 26, April 27, 1911, no. 27, May 2, 1911.
- <sup>141</sup> Lytle, private papers, Martin 7. Doc., “Ten Years of the Antioch Mission, 1905-1915,” p. 10; Lytle, *James Martin*, p. 62.
- <sup>142</sup> Great Britain, FO 195, File 2366, Fontana to Lowther, April 25, 1911.
- <sup>143</sup> Ibid., May 31, 1911.

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<sup>144</sup> Ibid., FO 861, File 60, Martin to Fontana, May 6, 1911.

<sup>145</sup> APA Archives, Section D, File 41, minutes of the January 11, 1913 session.

<sup>146</sup> Lytle, private papers, Martin 7. Doc, "Ten Years of the Antioch Mission, 1905-1915," p. 14; Lytle, *James Martin*, p. 64.

<sup>147</sup> *Pahak*, May 22, 1913.

<sup>148</sup> APA Archives, Section D, File 40, minutes of the February 4, 1910 session.

**Մուսա Տաղը՝ Օսմանեան Սուրիոյ Հիւսիս-Արեւմտեան Շրջանը,  
1909ի Կիլիկեան Կոտորածներու Շրջանին**  
(Ամփոփում)

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Հեղինակը լուսարձակի տակ կ'առնէ 1909ի կիլիկեան կոտորածներուն զուգահեռ՝ Օսմանեան Կայսրութեան ենթակայ Սուրիոյ հիւսիս-արեւմտեան հայաբնակ վայրերուն մէջ տեղի ունեցած ջարդերն ու վնասները եւ անոնց հետեւանքները:

Ներկայացնելէ ետք Անտիոքի, Քեսայի, Հալէպի եւ շրջակայքի հայոց դիմագրուած սպանդն ու հետապնդումները, կողոպուտը, քանդումներն ու արտաքսումը, հեղինակը կը մանրամասնէ այդ շրջանի Մուսա Լեռան հայութեան դիմագրուած ահաբեկումի վտանգը, ջարդ-կողոպուտ-աքսորի սարսափն ու սպառնալիքը, մուսալեռցիներու դիմադրութիւնը, օսմանեան տեղական իշխանութեանց մասնակցութիւնը սպանութիւններուն, օտար միջամտութիւնը՝ կանխարգիլելու-սահմանափակելու յարձակումներն ու սպանողը, ապա նաեւ՝ իրաքանչիւր յարանուանութեան կրած զոհերուն թիւը, կը ներկայացնէ հետեւանքները՝ հրկիզուած տուն ու խանութներու, որբերու եւ այրիներու թիւերը, նիւթական վնասները՝ ըստ գիւղի:

Հեղինակը կ'անդրադառնայ նաեւ կոտորածներուն եւ ատերին արտասահմանեան արծագանգին, Մուսա Լեռ փութացուած հայ (միութենական եւ եկեղեցական) թէ օտար նպաստներուն:

Հոսակ, հեղինակը կ'արժեւորէ կոտորածէն ետք տեղի ունեցած եւ ջարդարարութեան տարողութեան չհամապատասխանող կեղծ դատավարութիւններուն: