

FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY PUBLICATION

THE TURKISH ARMENOCIDE  
(THE GENOCIDE OF THE ARMENIANS BY TURKS)

Documentary Series

Volume Two



The Beginnings of Genocide

*An Account of the Armenian Massacres in World War I*

By

JOSEPH GUTTMANN



The Memoirs of Naim Bey

By

ARAM ANDONIAN



Preface Revised and Expanded

Two Maps and New Genocide Photographs

Second reprinting 1965

By

Armenian Historical Research Association  
(AHRA)

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at the end

## ERRATA

<i>Page</i>	<i>Error</i>	<i>Correct</i>
4	Khan-Zor	Khabaur
5	Garma	Gatma
15	March 9, 1915	September 9, 1915
17	Abu-Harrad,	Abu-Harrar
30	Jelal	Jemal
37	Dreary	Infamous
49	March 25, 1915	February 18, 1915
51	November 18, 1915	March 25, 1915
51	February 8, 1915	February 18, 1915



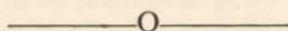
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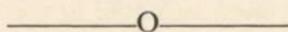


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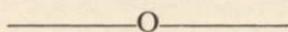
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## PREFACE

### LESSONS FROM THE TURKISH ARMENOCIDE (1915-1922)

“And so they drove the whole people – men, women, hoary elders, children, expectant mothers and dumb sucklings – into the Arabian desert, with no other object than to let them starve to death.”

“ . . . They drove the people, after depriving them of their leaders and spokesmen, out of the towns at all hours of the day and night, half-naked, straight out of their beds; plundered their houses, burned the villages, destroyed the churches or turned them into mosques, carried off the cattle, seized the vehicles, snatched the bread out of the mouths of their victims, tore the clothes from off their backs, the gold from their hair. Officials – military officers, soldiers, shepherds – vied with one another in their wild orgy of blood, dragging out of the schools delicate orphan girls to serve their bestial lusts, beat with cudgels dying women or women close on child-birth who could scarcely drag themselves along, until the women fell down on the road and died. . . ”

“Parties which on their departure from the homeland of High Armenia consisted of thousands, numbered on their arrival in the outskirts of Aleppo only a few hundred, while the fields were strewn with swollen, blackened corpses, . . . lying about desecrated, naked, having been robbed of their clothes, or driven, bound back to back, to the Euphrates. . . ”

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

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

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

Armin T. Wegner  
(A German eye-witness of the Armenian Massacres)  
Turn to pages 72-84 of this book.

The MEMOIRS OF NAIM BEY was first published in England in 1920. It is a documentary account of the secret orders of the Turkish Government for the extermination of the Armenians beginning on April 24, 1915, and the troubled reminiscences of a Turkish official who was involved in their carrying out in his capacity as Chief Secretary of the Deportation Committee of Aleppo. It was compiled by Aram Andonian, an Armenian who was appointed military censor at the time of mobilization for World War I and was subsequently exiled, without trial, from Constantinople. Andonian had been living in hiding and had learned of Naim Bey, who "was not a bad man" and had actually helped some Armenian families to escape. Naim Bey, whose conscience was deeply disturbed by the events taking place, turned over to Andonian a great many official documents, ministerial telegrams and decrees to Governors concerning the Armenian Deportations. These documents are quoted in the book, and some are reproduced in photostatic form. Since original copies of the book have long been unobtainable, the Armenian Historical Research Association (AHRA) in Philadelphia had it reprinted this year together with a new section of photographs, for distribution in connection with the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the genocide of the Armenian martyrs.

One of the first books written pertaining to the crime was entitled *The Blackest Page of Modern History*<sup>(1)</sup> by Herbert Adams Gibbons, who is also the author of *The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire* and an American newspaper correspondent in the Middle East. After World War II the term "genocide"<sup>(2)</sup> was invented to characterize the murder of six million Jews by Hitlerite Germany during the second World War. The extermination of the Armenians by Turks during the first World War was the "first genocide" and that of the Jews followed. We coined the term "Armenocide" to convey to the reader, specifically, the brutal extermination of the Armenians<sup>(3)</sup>.

In continuation of the earlier massacres, the duration of the Turkish Armenocide falls principally into two periods; the period of the Young Turks from 1915-1919, and the Kemalist period from 1919-1922. During these two periods nearly two million Armenians, without respect to age and sex, were uprooted from their historic homelands and murdered by unimaginable methods of cruelty.

David Lloyd George, British Prime Minister, in a public declaration on October 14, 1922, informed the British people of the great crime against the Armenians and Greeks by the Turks, stating: ". . . *Since 1914 the Turks, according to testimony - official testimony - we have received, have slaughtered in cold blood one million and a half Armenians, men, women, and children, and five hundred thousand Greeks without any provocation at all.*" (Bierstadt, 4)

The flourishing homeland of 3000 years of history was reduced into a wasteland; 2050 churches, 203 monasteries and seminaries were destroyed, the churches ransacked, altars and sacred objects treated with utmost indignity; church structures were converted into stables and houses of prostitution and some into mosques. Over 2000 priests, ministers and high ranking clergymen were murdered, many of them soaked in oil and burned to provide a bonfire. Seven Armenian Catholic bishops, 127 Catholic fathers, 57 Catholic Sisters of Mercy were murdered and over 2000 Armenian schools were seized by the government of Turkey. Educators, businessmen, writers, poets, philosophers, professors, physicians, pharmacists, dentists, lawyers, students, members of Parliament were arrested and sent to slaughterhouses in the hinterland. The material wealth seized by the government is valued at over 4 billion dollars.

Following the military defeat of Turkey in 1918 and the flight of its criminal leaders, the resurgent Turks, under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, resumed the genocide. In September 1920 the Kemalists invaded the Armenian Republic which was founded within the former Russian territory following the Bolshevik Revolution. During this invasion Kemalist troops massacred 200,000 Armenians<sup>(5)</sup> – men, women, and children; plundered the invaded province; and simultaneously, also murdered more than 25,000 Cilician Armenians, who had miraculously survived the first genocide and had returned to rebuild their ruined ancestral homes.

One must be reminded also of the fact that the Turks, as the author of genocide, set themselves as examples for Hitlerite Germany for the murder of six million innocent young and old Jews. As the Armenocide was premeditated during the Salonica Congress held in October 1911, by the Young Turks<sup>(6)</sup>, the murder of Jews was also premeditated as it was foretold by Hitler himself at a Nuremberg meeting prior to the second World War. At the meeting Hitler declared cynically before his audience, "Who remembers now the Massacres of the Armenians (by Turks)?" and showed them, thereby, the way for the murder of the Jews, the Poles, and the Russians<sup>(7)</sup>.

The two main reasons for reprinting the documentary Memoirs of Naim Bey are as follows: *First*, the Turks of the present times have strived to be known as the New Turks, preferring to be differentiated from the Ottoman Turks of bloody Sultan Abdul Hamid II and his heirs, the Prussian-trained leaders of the ruthless Young Turks. Nevertheless, the professors of Turkish history and their students as emissaries in foreign lands have yoked themselves to the popularization of their history that they have falsified and are engaged in misinformatory activities here and elsewhere.

The entire educational system in Turkey has been conceived exclusively to shield the historical unequivocal facts of the Great Crime of 1914–1922

from their youth. Nay, the authorities consistently have exalted as national heroes the leaders of the Great Crime. They have erected statues and monuments to perpetuate the memory of Tâlaat Pasha, Enver Pasha and others, authors of the first genocide, as symbols of the Turkish brand of heroism and as exponents of their ideals. What would the Jews and the world at large have thought if the Germans had erected monuments to perpetuate the memory of Hitler and his War Criminals?

The Turkish government has neither repented for these crimes, nor made any gesture to repair them. In fact, she has consistently denied her guilt and has employed the Nazi technique of the "Big Lie" campaigns here in America and in Europe to falsely claim innocence of the crimes she organized and committed against innocent men, women and children. It is beyond the imagination of any civilized mind to comprehend the yarn that the Turks have spun right along to make the world believe that the physical existence of her empire, having more than twenty million inhabitants, allied militarily for mutual defense with the empires of Germany (65 million population in 1910) and Austria-Hungary (52 million population in 1910) was threatened by some three million defenseless Armenians scattered throughout the Ottoman Empire. Unfortunately, the seeds of this propaganda and rumor have found root in European and American history books. The fact remains that the only crime that the Armenians committed was to have the courage to implore the Turkish government for equality of rights, as subjects, and mercy, as human beings, to alleviate their lot which had subjected them to all sorts of unimaginable injustices and atrocities ever since the conquest of Asia Minor by the Turks.

One of the aims of our undertaking is to render a humanitarian service to the New Turks. We invite them to study these documents obtained from their archives by one of their kinsmen and ponder upon the unbelievable atrocities which were committed in behalf of centralist Turkism against the most sacred principles of humanity. These principles were betrayed in the treatment of their fellow citizens who wanted nothing more than the equality and freedom of enjoyment of the constitutional rights of their citizenship.

It is earnestly hoped that the reading of these documents will guide the Turks to their realization that their dismal isolation from the community of spirits of the civilized nations lies in their denial of facts, in their desperate efforts to bury the truth under the veil of misinformation and falsification of their history and, thereby, to justify the crimes of their immediate forebears. Their freedom from this isolation can come only from the remorseful knowledge of the inner meaning of the Turkish Armenocide and the translation of that knowledge into positive and cor-

rective acts towards their victims. It is hoped also that the honest interpretation by them of these and other widely known documents will drive home the fact that not the Armenians, nor the Greeks, nor the Jews, nor the Arabs, nor all of them collectively, but the exclusive rule of the absolutist spirit of Centralist Turkism in defiance of civilization destroyed their empire.

*Second*, through the Union Catalogue we learned that there are only five copies of this historically and politically important book in the United States of America. We believe that every library of moderate size should possess a copy of these documents of the First Genocide of the Twentieth Century.

A further and more specific reason for reprinting this book originates in our deep concern for our country, the United States of America. We are deeply concerned for the fact that in our current policy for securing and maintaining the military aid of Turkey, as one of the means of containing the Soviet Union, we feel that we have stooped in various conducts of keeping silent instead of maintaining our righteous indignation on the well documented criminal acts of our ally Turkey, and thereby, have committed more serious mistakes against the principles which we profess and cherish. These practices, disregarding lessons of history, are portentous for our future.

As Americans it is a frequently agonizing experience for most of us that our current practices in the name of the policy of political expediency are fully exploited by Turks to silence through us any exposition in regard to their despicable past and present conducts and, thereby, to misguide our public opinion on the realities. In this way, instead of our infusing them with our civilizing influence, we are being infected by their above outlined motives. In this relationship between the United States and Turkey, is it possible that we are being led by the nose on a path paved for the Prussian Germany of World War I? In their zeal for world conquest, Germany adopted the "morality" of German-Turkish fraternization as a policy of political expediency. Exploiting the provisions of this fraternization and Germany's practices of political expediency in her dealings with Turkey, and shielded by the treaty-wise sanctioned demon of "non-intervention" in her internal affairs, Turkey executed the Armenocide in broad daylight before the eyes of German officials. The news of this crime was suppressed in Germany and, therefore, failed to reach the cultured German masses. As the Turks got away with the murder of the Armenians, a quarter century later emboldened Hitlerite Germany committed the murder of the Jews. Should we disregard this lesson of history?

We are of the belief that the magnanimity of the spirit of America can be maintained and can be made to infect mankind. This supreme mission may be achieved not by conniving for the sake of political expediency with the Turkish denials of the blackest page of modern history written by the acts of Turks themselves, but only by instilling into our Turkish ally the basic uncompromising, precious precepts which characterize our spiritual heritage.

In consideration of these objectives it is essential that we reassess certain historical facts. Failure to derive positive lessons from these facts sets the stage for their reoccurrence.

Unfortunately, despite Mustafa Kemal's "glorified democracy" which he aimed to establish in Turkey, and has been unjustifiably much publicized for political expediency, the basic Pan-Turanian spirit and goal of the Turks has not changed. It is true that European hats have replaced the traditional Turkish fez, Arabic alphabet has been replaced by the Latin alphabet, Turkish women have shed their veils, the Moslem religion has been separated from the state, thereby ridding it of caliphate, supposedly to execute the state law irrespective of the creed and race of the citizen; nevertheless, the aboriginal character of the Turks has not yielded to the practice of democratic principles. After all, the Kemalist Turks were mostly the Young Turks taking on the name "New" or "Kemalist". The name changed, but the type remained unaffected. It is also to be noted that as early as 1876, Pierre Gerraz, writing in the *Revue Britannique* (7) characterized the founders of the Young Turk movement in the following terms: "Out of the new policy of systematic Turkification of the subject races is born the new policy of systematic extermination of the Christians, which is savagely expressed in the Official Organ" of the Young Turks founded in 1868. Continuing his comments, Gerraz stated further: "The true culprits of this policy are not the *Ulemas*, not even Musulman convicts, who generally are peaceful persons and less bloody. They are the Turks who wear European garments, who are educated in Europe, speak our language and have familiarized themselves with our manners; in a word, this is the party which has received European exterior and titled it 'The Young Turkey'."

It is a Turkish tragedy that their mental frame has remained rigidly Pan-Turanian of the aboriginal type. Relevant to these facts we call attention to the most recent manifestations of the type.

## "Varlik Vergisi"

According to Article 40 of Section III (Protection of Minorities) of the *Treaty of Lauzanne*, it was agreed that "Turkish nationals belonging to non-Moslem minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and security in law and *in fact* as other nationals." In any civilized and democratic state, the inclusion of such a condition in a treaty would be considered an outrageous absurdity, since it would be taken for granted that, in a state, all citizens are to enjoy the same legal rights irrespective of creed or race. But this internationally accepted rule has been denied an expression in the Turkish state. Since the foundation of the Ottoman Empire this rule has haunted the Turks and driven them to the most inhuman acts against minorities. The Turkish character having remained impermeable to the spirit of this rule, has caused an unending nightmare and agony to minorities and has deprived the Turks themselves from enjoying the community of spirits within the society of nations.

The "varlik vergisi" was conceived in 1942 by the Turkish government as a capital levy especially aimed at the non-Moslems of whose prosperity the Turks had been jealous. The law was enacted to remedy the bankrupt economy of the state at the price of the minorities. The rich Turkish land owners and Turkish multimillionaires of Adana were untouched. Only the riches of the minorities were to be taken away from them. Many prosperous Greeks, Jews and Armenians who were unable to pay the enormous sums which they were arbitrarily assessed, were condemned to hard labor on the roads of northeastern Anatolia under this oppressive and discriminatory law, the exception being a rich Italian Armenian citizen named Shekerjian Effendi who did not take advantage of his foreign citizenship but sold all his belongings and paid more than a million Turkish pounds as *Varlik Vergisi* and died in extreme poverty.

### September 6, 1955 – Catastrophe in Istanbul

On Tuesday, September 6, 1955, a crowd of Turks – students, women and others – estimated to be some 20 thousand, armed with crowbars, pick-axes, jimmys and clubs proceeded to loot and demolish the shops belonging to Greeks under the benevolent eyes of the Turkish police. Before the march of the crowds had started, newsvendors were hawking the news that: "Greek terrorists defile Ataturk's birthplace". Hardly one hour had passed between the throwing of a bomb on Mustafa Kemal's birthplace in Salonica and the *news began to hawk*, and the organized march started. In the past, all such crimes were stirred up by similar Turkish rumors to build up a

frantic passion for destruction and massacres. On this occasion, a list in their hands, the leaders pointed out the shops to be looted and demolished according to a premeditated organized plan. C. C. Sulzberger made the following statement in the September 17th issue of *The New York Times*: "Destruction extensive and situation appears completely out of hand *with no evidence of police or military attempt to control*. I personally witnessed looting many shops while police stood by or cheered on mobs." In the September 9 issue of the Turkish newspaper "*Dunya*" the following statement appeared: "If we had put out to contract the work of destroying Istanbul within a few hours, it would have needed several weeks of preparation; In the first place, the destruction was not done in a haphazard manner; it was carried out most systematically. The apparatus of demolition had been well chosen and suitably distributed. It is necessary to stress this fact, namely, of the incident having been prepared and organized." Without detailing the extent of the damage and destruction which was caused during this catastrophic incidence, it may suffice to quote a paragraph from the May, 1956 issue of the *Reader's Digest* from the pen of Frederick Sondern, Jr.: "In six terrible hours, the frenzied Turkish crowds wrecked 2,000 houses and 4,000 shops, burned 29 churches to the ground and badly damaged 31 others. Before it was over, 100 million dollars worth of damage had been done and 100,000 people were made jobless." Churches, chapels, monasteries, antiquities, cemeteries, Episcopal residences, school buildings, printing presses, factories, workshops were looted, burned or destroyed and all kinds of indignities against Greek Clergymen were committed. A line or two from the report of Noel Barber should be cited here (from *Daily Mail*, September 14): "In one shop belonging to an Armenian, every single bottle was smashed — every bottle that was not stolen, for looting has been enormous. *The next shop, a Turkish chemist, was spotless and untouched.*" The Swiss *Le Courier* (September 18, 1955); *London Times* (September 9, 1955); *Foreign Report* of the Economist Newspaper Ltd. (October 13, 1955); *New Statesman and Nation*, London (January 21, 1956); *Turkish Dunya* (September 11, 1955); and The World Council of Churches' Mission of Fellowship (November 16, 1955) gave reports to this catastrophic incident. Did the Turks derive any benefit from this incident? Yes, their aboriginal racial instinct of destruction received an uplift.

In the period preceding World War I, to justify such mob deeds, victimizing the minorities, particularly the Armenians, the Turkish government had always invented libels, such as, "Armenian revolutionaries", "Armenian separatist movements and European intervention" or "Russian and English intrigues in behalf of Armenians" or "backwards and fanatics" as responsible for the loot of property and massacres authorized by the government itself. "Were the Turks and the Turkish government ever guilty

of crimes against the victims?" No. God forbid! They are always innocent and the Armenians are always guilty; guilty of aspiring for their citizenship rights and striving for the redress of the atrocious and discriminatory practices against Christian minorities. On September 6, 1955, the Armenians having been exterminated during the first genocide of 1914-1922, the above mentioned bases for libel against a minority was non-existent. A new libel had to be invented and in matters like this they have always shown a real ability. For many years, the shadow of communism has been an effective means of securing political and economic gains and supplying excuses for acquitting the Turkish government of its criminal acts. It is noteworthy that despite the Turkish government's repeated boasts that there are no communists, nor a communist movement in Turkey, the artful radio, *Ankara*, declared to the world that the destructive acts of 20,000 Turkish men, women, students and the police force who cheered them on, were communist inspired. And Prime Minister Menderes wired to State Secretary John Foster Dulles that communists had engineered the plot and its execution. Turkey's foxy premier could not have been so naive as to believe that the State Secretary of the U.S.A. would take the content of his wire seriously. In reality, what Menderes wanted to tell Dulles was that: we are providing you with strategic military bases against communists and that he should not make much fuss over a little thing like the destruction of shops and churches of Greeks. It is interesting to note that the spark: "Greek terrorists defile Ataturk's birthplace" which was used to inflame the destructive instinct of the Turkish crowd was not even mentioned in Menderes's wire to Dulles, since it would not hold even a drop of diplomatic water. As in the whole history of the Turks in Asia Minor, they used one libel against the Greeks to inflame Turkish passion for destruction and another libel against the imagined "communists" in Turkey as responsible for their destructive campaign. They had premeditated and formulated what was to be said before and after the destruction had taken place.

### **Turkification of Armenian Children of Massacred Parents**

It is also a well known fact that the Turks, instead of being infused by our democratic principles, have exploited our precious educational institutions here and abroad to promote their inhuman practices. Of the many such demonic crimes, the case of Halide Edib Hanum is a loathsome example.

"It was Halide Hanum, a graduate of the American College for girls

at Constantinople, and Kemal's minister of education . . . who directed the tearing apart of thousands of children from their (Armenian) parents to be forced into Turkish harems, and the seizure of thousands of young women to be turned over to the Turkish army for immoral purposes. ”<sup>(4)</sup> (See photographs on pages 16 and 64 in this book.)

If the spirit of our heritage bids us to help the Turks, let us help them by all means. But the spirit of this help must be capable of begetting the recipient with a spirit portrayed by our acts. But if that help is destined to strengthen the Turks for the perpetuation of their practices of violence against the laws of humanity and her neighbors, our help would be serving to breed evil and destruction. Our aid to the Turks or to anyone without reciprocation of a positive sign to repair the damages that they have inflicted would be strengthening the arms of injustice. Unfortunately, our educational activities and the Truman doctrine as applied to Turkey has served but to strengthen the Turks for future violence without producing in them any sign of guardianship for civilization. Our aid has lacked moral offensive or aim, that is to say, the moral seed of our aim has fallen on rocky grounds.

It is hoped that the documents contained in this book can in some measure aid the realization of the objective outlined above.

April 24, 1964  
Newtown Square, Pennsylvania

M. G. Sevag, PhD.  
Chairman AHRA

April 1, 1965, Revised  
and expanded.

## REFERENCES

1. Gibbons, Herbert Adams, *The Blackest Page of Modern History*. G. P. Putnam's Son. New York and London, 1916, pp. 71.
2. The term "Genocide" is defined by the United Nations (1948 Assembly) as the deliberate crime of destroying a national, racial, religious or ethnic group in war or peace.
3. The term "Armenocide" for the first time was invented by us. This term was used next by E. A. Chrakian(5).
4. Bierstadt, E. H., *The Great Betrayal*, New York, Robert M. McBride & Co., 1924, p. 94.
5. Sarkisyan, Y., and Sahagian, R., *Falsification of the Modern Armenian History by the Historians of Turkey*. Erevan, Armenia, State Press., 1963, pp. 96. Translated into English under the title of "Vital Issues in Modern Armenian History". By E. A. Chrakian, 1965; Armenian Studies, P. O. Box 119, Watertown, Massachusetts.
6. Lepsius, Dr. Johannes, *Bericht über die Lage der Armenischen Volkes in der Türkei*, Tempelverlag in Potsdam, 1916, pp. 220 ff; *Deutschland und Armenien, 1914-1918*, Sammlung Diplomatischer Aktenstücke, Der Tempelverlag in Potsdam, 1919, p. xvii, pp. 541.
7. Archives of Nuremberg Proceedings show that this statement by Adolph Hitler was made at Obersalzberg on 22 August, 1939, at the meeting of the special units of SS., instructing them "to kill, without pity, men, women and children" in their march against Poland, declaring "Who speaks any more today of the extermination of the Armenians?"
8. The New York Times, Nov. 24, 1945, p. 7: Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression. Office of the United States Chief of Counsel for Prosecution of Axis Criminality. Washington 1946. Vol. VII, p. 753.





# THE BEGINNINGS OF GENOCIDE

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE ARMENIAN MASSACRES IN WORLD WAR I

BY

JOSEPH GUTTMANN



## THE BEGINNINGS OF GENOCIDE \*

The wholesale extermination of six million Jews is rightly considered the greatest single crime of our time. A special scientific term, "genocide", was invented to characterize the organized attempt to exterminate a whole ethnic group. And one thought that such a crime had never been attempted in modern times.

But this is not quite correct. The Nazis organized the mass killing on an unheard of scale and with a "scientific" brutality without precedent. But there had already been a grandiose attempt to exterminate a whole nation in our "enlightened" century. It took place, if not directly in Europe, at its very gates, and the victims were not members of some "savage tribes", but of a civilized Christian nation. If the methods of murder, compared with the "scientific" efficiency of the Nazis, look rather primitive (gas-chambers were not yet known at that time), still we see there all the elements which were later so much "perfected" by the Nazis: There was a well-prepared plan for action; co-ordinated operations of an entire administration, directed by a powerful party machine; government-inspired attempts to incite mobs to violence; assassination of all men who would be able to resist; destruction of families, separation of men from women, of children from parents; mass deportations under conditions in which most of the deportees died on their way; the liquidation of the rest in remote regions in concentration camps or during "death marches."

### **The Background**

Some readers will already have guessed what I have in mind: the Turkish atrocities against the Armenians thirty years ago. But some will have to admit that they did not think of it. And that is the tragedy of our times. We forget too fast. Yesterday, the victims were "only" Armenians; today, "only" the Jews — but also Poles and other European peoples. And to-morrow?

The original home of the Armenians is the mountainous region between the Black and Caspian Seas. The Armenians were among the first nations converted to Christendom; they defended, with great endurance their faith, their nation, and their customs against numerous foreign conquerors.

But Armenia proper soon ceased to be their only home. There was a diaspora of a kind. The Kurds, a primitive nomadic tribe, favored by the Turks, invaded old Armenia and started a long and bloody feud with the settled and well-to-do Armenian peasants. On the other hand, Armenian artisans and merchants dispersed throughout the Middle East.

The Armenian, says Toynbee, "has also that talent for commerce which the Jew displays in Eastern Europe and the Greek in the Levant, and he plays a similar role himself, as the skilled workman and the man of business, in the interior of Asiatic Turkey. Every town in Northern Syria and Anatolia had . . . its populous, prosperous Armenian quarter — the focus of local skill, intelligence and trade, as well as of the town's commercial relations with Constantinople and Europe."\*

In 1915, there were about 160,000 Armenians in Constantinople alone; in the whole Turkish Empire of that time, there lived about 1,800,000 of them, constituting 8% of the population.

### **Always Oppressed**

They were always treated as an oppressed race. They had no right to carry arms; in a primitive country without regular enforcement of law, that meant a steady threat from their neighbors. On the other hand, they had, among the primitive agrarian population a virtual monopoly of trade and business, and their well-to-do classes accumulated considerable wealth. From time to time, they were

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\*) Arnold J. Toynbee: **Armenian Atrocities. The Murder of a Nation.** With a speech delivered by Lord Bryce in the House of Lords. New York, 1915.

robbed of their profits by local tyrants, but in general, they still could live nicely. And what is important, there were no great pogroms up to 1878.

But in this year, the situation changed. Turkey lost a war with Russia and had to grant independence to Bulgaria. After that, the Ottoman Empire lived in a permanent crisis and the rulers were afraid that the intelligent and economically strong Christian minorities might free themselves with foreign help. Their first countermeasure was to incite the minorities to mutual massacres. Armed Kurds were sent against the Armenians and the first big massacres occurred in 1895-96.

### **Young Turk Movement**

In 1908, the Young-Turkish revolution overthrew the old regime. A constitution was adopted and the Young-Turkish Party, officially called "Committee for Union and Progress", seized power. The Armenians hoped for a better future, and their secret national organizations, which had supported the Young-Turkish movement, constituted themselves as legal political parties. But already in 1909, there was a new pogrom in Adana. The Young Turks adopted the national policy of their predecessors. Sultan Abdul Hamid had once declared that he would easily solve the Armenian question by the extermination of the Armenians; now, the Young-Turkish leader Talaat Pasha started the atrocities with the words: "Now, there will be no Armenian problem for the next fifty years."

The opportunity for the liquidation of the Armenians arose — exactly as the opportunity for the extermination of the Jews 25 years later — during a world war. The war freed the Turkish government from the control of the world public opinion. Among the big powers, Germany and Austria were its allies and one could be sure that they would not protest publicly. And their victory would protect Turkey also after the war. Therefore, the signal to start was given in 1915.

## The Pattern

Let us first describe the events in the words of Toynbee:

“The crime was concerted very systematically, for there is evidence of identical procedure from over fifty places . . . they will be found to include every important town in Armenia proper and in Eastern Anatolia, as well as Ismid and Brussa in the west. . . . The uniform directives from Constantinople were carried out with remarkable exactitude by the local authorities. Only two cases were reported of officials who refused to obey the Government’s instructions. . . . In general, what happened, was this:

“On a given day the streets of whatever town it might be were occupied by the local gendarmerie with fixed bayonets, and the Governor summoned all able-bodied men of Armenian race that had been exempted from military draft, to present themselves now on pain of death. ‘Able-bodied’ received a liberal interpretation, for it included any male between fifteen and seventy years of age, and these were all marched out of town by the gendarmes. They had not far to go, for the gendarmerie had been reinforced for the purpose from the gaols, and the brigands and the Kurds were waiting in the hills. They were waiting to murder the prisoners. The first secluded valley witnessed their wholesale massacre, and acquitted of their task, the gendarmes marched back leisurely into town.

## Death Marches

“This was the first act. It precluded the pitiful possibility of resistance to the second, which was of a more ingenious and far reaching kind. The women, old men and children . . . were now given immediate notice of deportation within a fixed term. . . . They were to be uprooted, whole households, from their homes, and driven off to an

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\*) Toynbee, *op. cit.*, pp. 28 ff.

unknown destination, while their houses and properties were to be transferred to Moslems. . . .

“Communities like this, after being mutilated by the wholesale conscription and assassination of the husbands and fathers, were now torn up by the roots and driven, under the forlorn leadership of the mothers and the old men, into an exile that was to terminate in a death of unspeakable horror. . . .

“The week of grace was occupied by heart-rending scenes. . . . People made preparations for carrying out Government’s orders by selling whatever possessions they could in the streets. Articles were sold at less than 10 per cent of their usual value, and Turks . . . filled the streets, hunting for bargains.

“But the Armenians gained little by selling up their goods, for even the trifling sums they realised were more than they were permitted to carry with them. Their journey money was strictly limited to a few shillings, and in fact it would only have exposed them to pillage by their guards if they had attempted to carry more. . . .

“Most of the Armenians . . . were absolutely hopeless. Many said it was worse than a massacre. No one knew what was coming, but all felt that it was the end. Even the pastors and leaders could offer no word of encouragement or hope. Many began to doubt even the existence of God. Under the severe strain many individuals became demented. . . .

“In this agonizing state . . . the bands of Armenian women were driven forth on their road. There was a heroism about the exodus, for there was still a loophole of escape, the same alternative of apostacy that had tempted their husbands and fathers. And in their case, at least, apostasy brought the certainty of life, because the condition laid down was their immediate entrance into a harem of a Turk. Life at the price of honour — most of them seem to have rejected it, and yet, if they had known all that lay before them, they might have judged it a better part. . . . Some were sold into shame before the march began. One

Moslem reported that a gendarme had offered to sell him two girls for a medjidieh. They sold the youngest and most handsome at every village where they passed the night, and these girls have been trafficked in hundreds through the brothels of the Ottoman Empire.

### **Bloody Banks of Euphrates**

“Women with little children in their arms, or in the last days of pregnancy, were driven along under the whip like cattle. . . . Some women became so completely worn out and helpless, that they left their infants beside the road. . . . Many children seem to have been thus abandoned. . . . Many died of hunger. . . . The people found themselves in the necessity of eating grass.

“The worst and most unimaginable horrors were reserved for the banks of the Euphrates. . . . The mutilated bodies of women, girls and little children made everybody shudder. . . . At the Euphrates, the brigands and the gendarmes threw into the river all the remaining children under fifteen years old. Those who could swim were shot down as they struggled in the water. . . . The fields and the hill-sides were dotted with swollen and blackened corpses, which filled and fouled the air with their stench.”

One could give more quotations, whole books of them. One could describe the concentration camps near Deir-es-Zor in the desert, an anticipation of Belsen and Buchenwald. And the descriptions are not exaggerated, they are not “propaganda”, after new experiences from Germany we know. The same cruelties are described in the Report of the American Committee on Armenian Atrocities, in the speech of Lord Bryce in the House of Lords, in the reports of the French journalist Henry Barby, war correspondent of the newspaper *Journal*, and in the books of the German pastor Lepsius, as well as in the reports of American, Italian, and German consuls, missionaries, and nuns.

Pastor Lepsius gave us an — approximate — statistic

of the "success" of the action, as far as it was known in 1916.\* Here it is:

It is necessary to say that in East Anatolia, there were opportunities to escape because the Russian army invaded the country, and when it retreated again, it allowed Armenian refugees to follow. But many of them were killed later, when the Turks invaded Trans-Caucasia in 1918. The 4000 "saved from Cilicia and Syria" were the rebels of Musa Dagh, the heroes of the well-known novel of Franz Werfel, who resisted the Turks several weeks and were finally taken by Allied Navy ships to Egypt.

### Survivors Few

How many of the deported people survived, we can only estimate. With the East-Anatolian transports, only a third of all the deported arrived at the place of destination. Those who survived the transports, were starved to death in the concentration camps. In a single one of those camps, in Meskene on the Euphrates, 55,000 Armenians

\*) See Dr. Johannes Lepsius: **Bericht ueber die Lage des armenischen Volkes in der Tuerkei**. Potsdam, 1916. The book was printed as a private print and distributed only among German pastors and among the members of the Reichstag. It was seized by censorship. After the war, a second edition appeared under the title: **Der Todesgang des Armenischen Volkes. Bericht ueber das Schicksal des Armenischen Volkes in der Tuerkei waehrend des Weltkrieges**. Zweite, vermehrte Auflage, Potsdam, 1919.

	Number of			Deported
	Armenians	Spared	Escaped	or killed
Cilicia and Syria	242,950		4,000	238,950
Eastern Anatolia	1,058,000		240,200	817,600
Western Anatolia	337,000	27,200		309,800
Constantinople, Adrianople	194,000	164,000		30,000
Palestine, Bagdad	13,500	13,500		
	<b>1,845,450</b>	<b>204,700</b>	<b>244,200</b>	<b>1,396,350</b>

were buried. The caravans which arrived in Deir-es-Zor in 1915, brought an estimated 60,000 persons. In April 1916, 19,000 of them were sent to Mosul; after 5 weeks and a 350-km-long (200 miles) march in the desert, only 2500 survived. In July 1916, there were 20,000 deported people in Deir-es-Zor. Eight weeks later, there were only several hundred artisans who worked for the army. The rest just disappeared.

One estimates that 200,000 of the "transferred" survived because they either were converted to Islam on the transport or were sold (women and children) to Moslem homes and harems. 200,000 more survived in the "colonization areas" on the border of the desert, most of them accepting Islam there. **About one million Armenians lost thier l'ives during the persecution in 1915-1916.** About another 100,000 were killed during the Turkish invasion of Trans-Caucasia in 1918. The value of the confiscated property was about 1 billion German Marks.\*

What could the Turkish government say in its defense? When the world started to protest, the Turks issued two apologetic pamphlets. One appeared in 1916\*\*, the second in 1919\*\*\*. Both are annonymous, without author or editor. And both contain the following story:

Already in 1878, the Armenians achieved, through their patriarch, protective clauses in the peace treaties; from that time, they tried to separate themselves from Turkey; they organized secret associations; the Armenians abroad called for armed intervention of foreign powers; during the World War, 200,000 Armenians served in the Russian army; the Czar issued a proclamation, calling the Armenians to an armed uprising; in Allied countries, Ar-

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\*) According to a later book by Dr. Johannes Lepsius: *Deutschland und Armenien 1914-1918. Sammlung diplomatischer Aktenstuecke.* Potsdam, 1919.

\*\*) *Verite sur le mouvement revolutionnaire Armenien et les mesures gouvernementales.* Constantinople, 1916.

\*\*\*) *Evenements insurrectionnels que ont necessite le deplacement des Armeniens.* Constantinople, 1918.

menians volunteered for war against Turkey; finally, there were open rebellions in Armenian regions; the Armenians spied for Turkey's enemies. And therefore:

### **Pretexts Found**

"In order to prevent the Armenians in the military zone from creating difficulties to the Army and Government, in order to remove the possibility of Armenian riots against Moslem populations, in order to protect the communications of the Imperial Army and to prevent possible coups, it was decided to transfer the Armenians from military zones to other localities. . . . The primary necessity to assure internal order and external security of the country has made indispensable the removal of Armenians from places where their presence was considered to be dangerous. . . . During the application of these measures, regrettable acts of violence have sometimes been committed, but however regrettable these acts might have been, they were inevitable because of the profound indignation of the Moslem population. . . ."\*

### **Pastor Disputes Charges**

The government maintains that some Turks were punished for "excesses" by prison terms from one month up to three years, and that several gendarmes were fired. And then it concludes with incomparable insolence:

"The Imperial Government took all possible measures to protect the life and property of the transferred Armenians, and never ceased to respect their legal rights".

Good pastor Lepsius undertook to disprove the Turkish contentions point by point.\*\* He proved that the Armenian societies were always loyal to the Young-Turkish movement and saved the lives of several of its leaders by hiding them in the time of persecution; that the 200,000

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\*) Verite, etc., pp. 13-15.

\*\*) Dr. Johannes Lepsius: *Bericht ueber die Lage des armenischen Volkes in der Tuerkei*, Potsdam, 1916.

Armenians in the Russian army were Russian citizens; that the Armenian soldiers in the Turkish army were always loyal and had been praised in official army communiques just before the extermination started; that the so-called "Armenian rebellions" began only as desperate attempts of self-defense during the persecution; that, according to official reports of German consuls on the spot, the Armenian "conspiracies" did not exist and the bomb plots were invented by the police. And we have now enough experience from the totalitarian countries to recognize such propaganda lies for what they are. So we shall rather look into the real reasons of the trouble.

### **The Real Reasons**

Let us first recapitulate the economic conditions of the Armenians and their relations to the Moslem population in order to see whether they constituted opportunities for an anti-Amenian mass movement.

As we already noticed, the situation of the Armenians was similar to that of European Jews because a great part of them lived dispersed in cities and towns, surrounded by Moslem population, and their colonies were composed, to a large extent, of artisans, merchants, and intelligentsia. It is true, the peasants in Armenia proper formed still the majority of the ethnic group, and in the Armenian communities in the towns, there were many poor artisans and workers. But if somebody so chose, he could see only the rich businessmen and the rather numerous intelligentsia. And even those who did not know anything about the Armenians, used to repeat the saying, that a Greek can deceive three Turks, a Jew can deceive three Greeks, and an Armenian can deceive three Jews, a proverb which is being told throughout the Levant in many variants as to the order of nations involved, according to personal prejudice.

The existence of a class of rich Armenian businessmen made it possible to attempt a mobilization of hostile feelings against the entire Armenian people. Already during the Balkan wars of 1912-13, there were attempts to or-

ganize a boycott of Armenian and Greek stores. The peasants, arriving in the cities for shopping, were diverted to Turkish stores, but the prices there were higher and the commodities bad quality, and the boycott soon broke down. That did not contribute, of course, to the popularity of Armenians among Turkish competitors. Neither did the fact that most Moslem merchants owed money to Armenian importers. According to sources, quoted by Lepsius, more than 60% of Turkish imports, more than 40% of the exports, and 80% of the domestic wholesale trade were in Armenian hands. Lepsius says:

“As the import and export trade is in the hands of Greeks, Armenians, and Jews, and the Turks never got beyond small business, being, with the exception of the official caste, mostly peasants, the dislike of Turks for Armenians, Greeks, and Jews can be explained by the natural antagonism between primitive and money economy, between primitive agriculture and the beginning of industrialization of the country.”

But was the persecution of the Armenians a spontaneous popular outbreak? Not at all. The same Lepsius asserts categorically:

“The opinion that the massacres of Christians in Turkey are explosions of popular passions like pogroms against Jews in the Middle Ages . . . is in no way supported by the facts. The massacres in Turkey are organized by the government and by nobody else. But the idea that the ruin of Christian business may help the Turkish commerce, may have been a motive contributing to governmental measures.”\*

### Few Spontaneous Riots

Of course, in many places mobs participated in the atrocities and especially in looting Armenian properties. But all witness reports agree that they were composed most-

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\*) Lepsius: *Der Todesgang*, etc. pp. 244-245. (Italics mine—J. G.)

ly of criminal elements, or Kurdish riders, armed and trained by the government, or so-called Muhajirs, refugees from the lost provinces of European Turkey. These refugees were originally concentrated in Western Anatolia, but **just** before the start of the Armenian "action", they suddenly appeared in all towns with Armenian quarters, to take over Armenian properties. They played a similar role as the Volksdeutsche, repatriated from Russia and the Baltic countries, played in the Jewish extermination in 1941.

But the reports are unanimous in the assertion that the mobs played only a minor role in the action and that also this role was planned and prepared from above. Pinon writes:

"What is striking in all the reports, is the regular and systematic organization of all the massacres. The Germans could recognize their allies and pupils in that spirit of order. It is not a populace throwing itself upon another one in a crisis of savage anarchy. No, the operation starts with a decree of the government, properly posted in the villages; instructions come from Constantinople to high officials, and through them, to the executors. The telephone plays a big role in that sinister tragedy; one hears the telephone ringing in the witness reports, one sees the authorities meeting. Everything happens according to a terrible plan. One does not kill in the cities because one wants to avoid epidemics. The transports gather on the pre-arranged days and hours; the Kurds and the brigands have been informed in time and they will meet the transports in places where the gendarmes are supposed to deliver the "game". Special commissions estimate the loot, belonging to the state. Cheap objects are thrown to rapacious mobs; everything of real value is put aside to be sold later; the debts of the Armenians to the Turks are paid so that no Moslem be damaged; the State gets the rest. . . . Moslem refugees from Bosnia and Macedonia established themselves in Armenian houses. . . . The deportation of women and children is also organized in an orderly way, after sanitary inspec-

tion by Turkish doctors. . . . There can be no mistake, it is a total destruction of the Armenian people.\*

### **The Party and the Leader**

And the moving force of all that? Behind the state administration, there is the Party:

"The Young Turkish clubs in the province towns of the interior were the driving force in the preparation, organization, and ruthless execution of the violent measures. They drew formal proscription lists. . . . Against the **walis** who tried to mitigate the measures or to make exceptions, they insisted on total deportation in the most brutal form. . . . They recruited bands of criminals and Kurdish robbers to attack and to massacre the transports. They enrich themselves by confiscated goods. Their admitted aim is the annihilation of the Armenian people."

This party came to power in a seemingly liberal revolution. But after the deposition of Sultan Abdul Hamid " . . . a stern party rule was enforced. A shadow government held the strings of the official administration and the elections were not free any more. The party committee decided about the appointment of the highest officials of the Empire."

It is a rather familiar picture. Whatever liberal and democratic elements might have originally contributed to the Young-Turkish revolution were now suppressed by a rigorous party and army dictatorship. And the "party" was not a democratic organization of its membership: it was practically composed of committees and nothing else. Its program was centralistic, nationalistic, and Pan-Turkish. The Turkish race had to be not only predominant, but the only ruling race. The election of just one Arab into the Central Committee of the Young Turks was voted down during the congress in Saloniki in 1911. The report, prepared for this congress, says:

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\*) Rene Pinon: **La suppression des Armeniens. Methode allemande, travail turc**, pp. 59-61.

**“Sooner or later, a complete ottomanization of all Turkish subjects must be accomplished. It is clear that it cannot be achieved just by persuasion, one will have to use the force of arms . . .”**

The world often admired the nerve with which Hitler openly announced his entire criminal program to the public in “Mein Kampf.” As you see, even such things had happened before.

And what was the Turkish Hitler like? We are ready to introduce him to the reader. In the preface to the second edition of his report on the Armenians, pastor Lepsius describes his interview with the Turkish Leader as follows:

“Enver Pasha entered . . . The Ottoman hero whose Albanian blood . . . so often brought phlegmatic Turkish adventurous decisions . . . has nothing heroic in his features . . . In his ornate uniform with a fur cap and many strings and braids, he looks more like a gypsy baron than like a hero. One told me in Berlin that he has three portraits hanging on the wall behind his desk: Napoleon to the right, Frederick the Great to the left, and in the center, as a synthesis of both, a portrait of himself. . . .”

That is enough, we know already. It is always the same type.

### **The Echo in the World**

News about the atrocities soon reached the world behind the border. Many thousand Armenians fled to Russia, several thousands were brought to Egypt. Some reports came through the surviving Armenian communities in Western Anatolia and Constantinople, through the office of the Armenian Patriarch, and through the headquarters of the Armenian National Party which had been transferred to Sofia when the war started. In many Turkish towns, there were Italian consuls up to 1915, American consuls up to 1917, and German, Austrian, Swiss, and Scandinavian consulates throughout the war. There were also foreign missionaries, doctors, nurses, engineers, businessmen. The world was informed. What was the result?

Germany decided that the atrocities are an "internal affair" of its ally. Numerous reports of German consulates, sent to the German legation in Constantinople and to the Foreign Office in Berlin, were kept secret. Dr. Lepsius, who wanted to help the victims, was allowed to go to Constantinople — that was all; when he asked the Turks for permission to go to the interior of the country and to organize a relief action, the government refused the permission, and the German legation did not insist. Only later, when the atrocities were already known to the world and public opinion in Allied countries accused Germany of complicity, the Reich diplomats made some discreet attempts to "bring to the attention of the Turkish government" that such things damage the prestige of Turkey and its allies in the world.

The Turks left these "friendly representations" without answer for many months. In the meantime, the massacres continued. When they were almost finished, the Turkish government answered officially that this was "a purely domestic" matter and promised unofficially some moderation. This was accepted by the Reich government as satisfactory, although German consuls reported already one week later that the "moderation" was a swindle and that the measures were rather more strict than before. And all these negotiations were secret; before the public, the Germans covered the Turks completely. When the American minister in Constantinople suggested to his German colleagues a common demarche, the German indignantly refused to "interfere with Turkish domestic affairs". The first reports on the atrocities which came to America, were officially denied by the German Embassy in Washington; the book of Lepsius, published as a private print, and distributed only among pastors and members of the Reichstag, was seized by censorship; news about atrocities was labelled "Entente propaganda." The German press, from the rightwing Nationalist *Taegliche Rundschau* to the "serious" and "liberal" *Frankfurter Zeitung* defended the "necessary measures" of the Turkish government with

the same arguments we already know from the Turkish pamphlets.

In the Allied and neutral countries, there were public protests. There were indignant speeches in both houses of the British parliament and in the French Chamber of Deputies; the governments of France and Britain issued White Books of documents; in America, Switzerland, and other countries, committees were organized, books, pamphlets, newspapers denounced the crimes. American and neutral institutions in the Levant organized some relief for the deportees where it was possible.

And that was all. If one could not save the hundreds of thousands of victims from tortures and death, one could at least expect that one will try to protect the survivors in the future. But this was not done. No "national home" and no "minoity rights" were guaranteed to the Armenians by the peace conference. The criminals were not punished. And soon, the world started to forget.

This forgetfulness was fateful. If Enver and Talaat Pasha almost succeeded in "solving the Armenian question" by the extermination of the Armenians, how shouldn't this fact encourage future attempts to solve the Jewish and other similar problems in the same way?

According to documents, read at the Nuremberg trial, Hitler told Goering and his generals, at a gathering in Obersalzberg, in August 1939, just before he invaded Poland and started the world war:

"What the weak western European civilization thinks about me does not matter. . . . I have sent to the East only my Death's Head units with the order to kill without pity or mercy all men, women and children of the Polish race and language. Only in such a way will we win the vital space we need. **Who still talks nowadays of the extermination of the Armenians?\***"\*

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\*) See *The New York Times*, Nov. 24, 1945, p. 7. Also, *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression*, Office of the United States Chief of Counsel for Prosecution of Axis Criminality, Washington 1946, vol. vii, p. 753.

The relation between the failure to punish the Turkish leaders of the Armenian atrocities and the later rise of Nazi barbarism was not simply accidental, brought about through some "blind law of history." The arch criminals were, as you see, very much aware of what they were doing.

JOSEPH GUTTMANN

9. Translated from Yiddish: Yivo Bleter. The Journal of the Yiddish Scientific Institute. Vol. XXVIII. No. 2.



The United States and the British Empire  
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# THE MEMOIRS OF NAIM BEY

*Turkish Official Documents relating  
to the Deportations and Massacres  
of Armenians*

COMPILED BY

ARAM ANDONIAN

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY  
VISCOUNT GLADSTONE

*WITH ILLUSTRATIONS  
AND FACSIMILE DOCUMENTS*

Reprinted 1964  
Armenian Historical Research Assn.

(AHRA)



Armenian orphans picked up in the desert

## FOREWORD

THE Author of the present work, Mr. Aram Andonian, is one of the Armenian intellectuals who were arrested and exiled from Constantinople on Saturday, April 11, 1915, without any trial and with no sentence except the decision of a committee.

Mr. Aram Andonian, who had been appointed Military Censor at the time of the mobilisation, was arrested in Constantinople on the accusation of having conveyed news of the murder of Sahag Vartabed, Bishop of Shabin Karahissar, and of the massacre at Skhert, to the Armenian Patriarchate. He had been betrayed by a Turkish official. The Military Tribunal at Constantinople had not been able to prove this accusation, but as the suspicion against him remained, he was dismissed from his post and sent to the Labour Battalion to do fatigue duty. He succeeded in escaping, but was arrested and driven with others to be sent to Diarbekir.

## FOREWORD

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To be exiled to Diarbekir was equivalent to a death sentence, as it was an understood thing that those condemned to exile in that place were to be murdered before reaching their pretended destination, and any Turkish official, gendarme or policeman, in fact, any Mussulman, was free to do away with them at any suitable point. Among those murdered *en route* were three Armenian members of the Turkish Parliament—Zohrab, Vartkes and Dr. DagHAVARIAN. When the real meaning of a sentence of banishment to Diarbekir became known, Mardin was substituted for Diarbekir, and then exiles to Mardin were murdered on the way.

On the way to Diarbekir, Mr. Andonian broke his leg, and they were obliged to cast him into a hospital, where he remained until the wholesale deportations began, when he was one of those that were driven to Der Zor. Then, after a series of escapes and re-arrests, he finally reached Aleppo, where he was again arrested, but was rescued by friends, who managed to obtain a permit for his temporary residence in the town.

## INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

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

## INTRODUCTION

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

GLADSTONE.

*December 24, 1919.*

## TRANSLATOR'S INTRODUCTION

THE history of Armenia's martyrdom still lacks a great deal before its records are completed.

The victims could not even make their voices reach the civilised world, because they fell in far-away unknown corners, and uninhabited desert places; and it is only a few faint echoes of their dying agony and of their unspeakable sufferings that Lord Bryce through his sense of justice has succeeded in making heard. His records, unfortunately, only come down to 1916. But the most terrible crimes and the greatest massacres took place after 1916.

What is principally lacking in the records of Armenia's martyrdom is the voice of conscience on the part of the millions who constitute the nation that is entirely responsible for this fearful crime.

The Turks were intoxicated with the assurance of victory after the great defeat of Russia, and that intoxication justified

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the slaughter of the Armenians in their eyes; it constituted one more spray in the wreath of victory which they already imagined to be crowning their heads.

It is the voice of that conscience concerning the martyrdom that I am making heard in the present publication. It is a Turk who is going to speak through me—a Turk who was charged with the task of carrying out the policy of exterminating the whole Armenian nation, and through whose hands have passed all the official orders for the deportations and massacres.

That Turk, by name Naim Bey, is the late chief secretary of the Deportations Committee of Aleppo. This Committee was the principal organiser of the fearful deportations. When the Committee saw that there were great numbers of Armenian deportees in Meskene and all along the banks of the Euphrates, they sent Naim Bey to hasten matters. But Naim Bey was not the man for that work, because he was not a bad man. I had heard a good report of him, how he had actually helped some Armenian families to escape, taking nothing in return, in spite of the fact that his finances were not in a very

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brilliant condition. He might have demanded anything he liked from those families who were rich, and for whom being sent back to the desert would have certainly meant being condemned to death.

For two years and a half I had been pursued by persecution, living in hiding, now in Aleppo, now in Damascus and Beirout, and sometimes in the Lebanon, till the English entered Aleppo, bringing liberty with them. Some friends from Adana then reminded me of Naim Bey, and promised to facilitate the satisfaction of my great desire to see him. Considering his long term of office in the General Deportations Committee at Aleppo, it seemed to me that he ought to know a great deal—everything, in fact. “The departure of the Turks from Aleppo, after the arrival of the English, was something like the escape of criminals,” he said to me. “I, having a clear conscience, did not wish to join them, and I stayed.”

As the Government of the Young Turks has caused the documents concerning the massacre of Armenians to disappear, we had no official evidence to show. It was this want which Naim Bey supplied by

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handing over to us a great many official documents, ministerial telegrams and decrees to Governors sent on behalf of the Ittihad Committee, which had passed through his hands during his term of office under the General Deportations Committee of Aleppo, some of which he had kept, perhaps fearing future responsibility; one part of those documents he has written from memory, and the most important ones are photographed and published in the present work.

His whole statement took weeks to make. He would write it down bit by bit and bring it to me, because he was obsessed till the end with the terror that those papers which he brought me one by one would be detrimental to his race. Every time he would swear that what he brought was the last, and every time he condemned me to fresh and greater efforts. The work of persuading him became a torment which I gladly underwent.

After the arrival of the English I made all the surviving Armenian women, girls and men who could remember, write down their experiences, and it was easy for me to verify the memoirs of Naim Bey. These

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memoirs give a correct description of what happened, but they omit to mention many events and many people because of the indecision and interruptions which hampered Naim Bey while he was writing them.

Three great massacres took place after 1916.

Men, women and children from Constantinople and the surrounding district, from the Anatolian railway line and Cilicia, were driven into the desert, where they met people from the six Armenian provinces and from the shores of the Black Sea, but this latter contingent consisted only of women, girls and boys of seven or under, as every male over seven had been slaughtered. All these were the victims of the three massacres. The first massacre was that of Res-ul-Ain, in which 70,000 people were killed; the second took place at Intilli, where there were 50,000 people assembled, most of them working on a tunnel of the Baghdad Railway; and the third, which was the most fearful of all, at Der Zor, where Zia Bey slaughtered nearly 200,000 Armenians.

These figures only give the numbers of people killed by massacre. If we add

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to their numbers the victims of misery, sickness and hunger, especially in Res-ul-Ain and Der Zor, the number of Armenians who were slain or died in the desert will exceed a million.

The Memoirs of Naim Bey begin from the time of the preparations for the massacre in Res-ul-Ain. This place is a camp of Circassians established amongst the ruins of what was once the kingdom of Mesopotamia, and hardly numbers more than fifty houses, but, happening to be on the line of the Baghdad Railway, it suddenly grew to be of great importance.

## THE MEMOIRS OF NAIM BEY

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

I had as yet not had anything to do with the work of deportation. I was a secretary in the employment of the Tobacco Regie at Res-ul-Ain. I saw a caravan outside the village, by the riverside, composed of hundreds of miserable women and children. They used to come to the village every morning to beg. Some of them carried water, and tried to live on

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the crust of bread which they earned in that way.

It was summer as yet. They could shelter themselves in the clefts of some rock or mound, but, when the winter came, one could hear the moaning of those that were dying of cold and hunger all through the stillness of the long night. The Circassians of the village heard them too, but those dying moans touched neither their hearts nor their consciences.

I shall never forget that night. I was at the house of the Kaimakam; a storm was raging outside; within ten minutes' walk from where we were we could hear the sobs and moans of those unhappy people outside, exposed to the fury of the elements. The Kaimakam, Yousouf Zia Bey, was a very good, kind-hearted man. We went out together to the house of an Agha, and to one or two other places, whence we managed to get hold of two or three tents. With the help of ten or fifteen gendarmes, and some of the people, we succeeded in pitching the tents, so that the poor victims might have some sort of shelter. Their death was a pitiful thing to behold; but an infinitely more heart-

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rending scene took place when the dogs began to devour the corpses.

These were the remnants of the unhappy Armenian populations of Sivas, Diarbekir and Kharput. About one million inhabitants were being transplanted from five or six provinces. By the time they arrived at the place of exile destined for them, there were hardly a hundred or a hundred and fifty women and children left in each caravan, which meant that they were slaughtered as they were brought along.

I came to Aleppo. As luck would have it, Abdullahad Nouri Bey, who had arrived three or four days before as Representative of the General Deportations Committee, appointed me his Chief Secretary.

Although I had seen things with my own eyes while I was at Res-ul-Ain, I had not been able to understand the purpose of those crimes. I only grasped their nature and spirit afterwards. Every time I recorded the secret orders given in cipher documents I trembled. A great nation was sentenced to death with its women and babies.

First the Government decided that the deported Armenians should be driven to

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Maara, Bab, and other outlying districts of Aleppo, and then orders were given that "the destination of the Armenians is around the river Khan Zor (near Der Zor)."

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

"The purpose of sending away Certain People<sup>1</sup> is to safeguard the welfare of our fatherland for the future, for wherever they may live they will never abandon their seditious ideas, so we must try to reduce their numbers as much as possible."

This telegram arrived in November 1915. Eight days afterwards, without even being ratified by the Governor-General, it was given to Abdullahad Nouri Bey. The very same evening at 11.30 (Turkish time) the superintendent of the deportees, Eyoub Bey, and the head of the gendarmerie, Emin Bey, hurried to the Government offices to see Nouri Bey. Nouri Bey at once showed them the telegram he had received, and they were together for about

<sup>1</sup> In all the official communications regarding the deportations and massacres, as well as other kindred operations, the designation "*certain people*" is used for the Armenians.

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an hour. The subject of their conversation was the method of exterminating the Armenians. Eyoub Bey was for openly exterminating them, but Abdullahad Nouri Bey, who was a very cunning man, disapproved of this plan. His idea was that it would be better to expose the Armenian deportees to want and to the rigour of the winter; killing them in this way would serve in the future as evidence to prove the story that they had died a natural death.

Till then the gendarmes had not interfered with affairs concerning deportees in Aleppo. But now the gendarmerie began to co-operate with the police.

Very soon great activity began in Aleppo. The deportees crowded into the districts of Garma and Kilis, and around Aleppo they were sent in companies to Akterim, and from there to Bab. And it turned out exactly as the officials had anticipated. Every day news reached us of hundreds of deaths, through hunger, cold and sickness.

Eyoub Bey went to Azaz. On his return he went in great glee to the seat of government. He told how he

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had burnt the tents. Bab was crowded. Typhus was making ravages everywhere. The Kaimakam and the officials charged with the work of deportation sent reports of deaths every day. Death did not only strike the Armenians; it slaughtered the native population as well.

One day I said to Abdullahad Nouri Bey: "Bey Effendi, let us relax the deportation of the Armenians a little, for in this way death is threatening the whole of Mesopotamia. None but devils will remain in those wide stretches of land. The Kaimakam of Res-ul-Ain is making painful communications about this."

Nouri Bey laughed.

"My boy," he said, "in this way we rid ourselves of two dangerous elements at once. Is it not the Arabs who are dying with the Armenians? Is it a bad thing? The road for Turkey's future will be cleared!"

I listened. This fearful answer made me tremble.

What was it that encouraged the man to continue so boldly and fearlessly in the execution of such a cruel and diabolical plan? Much might be said with regard

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

This is the order—

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

The date of this order is not known, nor is it known to whom it was addressed,

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because it was a copy. Everything points, however, to its having been sent on behalf of Talaat Pasha, the Minister of the Interior, straight to the Governor-General, and having been forwarded by the Government to the Deportations Committee. This order must have reached Aleppo before the arrival of Abdullahad Nouri Bey, probably during the administration of Jelal Bey. Perhaps it was on the strength of this that Jelal Bey wired to Constantinople, saying, "I am the Governor of this province; I cannot be its executioner." He was dismissed at once, and Beker Sami Bey, a man who was also opposed to the massacres, was sent to Aleppo in his place.

The General Supervisor of the deportees, Shukri Bey, had already been several months in Aleppo, and was organising the plan of the deportations and massacres. But he could not find people trustworthy enough to carry out the terrible project. The Governor-General, Jelal Bey, was not dismissed yet; it was impossible to get help from him. The Chief of the Police, Fikri Bey, was under the influence of Jelal Bey, and he also disapproved of the



Converted Armenian orphans in the orphanage at Beyrut, and the Turkish staff, imparting Turkish education to these orphans

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massacres, so there was no hope from him either. The only hope of Shukri Bey was Jemal Bey, who had been sent from Adana specially to superintend the Armenian massacres. The two were working together to put the fearful crime into effect, but they could not do anything.

Two Armenian brothers, Onik and Armenak Mazlounian, personal friends of Jelal Bey and Fikri Bey, were the greatest obstacles in the way of Shukri and Jemal, as they were trying to mitigate the evil, even if they could not prevent it altogether. Their hotel in Aleppo (Baron's Hotel), besides being an inn, was the place where one branch of the Government had its seat; in fact, it was almost a Government building, because the Governor, the Chief of the Police, and nearly all the officials used to meet there constantly. The position of these two Armenians was a strange one during all that terrible time. One of them, Onik Mazlounian, was incapable of cringing to any one; he did not know how to hold his tongue, and he could not pretend to be what he was not. It is difficult for such a straightforward and daring person

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to get on with the Turks. His nature was so lovable, he was so generous in spending all his wealth on entertaining the people who might any day become the executioners of his nation, that he succeeded in gaining a great influence, which he used in trying to save his compatriots.

On Thursday in Passion Week he was asked by Abdullahad Nouri Bey what brand of champagne he was going to bring out that Easter. "Our Easter," he replied, "will begin on the day of your departure."

The younger brother, Armenak, was also a man who did not know how to disguise or hide his feelings. He, too, treated all these officials with extravagant generosity, and even when a man with the evil reputation of Zeki Bey came to Aleppo on his way to Der Zor, he invited him to his house and tried to make him feel friendly towards the Armenians. He was at the Police Headquarters almost every day to intervene on behalf of some individual, or some family.

Jemal Pasha liked and protected the two brothers. Shukri Bey understood that they were an obstacle to him, and would call out—

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“First of all that nest (Baron’s Hotel) should be cleared out.”

It was after the appointment of Mustafa Abdullhalik Bey as Governor-General of Aleppo that those fearful massacres took place.

At first there was an Executive Committee in the Deportations Committee of Aleppo, by means of which the deportations of the Armenians to the desert were carried out. So long as the work was in the hands of this executive committee, the deportees were to a certain extent immune from spoliation and brutal treatment. The Government, realising that they could not effect their ultimate purpose in this way, dismissed the Governor (Bekir Sami Bey), and sent in his place Mustafa Abdullhalik Bey, who was already won over to their purpose. This man was an enemy of the Armenians, and tried, in the name of Turkey, to crush out the whole Armenian race. The orders sent by him to the Deportations Committee are so ruthless that one can hardly explain them. Some of the Armenian members of the Ottoman Parliament had—probably with many supplications—succeeded in

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obtaining from the Ministry of the Interior permission for their families to remain in Aleppo. The Ministry of the Interior sent orders about them to Mustafa Abdullhalik Bey, but he concealed these orders, and sent those families also away to the desert.

I know of fifteen or twenty families which had received permission to stay in Aleppo, but which he sent to the desert.

The Government had given Abdullahad Nouri Bey as a colleague to this man. The representative of the General Deportations Committee, Nouri Bey was a very clever and naturally cruel man, and he was filled with a special enmity against the Armenians. He was an incarnation of refinement of cruelty. The sufferings and misery of the Armenians, the frequent reports of deaths among them, filled him with such rapture that he almost danced with joy, because all these things were the result of his orders. "The Government does not want these people to live," he would say. He used to say that, when he was called to this office, as he was leaving for Aleppo, the Advisor of the Ministry of the Interior suggested that he should see Talaat Pasha before he left.

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Nouri Bey went to the Sublime Porte. There were a few guests with the Pasha.

“When do you leave?” he asked, then, rising, he took him to the window, and said in an undertone: “Of course you know what the work is that you are expected to do. I must see Turkey rid of those cursed people” (the Armenians).

Jemal Pasha had ordered that five or six Armenian families who had been working (with their carts) in the tunnel of Intilli, should go to Damascus. The Governor had communicated this order to Nouri Bey, who added the following inscription to it—

“Does a great Government, which has deported hundreds of thousands of Armenians, need two broken carts belonging to a handful of Armenians, that these people should be separated from the General Deportation to the desert, and sent to Damascus?”

He was a very nervous and a very strict man.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Abdullahad Nouri Bey never took bribes. “Of course I like bribes,” he would say, “but I am afraid to accept them. I am afraid that in the place of the money which enters into my pocket an Armenian—even if it is only one Armenian—will escape.”

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Abdullahad Nouri Bey's principal colleague was his immediate subordinate, Eyoub Sabri Bey, both a bloodthirsty and a corrupt man. His aim was always killing and, still more, plundering. During his time of office he accumulated great wealth.

This man, who had grown rich through the great amount of plunder that he had taken from the Armenians, never did any good to any Armenians. His religion and his conscience were money. The brutalities which he committed against the Armenians were not committed in the name of any patriotic ideal.

By the decrees of the Governor of Aleppo, Abdullhalik Bey, the representative of the General Deportations Committee, Abdullahad Nouri Bey had begun to make arrangements for the deportation; and when they had once begun working, crime succeeded crime.

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

These are the orders—

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“ To the Government of Aleppo.

“ *March 9, 1915.*—All rights of the Armenians to live and work on Turkish soil have been completely cancelled, and with regard to this the Government takes all responsibility on itself, and has commanded that even babes in the cradle are not to be spared. The results of carrying out this order have been seen in some provinces. In spite of this, for reasons unknown to us, exceptional measures are taken with ‘Certain People,’ and those people instead of being sent straight to the place of exile are left in Aleppo, whereby the Government is involved in an additional difficulty. Without listening to any of their reasoning, remove them thence—women or children, whatever they may be, even if they are incapable of moving; and do not let the people protect them, because, through their ignorance, they place material gains higher than patriotic feelings, and cannot appreciate the great policy of the Government in insisting upon this. Because instead of the indirect measures of extermination used in other places—such as severity, haste (in carrying out the deportations), difficulties of travelling and misery—direct measures can safely be used there, so work heartily.

“ General Orders have been communicated from the War Office to all the

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Commanders of the Army that they are not to interfere in the work of deportation.<sup>1</sup>

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

“Minister of the Interior,

“TALAAT.”

When this order came, the Deportations Committee of Aleppo had the right to do all sorts of things, under the direct orders of the Governor-General.

The reasons for leaving all the work of deportation in the hands of one man was that the orders given for putting barbarities into execution should be kept as secret as possible—so that many people might not know what was going on, and the crime might be committed in silence, without being noised abroad.

The camp where the deportees were

<sup>1</sup>For a time the Commanding Officers of the military camps began to separate artisans from amongst the deportees, for the erection of military buildings. The deportation officials wrote to Constantinople complaining of this, and Talaat Pasha sends this order to say that the right to keep back artisans had been taken from the military officers.



Halide Hanum (sitting), a Turkish authoress, a most active worker at the conversion of Armenian orphans to Islam. An Armenian girl (standing) is being allured into harem life

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gathered together was in the dreary height of Karlik, twenty minutes from Aleppo. From this place the deportees were sent to the desert. The lives of the Armenians who were there depended on the caprice of a police sergeant, or a deportation official.

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

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

“ We hear that some officials have been brought before a military tribunal (court martial) under the accusation of extortion and severity towards Certain People (the Armenians). Even though this may be a mere formality, it may lessen the energy of other officials. For this reason I command that you shall not allow such examinations.<sup>1</sup>

“ Minister of the Interior,  
“ TALAAT.”

<sup>1</sup> Sergeant Rahmeddin, the Mudir of Abu-Harrad, (one of the camps on the Euphrates), who had

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

“Minister of the Interior,

“TALAAT.”

Instructions were subsequently received from the Minister of the Interior to the effect that letters or telegrams addressed to Governmental High Officials containing complaints should be received but not forwarded.

Thus the Armenian people who were

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become a terror to the Armenians, and often killed people with a great club which he invariably carried about with him, was summoned to Aleppo after many protests for a mock trial; but in accordance with this telegram he was sent back to his work again, without even being tried. On his return, as he was passing through Meskene to go to Abu-Harrad, he fired some revolver shots towards the deportees' camp, calling out, “You protested, and what was the result? Here I am again restored to my office.” Naturally the brutalities practised by this man, whom the Armenians called “the bone-breaker,” grew more numerous after his return.

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in the deserts were condemned to certain death, and the executioners who were to carry out the work were just the men for it:—the Governor of Aleppo, Mustafa Abdullhalik, the representative of the General Deportations Committee, Abdullahad Nouri Bey, his colleague Eyoub Bey, the Deputy of the Ittihad, Jemal Bey, and a multitude of officials under them—one more bloodthirsty than another; all devoted heart and soul to the “sacred work,” as the documents designated it.

### THE MASSACRES OF RES-UL-AIN

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

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

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From the last reports of the local deportation officials and of the Kaimakam, it was understood that from 13,000 to 14,000 people died of starvation and sickness in four months.

The Armenians in Res-ul-Ain were in this condition, while in Aleppo the Turks were thinking out methods of exterminating them completely. Everything showed that Yousouf Zia Bey would not consent to become a tool for the carrying out of this crime. But there was a still greater obstacle—the Governor of Der Zor, Ali Souad Bey, who had done all he could in his official circle at Res-ul-Ain to mitigate the sufferings of the Armenians. He had directed them to pitch their tents at the foot of a hill near the village, and had, in a way, assigned a part of the village to those who still had a little money and could occupy themselves in commerce. In that quarter the Armenians had at once set up shops—tailors', shoemakers', grocers' and greengrocers' shops, and sixty bakeries. Amongst the deported Armenians there were a great many architects, builders, stone-masons, and other artisans. The military authorities were having a large

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hospital erected by them. Sixty master-builders were working at that hospital, and with their families received wages in return for their work.

Souad Bey had addressed the following words to the Kaimakam one day—

“Let us not ask why the Armenians are being deported; that is not our business. We can treat them as we like. If we like, we can protect and keep them, and profit by their industries. If we like, we can make an end of them. We cannot remove this misfortune which is weighing on them so heavily, but we can lighten it. I believe that by their labour these deserts will be turned into flowery fields, and in the place of these hovels, beautiful dwellings will be erected.”

At the same time in Aleppo the plan to exterminate these people was being worked out.

The orders issued to the official commanding the deportations at Res-ul-Ain were not carried out. Abdullahad Nouri Bey himself went as far as Res-ul-Ain, and by worrying the official commanding the deportations, Arel Bey, he discovered that it was the Governor of Der Zor, Souad

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Bey himself, who had failed to carry out the order for driving the Armenians towards the desert.

On his return to Aleppo, Nouri Bey informed the Governor-General (Vali), Abdullhalik Bey of the truth, and he immediately sent the following order by cipher to Ali Souad Bey—

“It is contrary to the sacred purpose of the Government that thousands of Armenians should remain in Res-ul-Ain. Drive them into the desert.”

Souad Bey answered—

“There are no means of transport by which I can send the people away. If the purpose which you insist upon is slaughtering them, I can neither do it myself nor have it done.”

Mustafa Abdullhalik Bey sent this telegram to Constantinople to the Ministry of the Interior, adding to it the following report concerning Souad Bey—

“To the Ministry of the Interior.

“*Dec. 23, 1915.*—We understand from the deputy of the general overseer of the Deportations Committee that the Armenians who have been sent to Res-ul-Ain

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are still there, and have built themselves good houses and established themselves comfortably; and that the person who is protecting them and allowing them to settle down is the Governor of Der Zor, Ali Souad Bey.

“In spite of our having written again and again that the crowding of Armenians in a small but locally important town like Res-ul-Ain and the making of excuses such as the lack of means of transport, and so forth, for keeping them there lays a great responsibility upon us, yet we have seen no result.

“The partiality which Ali Souad Bey has shown for them and the protection he has extended to them have reached amazing proportions. According to what we hear, he dresses and looks after some of the Armenian children himself, and he weeps and mourns with them over the sufferings of their parents. In this way the Armenians sent in that direction are enjoying a very happy existence, and they are indebted for this to Ali Souad Bey.

“But as the continuation of this state of things will cause needless delays in the transport of deportees from Aleppo, we are addressing Your Excellency on the matter, begging that you will make all necessary arrangements.

“MUSTAFA ABDULLHALIK,  
“Governor-General (Vali).”

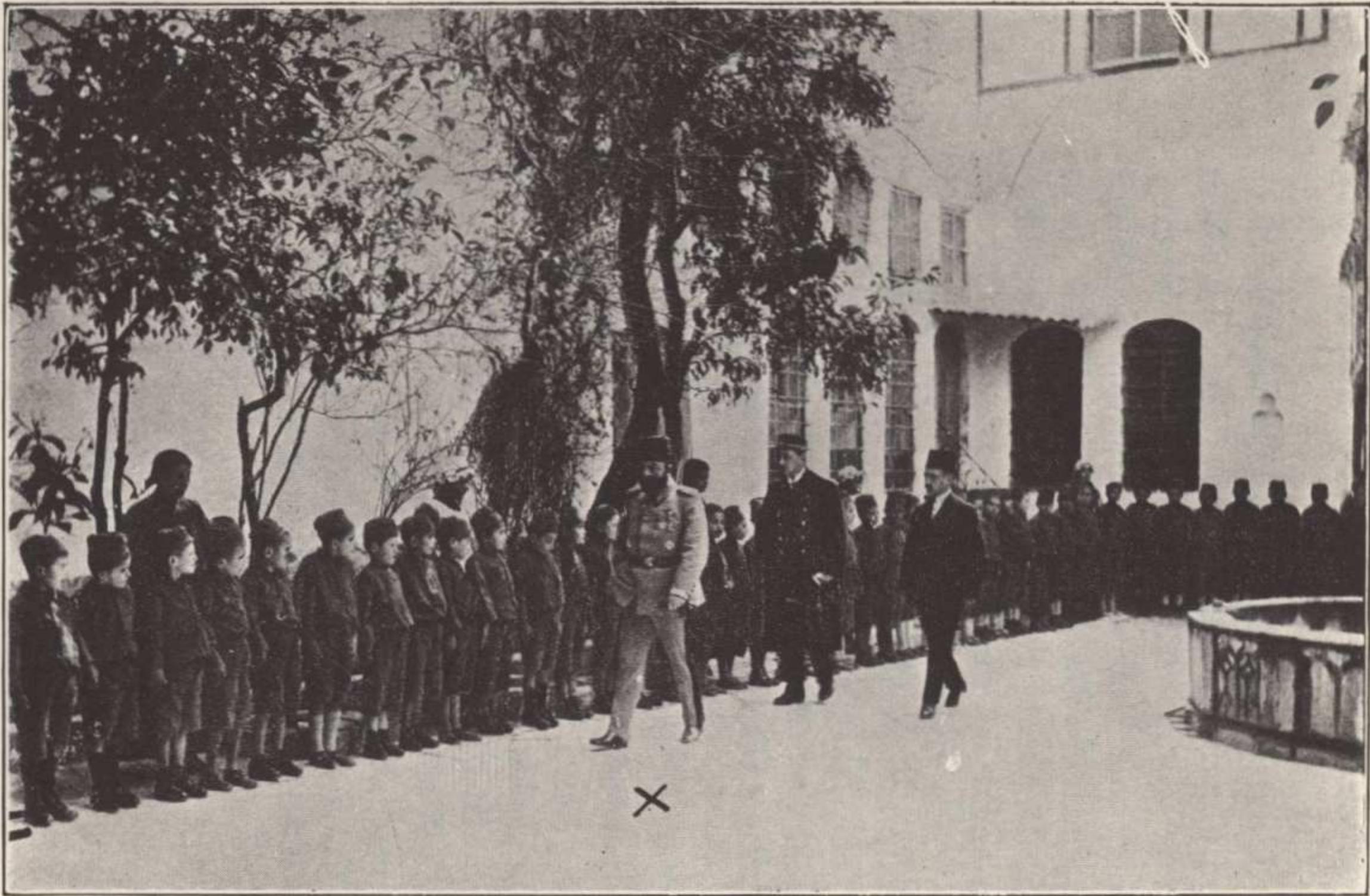
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It was on the strength of this report that Ali Souad Bey was subsequently dismissed.

Affairs remained in this condition until February 1916. Then one of the most cruel and evil-reputed executors of the Armenian massacres arrived in Res-ul-Ain—a former Governor-General of Van, Jevdet Bey, brother-in-law of the Minister of War, Enver Pasha. After having accomplished the massacre in Van, he went to Moush, where he also supervised massacres; and thence he went to Bitlis, to complete the massacres of Mustafa Abdullhalik Bey. Having been appointed Governor of Adana, he was on his way there, and in February 1916 he reached Res-ul-Ain, where there were at that time about 50,000 Armenian deportees. The Kaimakam had gone out to meet him, with his suite.

Amongst the deportees there happened to be an Armenian doctor—Dr. Hreshdagian, who belonged to the staff of the Executive Committee of the Baghdad Railway. The doctor afterwards said that the first thing which attracted the attention of Jevdet Bey was the mound at whose



Djemal Pasha (x), followed by his aide-de-camp, Nusret Bey, and Hassan Bey, the Director of Deportations, reviewing the Armenian orphans at Damascus

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base were the thousands of tents belonging to the Armenian camp.

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

“Are those dogs still in existence? I command you to slaughter them all!”

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

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

Suiting the action to the word, he summoned the chief of the telegraph office and immediately reported what had passed to Constantinople. The consequence could be nothing but a dismissal, and so it was. Yousouf Zia Bey was removed from Resul-Ain, and ten days later, at the beginning of March, a new Kaimakam arrived—a young man from Kochana in Rumelia.

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Kerim Refi Bey. He was Jevdet Bey's man.

For the Armenian massacres the Government purposely appointed officials who, with their families, had suffered greatly during the deportations of the Balkan War, and had escaped to Constantinople. The bitterness of their past sufferings and the thirst for revenge was very strong in the hearts of these people. And that is the reason why they showed such fearful savagery, in spite of the fact that the Armenians had had no share in causing their sufferings. All through the Balkan wars the Armenian soldiers who were in the Turkish armies fought with great heroism on all the fronts, as all the Turkish commanders witnessed.

Not being able to wreak their vengeance on the Bulgarians, Serbians and Greeks, these Turkish officials wreaked it on the Armenians.

The new Kaimakam of Res-ul-Ain was one of these men, and he became an excellent tool in the hands of the jackals of Aleppo, before whom the ground was now quite clear, since they had succeeded in getting the dismissal of Ali Souad Bey, the

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Governor of Der Zor. On March 17 Kerim Bey began the deportations. This work had been entrusted to the Circassians, at the head of whom was the Mayor of Res-ul-Ain, Arslan Bey.

A guard was formed of the Circassians, ostensibly with the object of defending travellers from assault. This guard was armed. This company, however, which was supposed to be formed for protective purposes, had the office of slaughtering the deportees committed to their charge.

The order for the criminal deeds at Res-ul-Ain was given directly from Aleppo. This order was given to the chiefs of the guard. Some of them came to Aleppo and had interviews with Mustafa Abdullhalik Bey.<sup>1</sup> Four or five days after their return, the Kaimakam reported, by cipher-telegram, that they had arrived and received their orders. The massacres fol-

<sup>1</sup> Amongst these was the brother of Arslan Bey, Hussein Bey, who after the death of Arslan Bey (in the beginning of 1917) succeeded him as mayor in Res-ul-Ain. Both brothers played prominent parts in the massacres of Der Zor also. Hussein Bey used often to go to Aleppo to sell the property which he and his brother and others were constantly seizing from the deportees.

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

“Don’t leave any of them alive—especially the children, down to five or seven years old; otherwise in a short time they will grow up, and seek to revenge themselves.”<sup>1</sup>

Zeki Bey had arrived at Der Zor as governor, in the place of Ali Souad Bey; and, as the massacres had begun there,

<sup>1</sup> This seemed to be a watchword. Every official in every place repeated it to the people who were to execute the massacres.

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he needed people to carry out his devilish work. To slaughter about 200,000 people is not an easy matter.

The colossal amount of labour needed had stupefied him. He had been obliged to call to his assistance all the Circassians who had executed the massacres of Res-ul-Ain. But still the butchers were not enough for the victims. Seeing that the Circassians would not be sufficient to complete the work, Zeki Bey had promised the Arab Ashirats of Der Zor the clothes of the victims, if they would come and help in the killing. And they had accepted the offer. Most of the Armenians were slaughtered by them.

The greater number of the officials both of the Executive Committee and of the constructional works were Armenians. The Government, on the pretext of being afraid that they would be unsuitable for the work, gave the following order—

“ No. 801.

“ To the Government of Aleppo.

“ *Dec.* 26, 1915.—It has been decided that all Armenians working on the railway or on any other construction shall be sent to their places of deportation. The War

## THE MEMOIRS OF NAIM BEY

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Office has given notice of this to the Commanders of deportation camps.

“Minister of the Interior,

“TALAAT.”

Upon this their names were demanded from the military commissariats of the railway. Both the Railway Commissioner, Khairi Bey, and Jelal Pasha showed great kindness with regard to this. Talaat Pasha's guilt is demonstrated by the fact that, although most of the officials on the railway were Armenians, and the Armenians had been treated so brutally during the four or five years of the war, they had all worked faithfully the whole time. Nowhere on the line was there any accident through them.

But, a short time after, the question was raised again, and the following telegram arrived—

“No. 840.

“To the Government of Aleppo.

“*Jan. 16, 1916.*—We hear that all along the line which runs between Intilli, Airan and Aleppo there are some forty or fifty thousand Armenians, mostly women and children. Those persons, who are causing a great deal of trouble by remaining on

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sites which are very important for the dispatch of troops, will be punished with the greatest severity. Therefore communicate with the Government of Adana, and send those Armenians to Aleppo immediately, without letting them go further. I am anxiously waiting to hear the result of this within a week.

“ Minister of the Interior,  
“ TALAAT.”

The following telegram, supplementing the foregoing one, was received the very same day.

“ To the Government of Aleppo.

“ Sequel to the telegram dated Jan. 16.

“ No. 840.

“ Do not deport the Armenian workers left at Intilli and Airan until the construction of the railway is completed. But, as it is not permissible for them to live with their families, billet them temporarily somewhere in the outskirts of Aleppo. The remaining women and children dispatch to the desert immediately, in compliance with the former telegram.

“ Minister of the Interior,  
“ TALAAT.”

When this order was executed the children of tender years were left behind under the trees, naked and hungry.

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Herr Koppel<sup>1</sup> collected them and put them into cases prepared for dynamite, and took them to Intilli, where they were cared for in his orphanage. A few days later the German Director of the Baghdad Railway reproached him for this work of mercy.

The companies sent viâ Aintab and Marash were slaughtered all along the way until they reached Mardin, where none of them were to arrive. A number of them—500 people—were taken to Res-ul-Ain and there joined the 200 Armenian families that were left in the place and had not yet been massacred because the Circassians were occupied at Der Zor. But when the deportations at Der Zor were completed, and the massacres facilitated, the Circassians soon returned to Res-ul-Ain, and drove out the people left there, as well as those at Intilli, towards the neighbourhood of Shiddade. They were to be massacred with the last remnant of the Armenians of Der Zor.

While the massacres of Res-ul-Ain and

<sup>1</sup>Herr Koppel was one of the Swiss engineers worthy of special mention, who did all in their power to save the lives of some of the Armenians working on the Baghdad railway line.

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Intilli were being completed, the even more terrible slaughter, by means of which Zeki Bey was to exterminate the 200,000 Armenians deported to Der Zor, had begun.

Zeki Bey was impatiently sending telegrams to the Government at Aleppo, asking that the Armenians in the neighbourhood of that town should be sent to him as soon as possible.

The real terror commenced when they began to drive the people who were in Aleppo and the neighbourhood towards Meskene. There was no end to the caravans. Bab, Maara and Moonbooj were completely emptied. Without regard to the severity of the weather, the Armenians were driven towards Meskene, often on foot, now and then on donkeys or camels. Even there also they might not stay. They must go to Der Zor—that was the decree.

The greater part of these deportees on the banks of the Euphrates were from the environs of Constantinople—from Rodosto, Nicomedia, Bardezag, Adabazar, Gezve and Konia—in a word, all the Armenians deported from along the line of the Anatolian Railway, and from Cesarea.

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Everybody wondered why this new deportation was being made, and why the people were being driven towards Zor. But there was a still stronger reason for anxiety. News of the massacres at Resul-Ain had reached Meskene among other places. A massacre that went on for years could not remain secret even in the desert.

News had already arrived that no more deportees would be sent from the right bank of the Tigris—only from the left bank; and this in itself was a death-sentence for the caravans about to depart; for from that bank as far as Rakka they would have to travel through waterless deserts, where they would certainly die of the heat or of hunger and thirst. The El-Jezireh, as the left bank of the river was called, was the road to the tomb.

The deportees coming from Bab increased the terror by bringing with them the following telegraphic order, which the Governor-General of Aleppo and the Mayor sent to the Kaimakam of Bab—

“Very urgent and secret.

“Do not keep back even condemned Armenians or those accused or arrested

## THE MEMOIRS OF NAIM BEY

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by the police; send them down to Der Zor at once."

The Turkish soldiers often pointed out to the Armenians, with devilish sarcasm, troops of Indians, and especially English prisoners that were being deported to Nisibin, to work on the construction of the railway. Their condition was no better than that of the Armenians. They had been starving for days, and most of them were worn out and incapable of walking. They were dragging themselves along the road, and many of them would fall down then and there, often under revolver shots. They had neither shoes nor clothing. Pale, emaciated and bent, they were more like shadows than men. And the Turks pointed out those caravans to the Armenians, and said: "Here are the people you worship—here are those with whom you sympathise and for whom you were sacrificed. Call them—call them to liberate you!"

Old women took out bags of earth which they had brought with them from their distant homes—the earth which had been sanctified by all the martyrdom and bloodshed through which they had brought

## THE MEMOIRS OF NAIM BEY

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and kept it. Feeling that they were going to die, they distributed that earth amongst those who had none. They placed it in their bosoms, so that when they died in this strange land, they might at least close their eyes in the illusion that they were dying in the embrace of their native soil.

All the orders of the Government said—

“Join them on to the caravans and send them.” The meaning of this ambiguous saying was: “Send them to the desert.” But even in the desert there was no fixed place for the Armenian deportees. They always had to get up, walk, and move on, no one knew whither. It was enough that they should not stay long in one place, and should wear themselves out by walking.

Before even the idea of the Yildirim army had been conceived, the Government sent the following telegram to Aleppo—

“No. 723.

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

“Dec. 3, 1915.—Send the Armenians—those in the neighbourhood of Aleppo first—

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without delay, to their place of deportation, and report concerning this.

“Minister of the Interior,  
“TALAAT.”

At the beginning of the deportations, at least, the villages around Aleppo were appointed to be dwelling-places for the Armenians. Great numbers of Armenians were settled in those villages. On receipt of this telegram, mounted gendarmes were sent round the environs of Aleppo, who began to turn the people out of the villages by means of many cruelties, driving them towards Meskene, where most of them were put to death.

It is worth while to recall in this connection that the order for the general deportation of the Armenians came after Marshal Mackenson had pierced the Russian front, when the crushing of Russia, and consequently ultimate victory, seemed assured to the Turks.

Instructions were given from Aleppo to try and keep the deportees hungry and thirsty on the way, so as to diminish their numbers as much as possible.

On January 20, 1916, Abdullahad Nouri Bey wrote to the chief official

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of the Deportations Committee of Bab, Mouharrem Bey—

“ No. 344.

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

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

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

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

“ ABDULLAHAD NOURI.”

Abdullahad Nouri Bey subsequently issued the following order—

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

In accordance with the foregoing instructions, all the deportees in Bab were to be driven out within twenty-four hours.

The number of deaths was reported to Constantinople by cipher-telegrams once a fortnight.

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

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

At one moment, when the joy of the Turks was at its height, the deportations were so harsh in Aleppo that the gendarmes and police would go into the houses and tie up like pigs and drive out the poor Armenians, who had no refuge but God, and were hiding themselves through the fear of death.

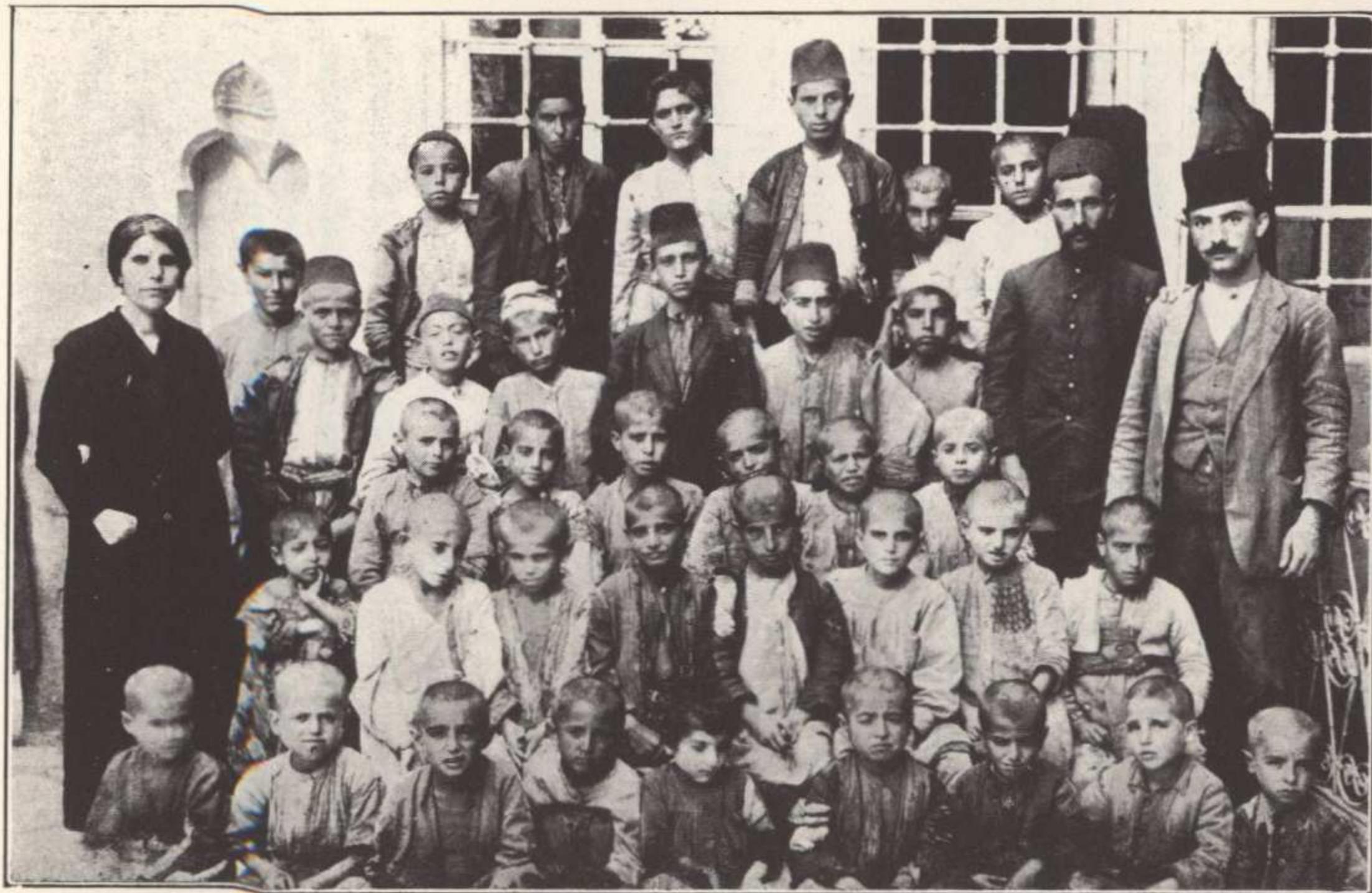
## THE MEMOIRS OF NAIM BEY

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One day a poor man presented a petition to say that, while his whole family had been suffering from typhus, they had thrown them all out into the street, put them into dust-carts and sent them out of town to Karlok. The wretched man begged and implored with sobs and tears that they would at least give him ten days' grace. He did not know that he was condemned to death; no one would pity him. During my term of office 10,000 petitions were given in to our office from the Armenian deportees. I did not see any notice taken of even ten of them.

A woman from Diarbekir was seen carrying a plate with the Armenian coat-of-arms on it. She was brought before the General Deportations Committee, and asked where she had got that plate.<sup>1</sup> The woman answered that it had been in her house a long time, and she did not know whence it was brought. She was taken to a cell in the gendarmerie, where she was tortured eight or ten days, in

<sup>1</sup> All kinds of objects and pictures bearing this coat-of-arms were sold freely all over Turkey after the Constitution was established. During the deportations all those who possessed any of these objects were punished with death.



Armenian orphans picked up in the desert

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order to find out where she had got the plate. But the poor woman did not know. She died in the midst of those tortures, which were aggravated by hunger.

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

I went to Meskene; I heard of the crimes committed. I remained there two months and only once deported a company. Their number could not have exceeded thirty.

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

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

"*Dec. 1, 1915.*—In spite of the fact

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

“Minister of the Interior,  
“TALAAT.”

When I went to Meskene the old Bishop of Nicomedia (Izmit) was there. He sat in a small tent, and spent the time in thinking of his fate. No one knows how the attention of the Director of the Deportations Committee was called to this man, who was incapable of doing any harm to any one.

I received a note to the effect that the Bishop of Izmit was there; why had they kept him? he must be deported, so that he might fall down at some corner of the road and die. I could not say that it would not do, or refuse to send him. But we did not send him.

Another time two priests had been sent to Meskene. The order given concerning these two was very severe. It openly commanded that they should be killed.

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I did not deport those two priests, however, I kept them where they were. I do not remember their names, but I think that both of them are in Aleppo now.

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

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

### THE MASSACRES OF DER ZOR

A discharged postmaster of Der Zor described the beginning of the massacres at Zor as follows. A cipher-telegram arrived at Der Zor from the Ministry of the Interior, saying, "An end has been made of the deportations; begin to work according to the previous order, and let it be done as rapidly as possible."

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The massacre began two days after the cipher-telegram arrived.

At the end of July, Zeki Bey sent the following telegram to Aleppo—

“ Cipher-telegram from the Government of Zor sent to the Governor-General of Aleppo.

“ *July 31, 1916.*—In accordance with the order sent to me from the Committee, when the deportations of the Armenian deportees from Aleppo have been somewhat slackened, the dwelling-place of the Armenians<sup>1</sup> that are here will be changed. Please let me know how long the deportation of the deportees is to continue.

“ Governor,  
“ ZEKI.”

The people were driven out of Der Zor in batches, under the pretext of being sent to Mousul. But they were unable to go beyond Sheddade. Zeki Bey selected principally the deserts of Marat and Souvar on the road to Sheddade, and as it was

<sup>1</sup> The meaning of the sentence in this telegram—“ the dwelling-place of the Armenians that are here will be changed ”—is that they will be massacred, and as a matter of fact the massacres which Zeki Bey was so anxious to consummate had already begun with the removal of the Armenians all along the banks of the Euphrates to the slaughter-house of Der Zor.

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impossible to wipe out so many people by slaughtering them, he created an artificial famine, during which the people first ate the donkeys, dogs and cats, then the carcasses of horses and dogs, and finally, when there was nothing else left to eat, they began to devour human corpses, more especially corpses of small children.

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

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

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

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

In this way the children were accustomed,

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while still alive, to the idea that their corpses would be eaten after their death.

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

In order to keep the enthusiasm of the Turks for massacre up to the mark, Zeki Bey would often bend down from his horse, take hold of a small child by its arm, turn it round once or twice in the air and dash it to the ground, killing and breaking it to pieces; and he would say to his followers: "Don't think that I have killed an innocent being. Even the new-born babes of this people (Armenians) are criminals, for they will carry the seeds of vengeance in themselves. If you wish to ensure to-morrow, kill even their children."

And they spared none.

Only a few of the good-looking girls were saved from the massacres. After a week or two, those girls were sent on camels to Res-ul-Ain, towards Mardin, where they were often sold for five piastres (one shilling). In this way was completed the massacre of Der Zor, in which nearly

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all the Armenians who had been deported into the desert were wiped out—more than 200,000 people.

A month before the declaration of war by Turkey the Turkish War Office entered into negotiations with a delegation of eight Georgians who met the Turkish officials at Trebizond.

The Constantinople newspapers of April 15 report the proceedings in the Turkish Parliament with regard to these negotiations as follows—

“*The President.* Of whom did that delegation consist?”

“*Yousouf Riza Bey.* The chief of the delegation was Tseretelli, and Colonel Terel was with him. It was promised to these two and to their three companions that an independent Georgian state should be founded, in which all the eight should have positions as ministers.

“*The President.* Who made that promise?”

“*Yousouf Riza Bey.* Turkey, in her own name and in that of the German Empire.

“*The President.* What were the conditions to be?”

“*Yousouf Riza Bey.* The Georgians in the Caucasus were to revolt, being provided

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with arms and munitions by us, and were to cut off the Russian line of retreat; they were also to destroy the railway lines and to blow up the arsenals and munition factories.

“*The President.* Had Turkey declared war then ?

“*Yousouf Riza Bey.* No !

“*The President.* Where were you when war was declared ?

“*Yousouf Riza Bey.* In a Russian town.

“*The President.* That means that your centre (the centre of the Ittihad) had already decided to enter the war, since you were already over the Russian frontier before war was declared.”

The Armenian Patriarch at Constantinople had, on April 11, 1915, made representations on behalf of the Armenians exiled from Constantinople to the Grand Vizier, Said Halim Pasha, whose reply—verbatim—was as follows—

“Before the war you approached the Entente Powers, wishing to sever yourselves from the Ottoman Empire. What is happening to the Armenians is the result of a scheme which will be carried out.”

Some of the following dispatches emana-

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ting from the Ittihad Committee bear as signatures merely an initial.

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

“ The only force in Turkey that is able to frustrate the political life of the Ittihad and Terakke<sup>1</sup> is the Armenians. From news which has frequently been received lately from Cairo, we learn that the Dashnagtzoutiun<sup>2</sup> is preparing a decisive attack against the Jemiet.

“ If we examine minutely the historical circumstances of the past we shall find that

<sup>1</sup> The Committee of Union and Progress, which is also called “ Jemiet ” (or “ Assembly ”). It is necessary to explain that in those days there were two Governments in Turkey—one was the official one, the Cabinet of Said Halim Pasha, and the other that of the Ittihad Committee, which, although unofficial, was a more real and influential power, for it held the official Government under the strictest control. It had special delegates in all the provinces—they were generally called “ Responsible Secretaries,” and these delegates superintended all activities, especially the Armenian deportations and massacres.

<sup>2</sup> The “ attack ” of the Dashnagtzoutiun mentioned in the first paragraph of this letter was nothing new, and had no connection with the European war.

What the letter calls an “ attack ” was the union which the Dashnagtzoutiun and other Armenian political parties formed in Egypt to press for reforms in Turkey, at the time of the Balkan War, when the Powers were already stirring up the question.

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all the storms which have obstructed the patriotic efforts of the Jemiet are the result of the seeds of discord sown by the Armenians.

“It will be forbidden to help or protect any Armenian.

“The Jemiet has decided to save the fatherland from the ambition of this cursed race, and to take on its own patriotic shoulders the stain which will blacken Ottoman history.

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

“Of course the Government will give the necessary injunctions about the necessary massacres to the Governors. All the delegates of the Ittihad and Terakke will do their utmost to push on this matter.

“The property left will be temporarily confiscated by any means that the Government thinks fit, with the intention of its being sold afterwards and the money used for reorganising the Jemiet on a broader basis, and for patriotic purposes.

“With regard to this, if you deem it necessary, demand an explanation from the Executive Committees which are to be formed. If you see anything in the

## THE MEMOIRS OF NAIM BEY

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administration which is not in order, you can apply either to the Governors-General or to us."

The second dispatch shows that, when the Turkish Government finished with the Armenians, they were going to undertake the extermination of other races—Greeks, Syrians and Arabs.

"To Jemal Bey, delegate at Adana.

"Nov. 18, 1915.—It is the duty of all of us to effect on the broadest lines the realisation of the noble project of wiping out of existence the Armenians who have for centuries been constituting a barrier to the Empire's progress in civilisation. For this reason we must take upon ourselves the whole responsibility, saying 'come what may,' and appreciating how great is the sacrifice which has enabled the Government to enter the world war, we must work so that the means adopted may lead to the desired end.

"As announced in our dispatch dated February 8, the Jemiet has decided to uproot and annihilate the various forces which have for centuries been an obstacle in its way, and to this end it is obliged to resort to very bloody methods. Be assured that we ourselves were horrified at the contemplation of these methods, but the

## THE MEMOIRS OF NAIM BEY

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Jemiet sees no other way of ensuring the stability of its work.

“We are criticised and called upon to be merciful; such simplicity is nothing short of stupidity. For those who will not co-operate with us we will find a place that will wring their delicate heart-strings.

“I again recall to your memory the question of the property left. It is very important. Do not let its distribution escape your vigilance; always examine the accounts and the use made of the proceeds.”

*(See the original, Plate I.)*

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

“From interventions which have recently been made by the American Ambassador of Constantinople on behalf of his Government, it appears that the American consuls are obtaining information by secret means. In spite of our assurances that the (Armenian) deportations will be accomplished in safety and comfort, they remain unconvinced. Be careful that events attracting attention shall not take place in connection with those (Armenians) who are near the cities, and other centres. From the point of view of the present policy it is most important that foreigners who are in those parts shall be persuaded that the expulsion of the Armenians is in



انحصار معهود - حفظه و ثبات بخیر خود و اولاد که در معهود  
بطریق دیگری است به جهت تقاضای اولاد است که در قانون  
این معهود تغییر و موافق اولاد در کار بوده است اجازت اجود به

اساس اولاد -  
اولاد زودتر منتهی شوند و اولاد در وقت اینم اینست -  
اولاد از نظر تقاضای اولاد در دو طرف است : صفت معهود صفت  
ص - اینها از جهت اینکه در وقت اولاد در وقت اولاد

صفت : نام این اولاد که در وقت اولاد است  
و اینست که در وقت اولاد است  
اولاد از جهت اولاد است

دعوت نامه - جلد ۱۸ - شماره ۲ - تاریخ ۱۳۰۲  
تذکره سید محمد

صاحب مدینه ارفی فرولو در روزی که تمام مدینه سرفیض عورت گردان حقه استعد معلون ایلیت  
دوره تامل عجم - برصفت اولینجی ارفی قدسیت اربیه در آن زمان غایت اخلا و فرجولت فرقه  
مذلل اولوسه و هر چند - سوزیانه اید و فرجه ای اجرا ایلیکی سوزیانه کرده بود نوری از آن  
و قضا و کافی حدیب جند نه شهر دفعه کرده و مراکز به بقعه کرده بود لانا نازک انان سوخته  
جای تکرر در آن ایالت میدان در بلای داد کرده و دلا نانه اجده سوزیانه شیبی که نه سوزیانه  
بعضی ریشی مطرف اولی قضا قضا قولی ایچونه مصلحت بخت فراموشی از اجری سیاست  
آخره نطقه زلمنه از آن بولونجی جهنه تدبیر معلومک مناسب کرده تقییه دار کجولم  
ادبی انجی استخوانه در دستبرد بفرجه و دیوانه حریده نودی احمیه بنیچ اولو

تذکره سید محمد ارفی فرولو  
از سید محمد ارفی فرولو  
در روزی که تمام مدینه سرفیض عورت گردان حقه استعد معلون ایلیت

سید محمد

برای آنکه همه مردم بنیچ نازک انسانا قن اوله و زحمت از نوره در اولی  
مکانی قیودنه بر لیدر کله - جانیه ایچیم بر فیه حلا و دله  
تدبیریه طرف سید ولایتیه حدیث بنیچ - فرجه اجرا سید بنیچ قنیه  
ادبیات ایلیت

سید محمد ارفی فرولو  
از سید محمد ارفی فرولو  
در روزی که تمام مدینه سرفیض عورت گردان حقه استعد معلون ایلیت

سید محمد ارفی فرولو

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truth only deportation. For this reason it is important that, to save appearances, a show of gentle dealing shall be made for a time, and the usual measures be taken in suitable places. It is recommended as very important that the people who have given such information shall be arrested and handed over to the military authorities for trial by court-martial.

“ Minister of the Interior,  
“ TALAAT.”

“ Nov. 21, 1915.—P.S.—Without mentioning the cipher-telegram see the Director. Are there really such meddling people? In accordance with the order of the committee, let the operations conducted there be a little moderate. To the representative of the General Committee,

“ Governor-General,  
“ MUSTAFA ABDULLHALIK.”

*(See the original, Plate II.)*

“ I was certain of the existence of such people, and had repeatedly requested the Chief of Police to make the necessary investigations, but it was no good. If strict injunctions are sent to him direct from the Government, it may have some effect. We give you full authority with regard to this.

“ Representative of the  
General Committee,  
“ ABDULLAHAD NOURI.”

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A cipher-telegram from the Ministry of the Interior, sent to the Government of Aleppo (No. 745)—

“ *Dec. 11, 1915.*—We hear that the correspondents of Armenian newspapers travelling in those parts have faked some letters and photographs showing certain criminal actions, which they have given to the American consuls. Arrest and destroy such dangerous persons.

“ Minister of the Interior,  
“ TALAAT.”

The following cipher-telegram further demonstrates the anxiety of the Government—

“ No. 809.

“ To the Government of Aleppo.

“ *Dec. 29, 1915.*—We hear that there are numbers of alien officers on the roads who have seen the corpses of the above-mentioned people (the Armenians) and are photographing them. It is recommended as very important that those corpses should at once be buried, and not left so exposed.

“ Minister of the Interior,  
“ TALAAT.”

“ No. 502.

“ To the Government of Aleppo.

“ *Sept. 3, 1915.*—We recommend that

## THE MEMOIRS OF NAIM BEY

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the operations which we have ordered you to make shall be first carried out on the men of the said people (the Armenians), and that you shall subject the women and children to them also. Appoint reliable officials for this.

“ Minister of the Interior,

“ TALAAT.”

“ No. 537.

“ To the Government of Aleppo.

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

“ Minister of the Interior,

“ TALAAT.”

“ No. 691.

“ To the Government of Aleppo.

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

“ Minister of the Interior,

“ TALAAT.”

“ No. 820.

“ To the Government of Aleppo.

“ *Jan. 4, 1916.*—It is decreed that all Armenians coming from the north shall be sent straight to their place of deportation,

## THE MEMOIRS OF NAIM BEY

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without passing through any town or village on the way.

“ Minister of the Interior,

“ TALAAT.”

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

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

“ Governor-General,

“ MUSTAFA ABDULLHALIK.”

“ From the Government of Aintab.

“ To the Government of Aleppo.

“ An answer to the cipher-telegram of Jan. 11, 1916.

“ *Jan. 18, 1916.*—It has been ascertained that there are about five hundred people from the said provinces in the vicinity of Roum Kale, which is under our jurisdiction. The Kaimakam of Roum Kale reports that most of them are women and children, and that, in accordance with the methods with which the Turkish officials were acquainted, communicated

## THE MEMOIRS OF NAIM BEY

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to them earlier, these women and children have been sent under Kurdish guards, with the understanding that they are never to return.

“GOVERNOR AHMET.”

“To the Government of Aleppo.

“*Feb. 20, 1916.*—The military authorities proclaim the necessity of using those of the aforesaid people (the Armenians) that are of military age, for military service. We think that it will not be possible to send them to the war-zones, and, as it is not permissible for them to remain in the town either, we permit you to use them outside the town for road-making, or any other necessary work, on condition that their families shall be sent away with the rest of the deportees. Special orders have been sent from the War Office to the Military Authorities to this effect. Consequently, communicate with them, and work in harmony with them.

“Minister of the Interior,

“TALAAT.”

“No. 57.

“To the General Committee for settling the deportees.

“*Jan. 10, 1916.*—Enquiries having been made, it is understood that hardly ten per cent of the Armenians subjected to the

## THE MEMOIRS OF NAIM BEY

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general deportations have reached the places destined for them; the rest have died from natural causes, such as hunger and sickness. We inform you that we are working to bring about the same result with regard to those who are still alive, by using severe measures.

“ABDULLAHAD NOURI.”

“To the General Committee for settling the deportees.

“*Feb. 26, 1916.*—I report for your information that hardly a quarter of the Armenians sent to the desert have arrived at their destination, with the exception of those sent to Syria as artisans.<sup>1</sup> The rest have died from natural causes on the way. We have taken in hand measures to send also those that were for various reasons left in Aleppo.

“ABDULLAHAD NOURI.”

“No. 76.

“To the Committee for settling the deportees.

“In answer to the telegram dated March 3, 1916.

<sup>1</sup> It was a common saying in Constantinople, “When you build a house and need workmen, you will see that not a single Turk will present himself. But if you are going to pull down a house, all who present themselves will be Turks.” It was the Armenians who built all the barracks, hospitals, inns, etc., on the Meskene-Der Zor line.

## THE MEMOIRS OF NAIM BEY

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" *March 7, 1916.*—We understand from information received that 35,000 Armenians have died in the vicinity of Bab and Meskene from various causes, 10,000 in Karluk (the place of deportation from Aleppo), 20,000 at Dipsi, Abu Harrar, and Hamam, and 35,000 in Res-ul-Ain—100,000 in all.

" ABDULLAHAD NOURI."

" No. 51.

" To the General Committee for settling the deportees.

" *Dec. 13, 1915.*—It was ordered by telegrams dated September 9 and November 20, 1915, sent by the Ministry of the Interior, that certain persons therein named should be arrested. Having ascertained that they are at Res-ul-Ain, we inform you that the necessary operations have been carried out, in accordance with the order received from the Ministry, delivered to us by an official specially sent from here.

" ABDULLAHAD NOURI."

" No. 603.

" To the Government of Aleppo.

" *Nov. 5, 1915.*—We are informed that the little ones belonging to the Armenians from Sivas, Mamuret-ul-Aziz, Diarbekir and Erzeroum are adopted by certain Moslem families and received as servants when they are left alone through the

## THE MEMOIRS OF NAIM BEY

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death of their parents. We inform you that you are to collect all such children in your province and send them to the places of deportation, and also to give the necessary orders regarding this to the people.

“Minister of the Interior,  
“TALAAT.”

“P.S.—See the Chief of the Police about it.”

“The Representatives of the  
“General Deportations Committee,  
“Governor-General,  
“MUSTAFA ABDULLHALIK.”

“To the Government of Aleppo.

“*Sept.* 21, 1915.—There is no need for an orphanage. It is not the time to give way to sentiment and feed the orphans, prolonging their lives. Send them away to the desert and inform us.

“Minister of the Interior,  
“TALAAT.”

“No. 31.

“To the General Committee for settling the deportees.

“*Nov.* 26, 1915.—There were more than four hundred children in the orphanage. They will be added to the caravans and sent to their places of exile.

“ABDULLAHAD NOURI.”



## THE MEMOIRS OF NAIM BEY

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“To the Government of Aleppo.

“*Jan. 15, 1916.*—We hear that certain orphanages which have been opened receive also the children of the Armenians. Whether this is done through ignorance of our real purpose, or through contempt of it, the Government will regard the feeding of such children or any attempt to prolong their lives as an act entirely opposed to its purpose, since it considers the survival of these children as detrimental. I recommend that such children shall not be received into the orphanages, and no attempts are to be made to establish special orphanages for them.

“Minister of the Interior,

“TALAAT.”

(*See the original, Plate III.*)

“No. 830.

“A cipher-telegram from the Ministry of the Interior addressed to the Government of Aleppo.

“Collect and keep only those orphans who cannot remember the tortures to which their parents have been subjected. Send the rest away with the caravans.

“Minister of the Interior,

“TALAAT.”

“No. 853.

“A cipher-telegram from the Ministry of the Interior addressed to the Government of Aleppo.

## THE MEMOIRS OF NAIM BEY

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“Jan. 23, 1916.—At a time when there are thousands of Moslem refugees and the widows of our martyrs<sup>1</sup> are in need of food and protection, it is not expedient to incur extra expenses by feeding the children left by Armenians, who will serve no purpose except that of giving trouble in the future. It is necessary that these children should be turned out of your vilayet and sent with the caravans to the places of deportation. Those that have been kept till now are also to be sent away, in compliance with our previous orders, to Sivas.

“Minister of the Interior,

“TALAAT.”

(See the original, Plate IV.)

“No. 63.

“To the General Committee for settling the deportees.

“By continuing the deportation of the orphans to their destinations during the intense cold, we are ensuring their eternal rest. Consequently we beg you to send us the sum which we asked for.”

“To the Government of Aleppo.

“Collect the children of the Armenians who, by order of the War Office, have been

<sup>1</sup> The Turks call their soldiers fallen in the war Shekid, or martyrs.

No. 4.

۵۰

دختر نظر ز صیدت کله کله تته نایغ و ۸۰۴  
زور و ستور و تفوق و نه مورنا صید

منجا جی حایبه و زانی بکلمه جی حایبه و کله ز اوله ایام و زاجی  
وجود آیده آتی نه مکرده نه بینه برکتی تویله اینه بر جله اوله  
برینغ ایضا صیده بزوان قضیه سنه امانه لری ایچونه صاف ذراغ  
اختیاری و فخر و رحه . . . و کله ز کوفیان خضر لینه ز صیفه و زاج  
و کله ی بینه - امانه ایله کله و اولاندون ده بیفتان اچیره و مومون بینه اولاندون

دفعه نایغ  
طفت  
کجه برورد / صیدت  
انج و نا  
دختر نظر

## THE MEMOIRS OF NAIM BEY

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gathered together and cared for by the military authorities. Take them away on the pretext that they are to be looked after by the Deportations Committee, so as not to arouse suspicion. Destroy them and report.

“ Minister of the Interior,  
“ TALAAT.”

“ No. 544.

“ Cipher-telegram from the Ministry of the Interior to the Government of Aleppo.

“ *Oct. 3, 1915.*—The reason why the sanjak of Zor was chosen as a place of deportation is explained in a secret order dated September 2, 1915, No. 1843. As all the crimes to be committed by the population along the way against the Armenians will serve to effect the ultimate purpose of the Government, there is no need for legal proceedings with regard to these. The necessary instructions have also been sent to the Governments of Zor and Ourfa.

“ Minister of the Interior,  
“ TALAAT.”

“ No. 745.

“ Cipher-telegram from the Ministry of the Interior addressed to the Government of Aleppo.

“ *Dec. 9, 1915.*—There is nothing wrong in accepting the telegrams sent to Government offices by the Armenians, complaining

## THE MEMOIRS OF NAIM BEY

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and protesting against the deeds done to them. But it would be a waste of time to examine them. Tell those who protest to claim their lost rights when they reach their place of exile.

“ Minister of the Interior,

“ TALAAT.”

“ To the Government of Aleppo.

“ *Sept.* 16, 1915.—It was at first communicated to you that the Government, by order of the Jemiet (the Ittihad Committee) had decided to destroy completely all the Armenians living in Turkey. Those who oppose this order and decision cannot remain on the official staff of the Empire. An end must be put to their existence, however criminal the measures taken may be, and no regard must be paid to either age or sex nor to conscientious scruples.

“ Minister of the Interior,

“ TALAAT.”

“ No. 762.

“ To the Government of Aleppo.

“ Answer to the telegram of Dec. 2, 1915.

“ *Dec.* 17, 1915.—Communicate to those who wish to save themselves from the general deportations by becoming Moslems that they must become Moslems in their places of exile.

“ Minister of the Interior,

“ TALAAT.”



Halide Hanum, accompanied by converted Armenian orphans

## THE MEMOIRS OF NAIM BEY

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“ To the Government of Aleppo.

“ *Feb. 3, 1916.*—After having fulfilled its duties in examining and acquiring papers concerning the seditious ideas and doings of the Armenians<sup>1</sup> the Committee sent to Ourfa under Mustafa Nail Effendi will make investigations in the towns of Aintab and Kilis also, which are in your provinces. Consequently send secret instructions to the right quarters so that the necessary steps may be taken to facilitate their efforts and ensure their success.

“ Minister of the Interior,

“ TALAAT.”

<sup>1</sup> The Committee referred to in this telegram spread its activities everywhere, and finally published a large volume in which it tried to prove by the most ridiculous lies that the Armenians had really threatened the existence of the Ottoman Empire, and that the Government had been obliged in consequence to deport them. The strongest evidence in this book consists of the photographs of arms collected from the Armenians. Amongst them were some photographs of bombs found in the provinces near Constantinople. These bombs were prepared by the Armenian party known as the “Dashnagtzagans” in co-operation with the Ittihad Committee, so that, in case a reaction took place in Turkey, as had been the case shortly after the Constitution was proclaimed on March 31, 1909, the Armenians and the Young Turks might be able to fight side by side against the Reactionaries.

It was in Germany that certain albums were first published by the Turkish Government, with the object of proving the guilt of the Armenians.

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“ No. 563.

“ A cipher-telegram from the Ministry of the Interior to the Government of Aleppo.

“ *Oct.* 12, 1915.—Prepare to send within a week the papers demanded by cipher order.

“ Minister of the Interior,

“ TALAAT.

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

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

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

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

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

“ Forty-eight hours after these three



Hakki Bey, commissioned to direct the massacres  
of straggling Armenians in the desert

## THE MEMOIRS OF NAIM BEY

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

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

The official telegrams which we have published have already thrown much light upon this matter. The orders which constantly came from Constantinople with regard to letting crimes committed on the road against the Armenian deportees go unpunished, and encouraging them, are certainly not calculated to establish the innocence of the people.

Even Turkish elements like those who, in the time of Hamid II, had refused to take part in the massacres and had in some places protected their Armenian neighbours, enthusiastically welcomed the Government's project of exterminating the Armenians. The Ittihad had spread its poison even as far as those strata—it had succeeded in awakening in all the Turks and Kurds the instinct of massacre and plunder.

## THE MEMOIRS OF NAIM BEY

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“The war had scarcely commenced,” writes Naim Bey in his memoirs, “when hunger and misery began to show themselves in an already incapacitated Turkey. It was necessary to feed and deceive the people, and that could be done by means of the money and property that the Armenians would leave behind. In the provinces of Erzeroum, Bitlis, Diarbekir, Mamurat-ul-Aziz, and Sivas, the massacre and plundering of the Armenians had already begun. This occupation made the people forget everything else. It was necessary to divert Syria and Mesopotamia also. The roads and plains of Mesopotamia and the desert of Syria were filled with Armenians. Much of the enormous wealth which the Armenians had earned through centuries of honourable work was seized. What was left of it was to be lost in those deserts, the inhabitants of which soon understood that the Armenians were being sent to them as victims. At the beginning they made feeble assaults, but, when they realised what the State policy was, they proceeded to wholesale slaughter and plunder.

The Ittihad Committee, the Turkish

## THE MEMOIRS OF NAIM BEY

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people and all the Moslem population in Turkey had a hand in this crime.

Kemal Bey was the Governor of Yozghat at the time of the deportations, and he organised one of the most terrible of the massacres in that region. After the troops of the Entente had entered Constantinople, the military tribunal condemned him to death, and he was hanged. The Turkish people organised great demonstrations to protest against this punishment, and was not ashamed to designate as a "martyr" this man who was nothing better than a murderer, having brought about the death of some 60,000 people.

The Turkish people behaved in the same way at the time that the members of the Ittihad Committee were being tried. This trial was rather a political ruse than a work of justice. The present Government in Turkey simply wanted to throw dust in the eyes of Europe. But the pressure of the Turkish people soon forced them to put an end to this sham, and the trial stopped without any result.

Let us hear what a Turk has to say about this. At the beginning of the present year, when the trial of a few of the secondary

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criminals was commenced in Constantinople, a Turkish newspaper, the *Sabah*, published an article over the signature of the editor, Ali Kemal Bey, which treated this trial with well-grounded scepticism. And what he said with regard to this was a condemnation not only of the Ittihad Committee, not only of the Turkish Government, but of the whole Turkish people.

“We think,” writes Ali Kemal Bey,<sup>1</sup> “that those who know how to judge conscientiously and without bias will give a verdict in our favour. What are the facts of the case? Four or five years ago a crime universal and unique in history was being perpetrated in our country. Taking into consideration the gigantic magnitude and extent of the crime, it could not have been committed by four or five people, but proportionately by hundreds of thousands. If the victims had been 300,000 instead of 600,000—if they had been even 200,000 or 100,000, a hundred, five hundred, or even a thousand criminals could not have wiped out so many people. It is already a

<sup>1</sup> Ali Kemal Bey was, at the time he wrote this, the Turkish Minister of the Interior.

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proved fact that this crime was mapped out and decreed by the General Centre of the Ittihad. After the programme of the crime had been drawn up by certain bodies, it was carried out by Governors-General and Governments—that is, by Government officials, by the police and by the people. Now, is it not a contempt of justice to let loose on the one hand a multitude of great and small criminals, and on the other to arrest only the Governors-General of Diarbekir, Sivas and Kharput (who were in any case not tried), and a few subordinate officials? ”—*Sabah*, January 28, 1919.

## APPENDIX

### AN OPEN LETTER TO PRESIDENT WILSON

BY

ARMIN T. WEGNER

(A German eye-witness of the Armenian massacres)

*Berlin,*  
*January 1919.*

MR. PRESIDENT,

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

As one of the few Europeans who have been eye-witnesses of the dreadful destruction of the Armenian people from its beginning in the fruitful fields of Anatolia up to the wiping out of the mournful remnants of the race on the banks of the Euphrates, I venture to claim the right of setting before you these pictures of misery and terror which passed before my eyes during nearly two years, and

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which will never be obliterated from my mind. I appeal to you at the moment when the Governments allied to you are carrying on peace negotiations in Paris, which will determine the fate of the world for many decades. But the Armenian people is only a small one among several others; and the future of greater States more prominent in the world's eye is hanging in the balance. And so there is reason to fear that the significance of a small and extremely enfeebled nation may be obscured by the influential and selfish aims of the great European states, and that with regard to Armenia there will be a repetition of the old game of neglect and oblivion of which she has so often been the victim in the course of her history.

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

The Armenian people were victims of this War. When the Turkish Government, in the Spring of 1915, set about the execution of its monstrous project of exterminating a million of Armenians, all the nations of Europe were unhappily bleeding to exhaustion, owing to the tragic blindness of their mutual misunderstanding, and there was no one to hinder the lurid tyrants of Turkey from carrying

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on to the bitter end those revolting atrocities which can only be likened to the acts of a criminal lunatic. And so they drove the whole people—men, women, hoary elders, children, expectant mothers and dumb sucklings—into the Arabian desert, with no other object than to let them starve to death.

For a long time, Europeans had been wont to regard Siberia as one of the most inhospitable regions in the world; to be condemned to live there was regarded as a most severe punishment. And yet, even in that place, there are fertile lands and, despite the cold of its winters, the climate is healthy. But what is Siberia compared with the Mesopotamian Steppes? There we find a long tract of land without grass, without trees, without cattle, covered with stunted weeds, a country where the only inhabitants are Arab Bedouins, destitute of all pity; a stretch of grey limestone plains several miles in extent, bare wastes of rock and stone, ruined river banks, exposed to the rays of a merciless sun, ceaseless autumn rains, and frosty winter nights, leaving sheets of ice behind them. Except its two large rivers there is no water. The few small villages scarcely suffice to feed a handful of Bedouins, who, in their wretched poverty, regard any traveller as a welcome prey. From the dwellings which their race had held for



Armenian women refugees devouring the flesh of dead horses

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more than two thousand years, from all parts of the Empire, from the stony passes of the mountain region to the shores of the Sea of Marmora and the palmy oases of the South, the Armenians were driven into this desolate waste, with the alleged purpose of forcibly transplanting them from their homes to a strange land—a purpose which, even had it been the real one, is repugnant to every human feeling. The men were struck down in batches, bound together with chains and ropes, and thrown into the river or rolled down the mountain with fettered limbs. The women and children were put on sale in the public market; the old men and boys driven with deadly bastonados to forced labour. Nor was this sufficient; in order to render indelible the stain on their criminal hands, the captors drove the people, after depriving them of their leaders and spokesmen, out of the towns at all hours of the day and night, half-naked, straight out of their beds; plundered their houses, burnt the villages, destroyed the churches or turned them into mosques, carried off the cattle, seized all the vehicles, snatched the bread out of the mouths of their victims, tore the clothes from off their backs, the gold from their hair. Officials—military officers, soldiers, shepherds—vied with one another in their wild orgy of blood, dragging out of the schools delicate orphan girls

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to serve their bestial lusts, beat with cudgels dying women or women close on childbirth who could scarcely drag themselves along, until the women fell down on the road and died, changing the dust beneath them into bloodstained mire. Travellers passing along the road turned away their eyes in horror from this moving multitude, driven on with devilish cruelty—only to find in their inns new-born babes buried in the dung-heaps of the court-yards, and the roads covered with severed heads of boys, who had raised them in supplication to their torturers. Parties which on their departure from the homeland of High Armenia consisted of thousands, numbered on their arrival in the outskirts of Aleppo only a few hundreds, while the fields were strewed with swollen, blackened corpses, infecting the air with their odours, lying about desecrated, naked, having been robbed of their clothes, or driven, bound back to back, to the Euphrates to provide food for the fishes. Sometimes gendarmes in derision threw into the emaciated hands of the starving people a little meal which they greedily licked off, merely with the result of prolonging their death-agony.

Even before the gates of Aleppo they were allowed no rest. For incomprehensible and utterly unjustifiable reasons of war, the shrunken parties were ceaselessly

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driven barefooted, hundreds of miles under a burning sun, through stony defiles, over pathless steppes, enfeebled by fever and other maladies, through semi-tropical marshes, into the wilderness of desolation. Here they died—slain by Kurds, robbed by gendarmes, shot, hanged, poisoned, stabbed, strangled, mown down by epidemics, drowned, frozen, parched with thirst, starved—their bodies left to putrefy or to be devoured by jackals.

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

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

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

Mr. President, if you will look through

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

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

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

But the country to which I have returned is a poor country; Germany is a conquered nation. My own people (the Germans) are near starvation; the streets are full of the poor and wretched. Can I beg help of a people which perhaps will soon not be in a condition to save itself for a people (the Armenians) which is in even more evil case?

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

## TO PRESIDENT WILSON

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

Mr. President, the wrong suffered by this people is immeasurable. I have read everything that has been written about the war. I have carefully made myself acquainted with the horrors in every country on this earth, the fearful slaughters in every battle, the ships sunk by torpedoes, the bombs thrown down on the towns by air-craft, the heartrending slaughters in Belgium, the misery of the French refugees, the fearful sickness and epidemics in Roumania. But here is wrong to be righted such as none of these peoples has suffered—neither the French nation, nor the Belgian, nor the English, nor the Russian, nor the Serbian, nor the Roumanian, nor even the German nation, which has had to suffer so much in this war. The barbarous peoples of ancient times may possibly have endured a similar fate. But here we have a highly civilised nation, with a great and glorious past, which has rendered services that can never be forgotten to art, literature and learning; a nation which has produced many remarkable and intellectual men, profoundly religious, with a noble priesthood; a Christian people, whose members are dispersed over the whole earth, many of whom have lived for many years in your

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country, Mr. President. Men acquainted with all the languages of the world, men whose wives and daughters have been accustomed to sit in comfortable chairs at a table covered with a clean white cloth, not to crouch in a cave in the wilderness. Sagacious merchants, distinguished doctors, scholars, artists, honest prosperous peasants who made the land fruitful, and whose only fault was that they were defenceless and spoke a different language from that of their persecutors, and were born into a different faith.

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

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

I am making no accusation against Islam. The spirit of every great religion is noble, and the conduct of many a Moham-

## TO PRESIDENT WILSON

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medan has made us blush for the deeds of Europe.

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

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

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

In the Berlin Treaty of July 1878, all the six European Great Powers gave the most solemn guarantees that they would guard the tranquillity and security of the Armenian people. But has this promise

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ever been kept? Even Abdul Hamid's massacres failed to bring it to remembrance, and in blind greed the nations pursued selfish aims, not one putting itself forward as the champion of an oppressed people.

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

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

It would be an irremediable mistake if the Armenian districts of Russia were not joined with the Armenian provinces of Anatolia and Cilicia to form one common country entirely liberated from Turkish rule, with an outlet of its own to the sea. It is not enough, Mr. President, that you should know the sufferings of these people. It is not enough that you should give them a state in which the houses are destroyed, the fields laid waste, the citizens murdered. The exhaustion of this country is such that by its own strength it cannot rise again. Its trade is ruined; its handicrafts and industries have collapsed. The

## TO PRESIDENT WILSON

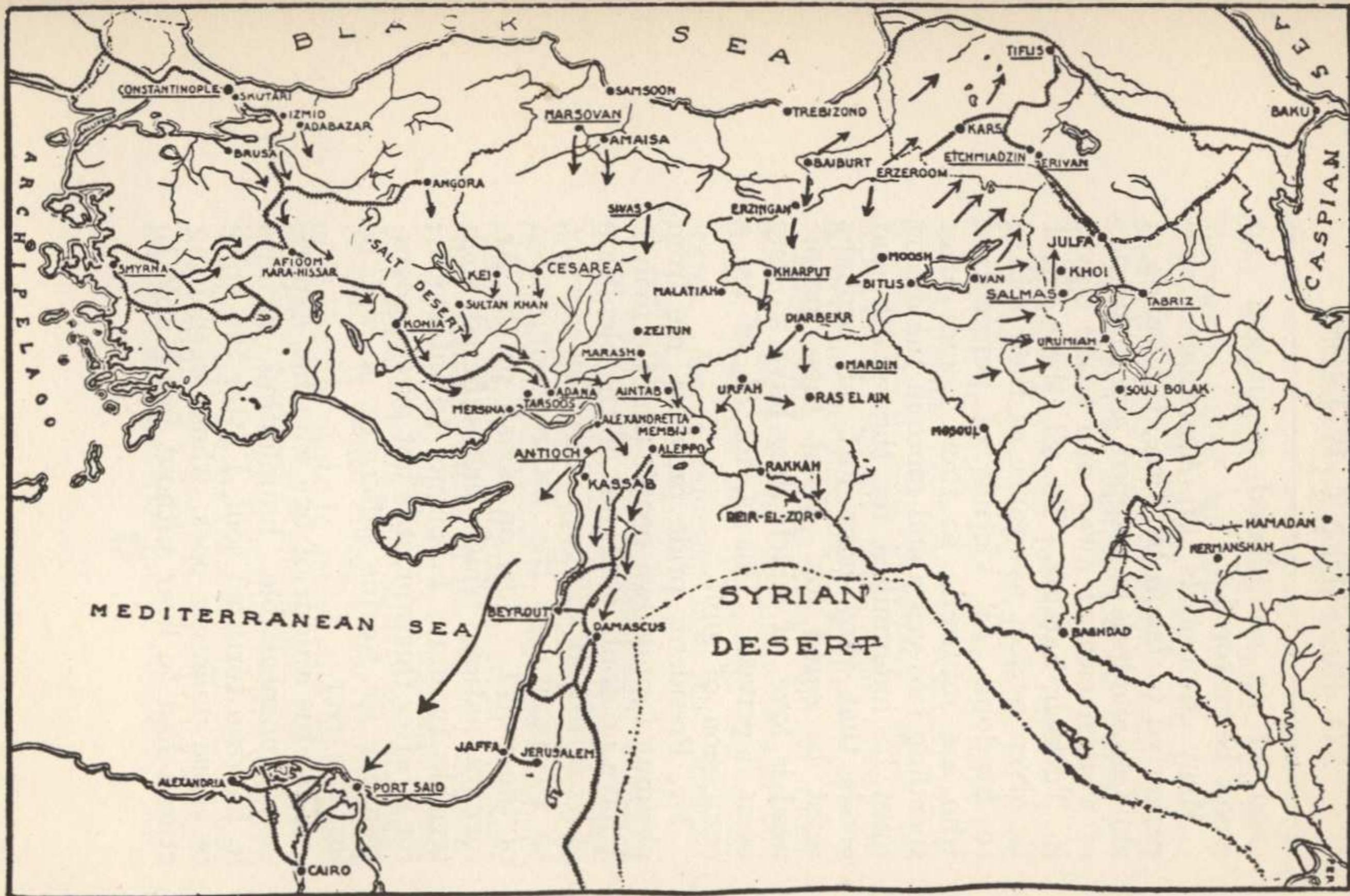
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asset of its annihilated population can never be restored.

Many thousands of Armenians were perverted to Islam by force, thousands of children and girls kidnapped, and thousands of women carried away and made slaves in Turkish harems. To all these must be given perfect assurance of their return to freedom. All victims of persecution who are returning to their homes after spending two years and more in the desert must be indemnified for the wealth and goods that they have lost, all orphans must be cared for. What these people need is love, of which they have so long been deprived. This is, for all of us, a confession of guilt.

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

With the ardour of one who has experienced unspeakable, humiliating sorrows in his own tortured soul, I utter the voice of those unhappy ones, whose despairing cries I had to hear without being able to



Arrows Showing Origins and Directions of Mass Deportations.

## AN OPEN LETTER

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still them, whose cruel deaths I could only helplessly mourn, whose bones bestrew the deserts of the Euphrates, and whose limbs once more become alive in my heart and admonish me to speak.

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

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

AN OVERVIEW

The first part of the book is devoted to a general introduction to the subject of the history of the world. It begins with a discussion of the early human races and their migrations, and then proceeds to a survey of the various civilizations that have flourished on the earth since the dawn of history. The author discusses the rise and fall of the great empires, the development of the various religions, and the progress of science and art. He also touches upon the influence of the environment upon human life, and the role of chance in the course of history. The second part of the book is a detailed account of the history of the world from the beginning of the Christian era to the present day. It is divided into several periods, each of which is characterized by certain distinctive features. The first period is the Middle Ages, which is marked by the dominance of the Church and the feudal system. The second period is the Renaissance, which is characterized by the revival of the arts and sciences. The third period is the Age of Discovery, which is marked by the exploration of the world and the establishment of the great colonial empires. The fourth period is the Age of Revolution, which is characterized by the rise of the modern nation-states and the development of the democratic principles. The fifth period is the Age of Imperialism, which is marked by the competition for power and territory between the great powers. The sixth period is the Age of Modernity, which is characterized by the rapid progress of science and technology, and the emergence of the modern world.



A COLLECTION OF PHOTOGRAPHS  
WITH  
A NOTE TO THE READER

Of the numerous photographs of the original scenes of the Turkish Armenocide the following twenty-six (26) are not to be found in the original edition of *The Memoirs of Naim Bey*. They were gathered from various sources, compiled and captioned by us for the 1965 edition of Naim Bey's Memoirs.

M. G. Sevag, Ph.D.  
*One of the Surviving Victims*

April 24, 1965

Fiftieth Anniversary of the Turkish Armenocide



1. Women and Children Driven to an Unknown Destination



VIA DOLOROSA.

—Kirby in the *New York World*.

2. Via Dolorosa



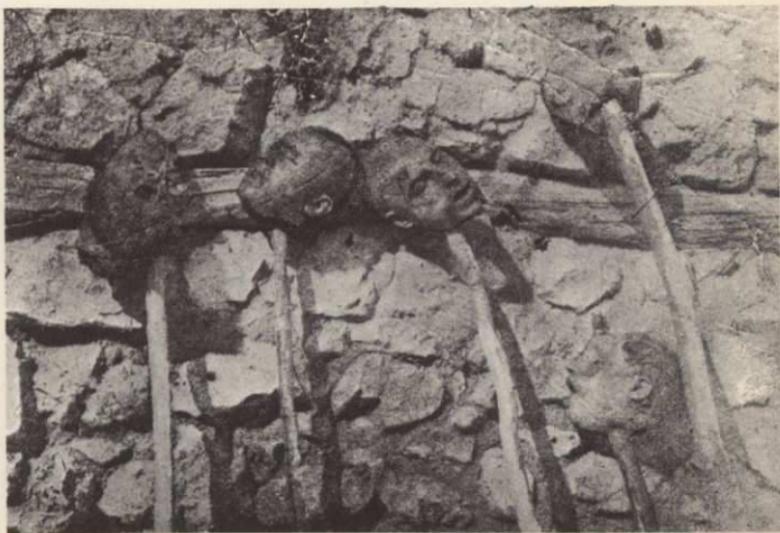
3. After Slaughter



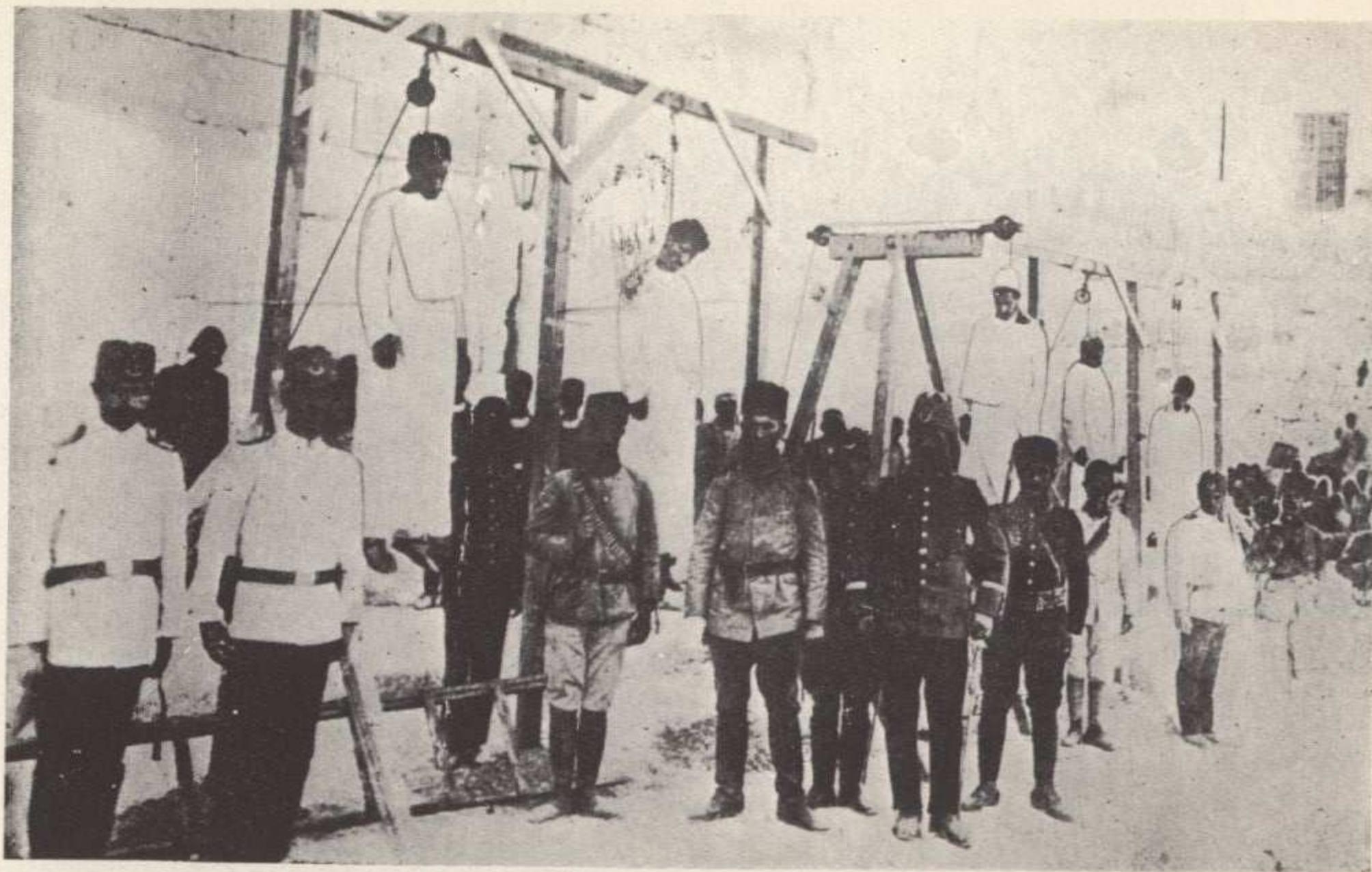
4. After Slaughter



5. Parents murdered. A boy from Tokat tails the caravan of deportees.



6. Severed heads mounted on sticks. A Turkish festival of murder.  
*(Photographed by a German Officer in Turkey)*



7. Turkish hangmen and their victims. (*A scene in a public square in Aleppo, 1915*)



8. Last days of starving children. (*Arabian Desert. Photograph by a German Officer in Turkey.*)



9. A starved Armenian mother with her two starved children.  
*(Arabian Desert. Photograph by a Vienesese Officer in Turkey, 1916.)*



10. A group of starved women and children. A monument for the glorification of Turkish Racism.  
*(Photograph by a Viennese Officer, 1916)*



11. Remains of mass murder by Turks (*Photograph by Miss Jacobson*)



12. After slaughter, in the Province of Ankara, Turkey.



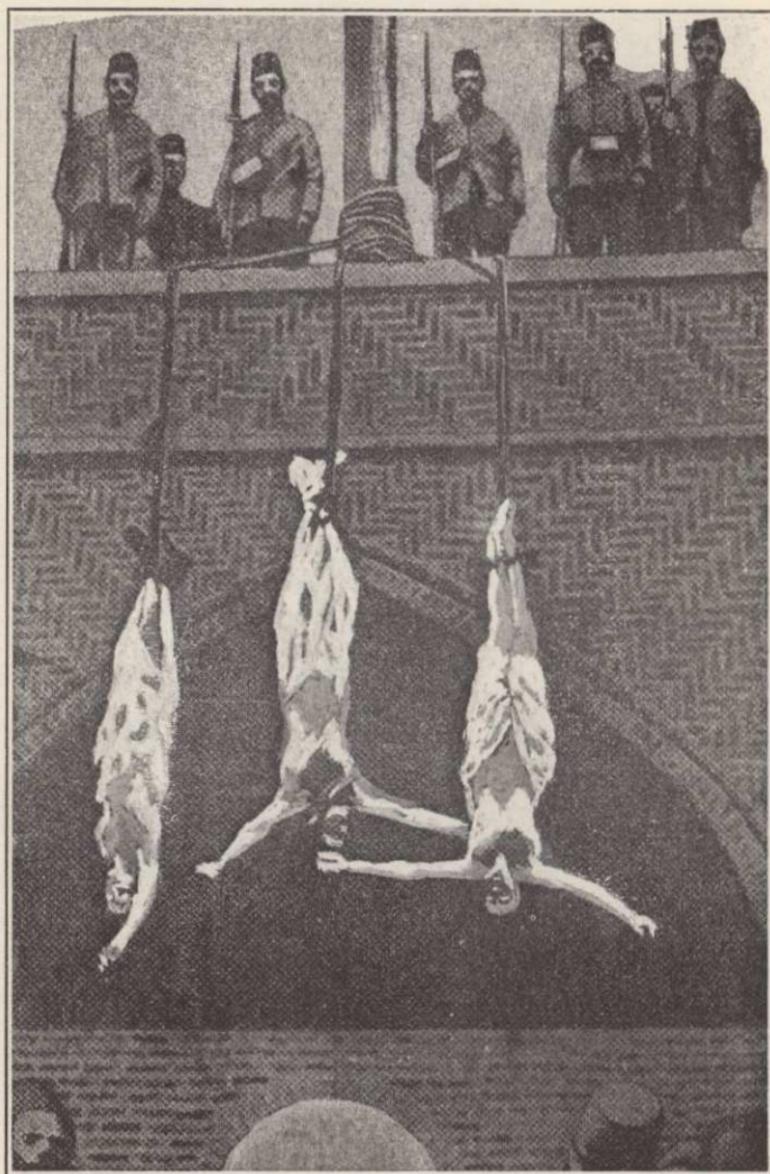
13. Turkish—German Fraternity. *Turkish and German Officers celebrated the deportation of Erzuroum Armenians with wine and topped it with the raping of Armenian maidens.*



14. In the desert of Der-el-Zor. Why there are no living Armenians in the Armenian provinces in Turkey.



15. A scene of mass murder. (*Mesopotamia, 1915. Photograph by a German Officer in Turkey.*)

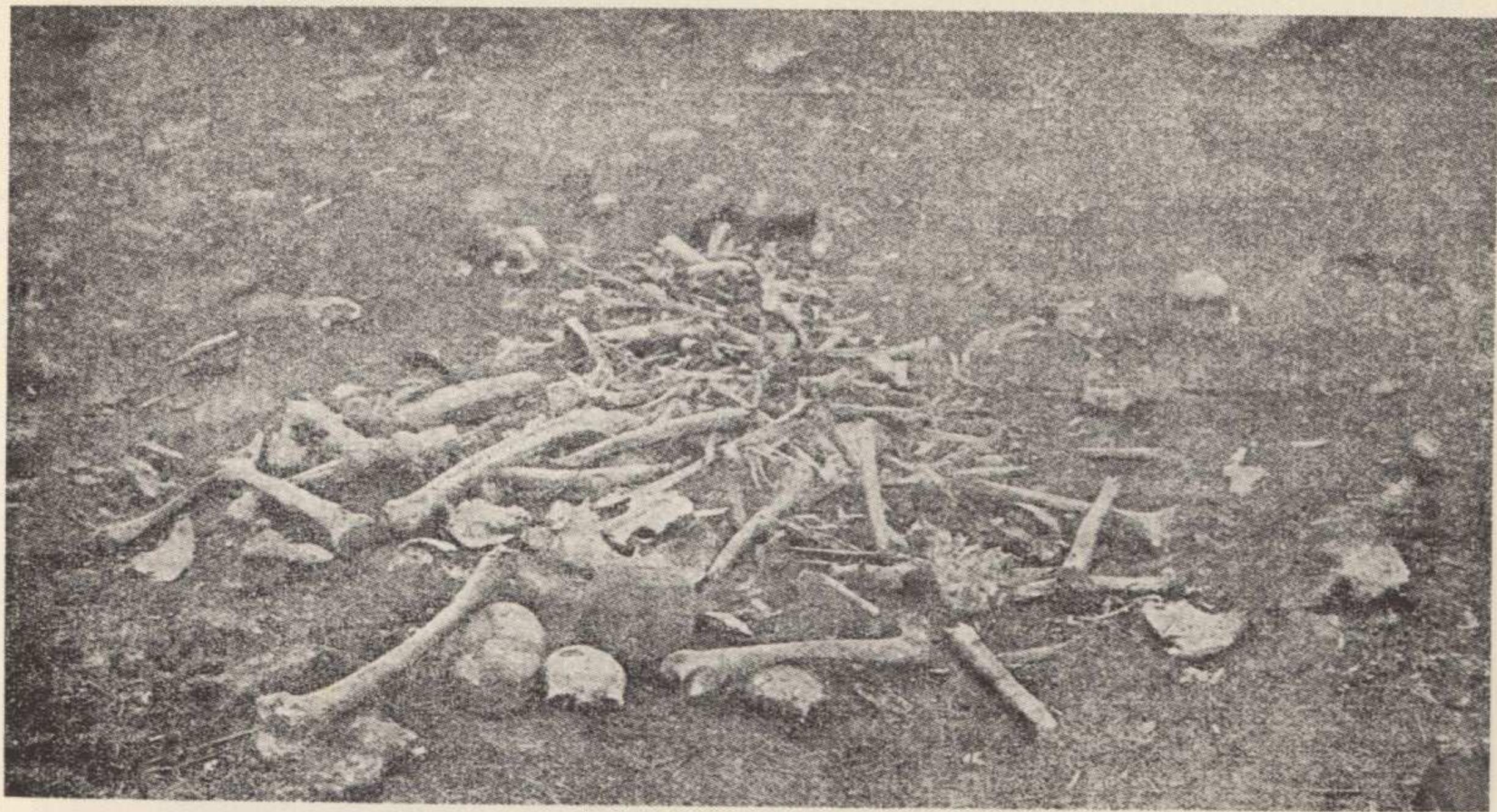


16. Hanged Armenian Doctors and the Turkish Hangmen.

*(Armenian physicians murdered by Turks, 60, and 41 died in Turkish Military Service of spotted typhus; pharmacists murdered, 31, and 15 died in military service of spotted typhus; dentists murdered, 8; Armenian medical students murdered, 13.)*



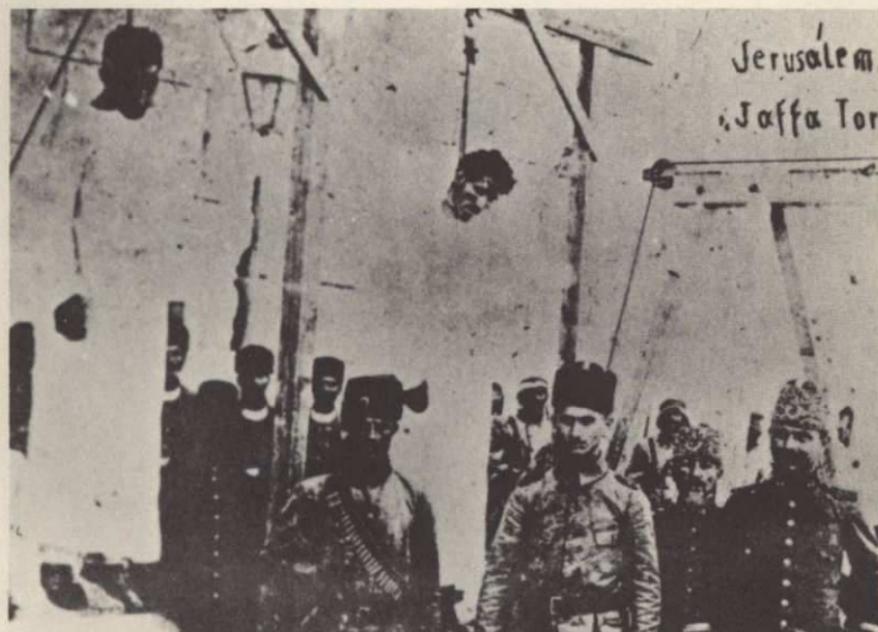
17. *A Mound of Skulls of the murdered and starved Armenians in Der-el-zor gathered from the desert at the end of World War I.*



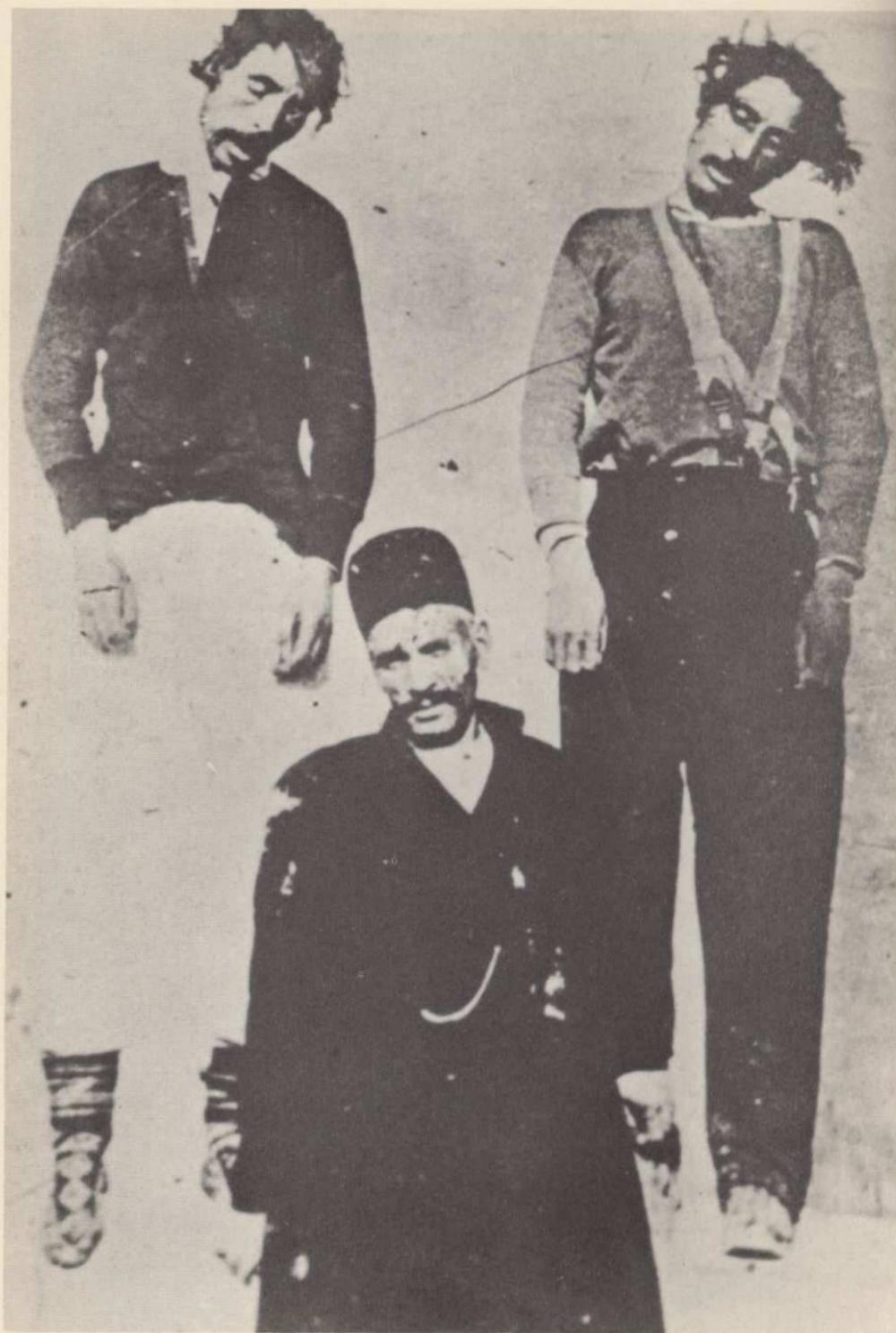
18. A public square of Erzinjan in Turkey. *An Armenian Theatre had been planned for this square, now the remains of the murdered Armenians act the roles of their tragedy.*



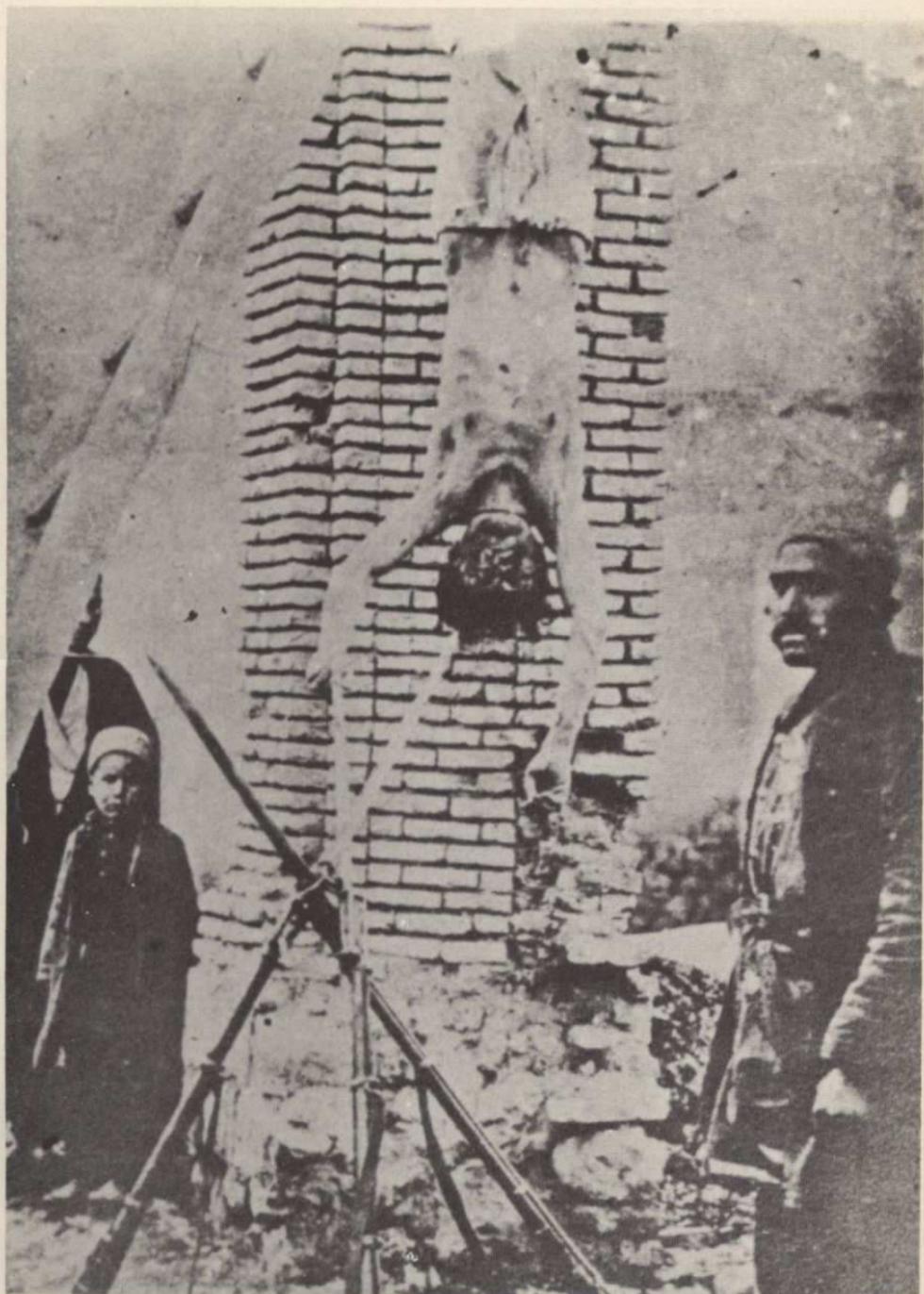
19. A quarry of skulls and bones of Armenians murdered by Turks.



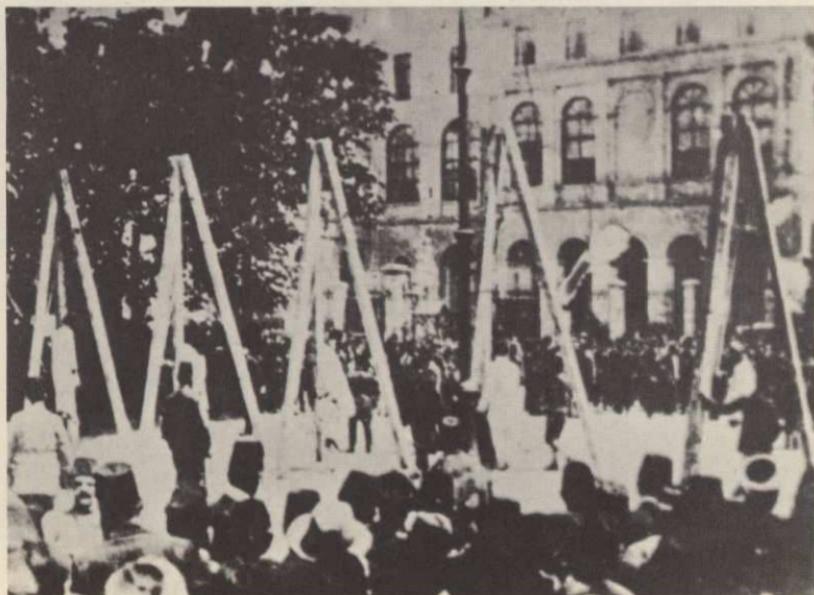
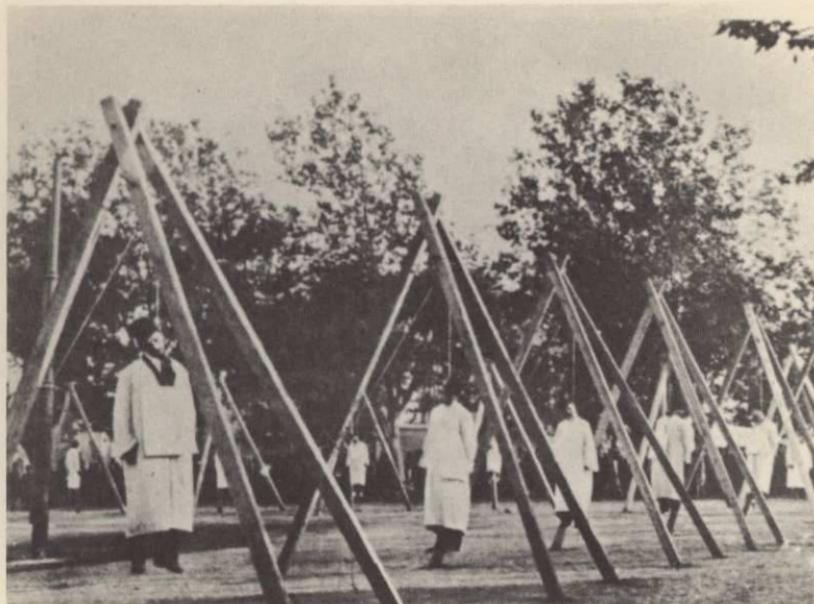
20. The Turkish hangmen and Arab victims.



21. The parade of victims and their Turkish hangmen.



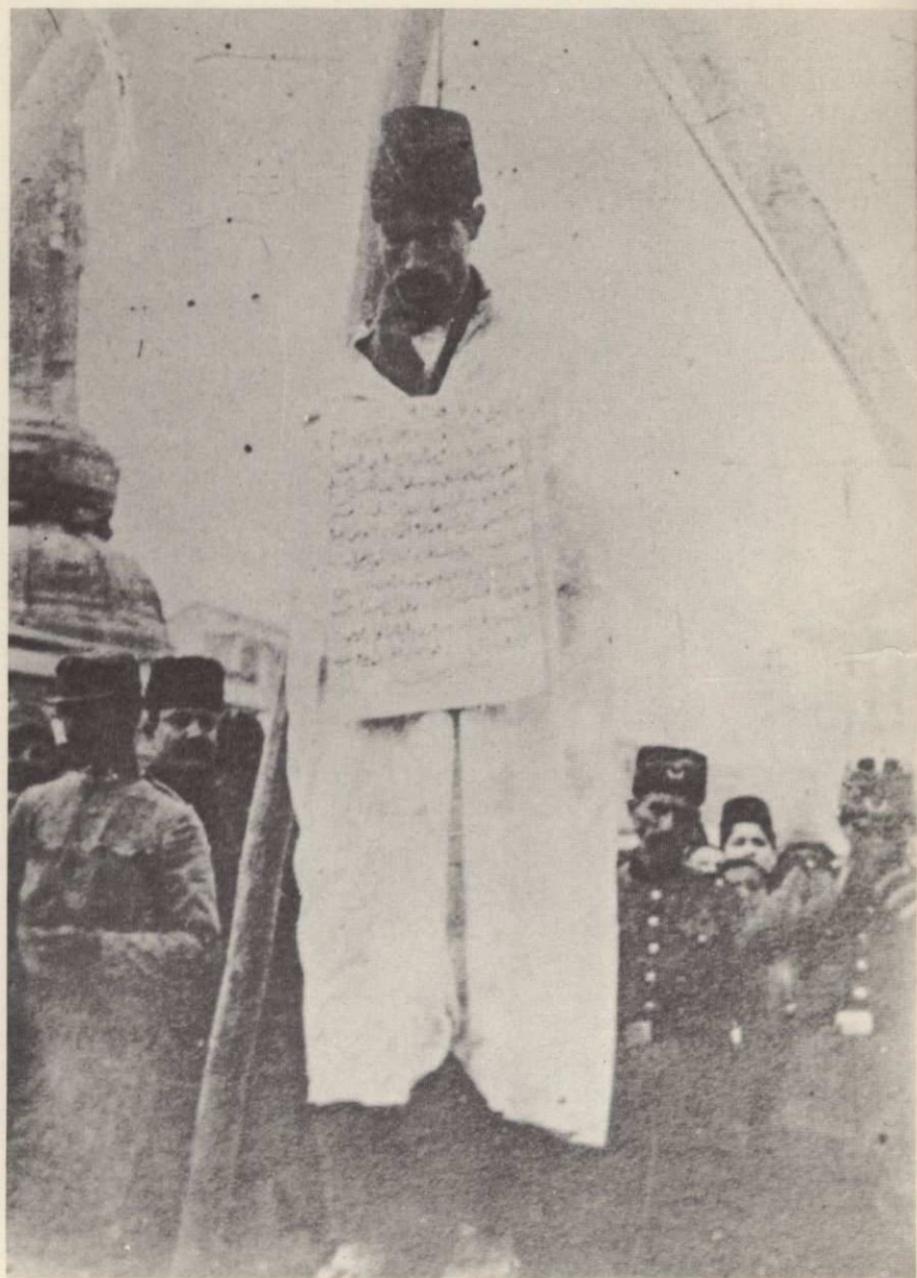
22. The Turkish hangmen and the Armenian victim whose battered face was hidden from view.



23. The parade of victims and their Turkish hangmen.



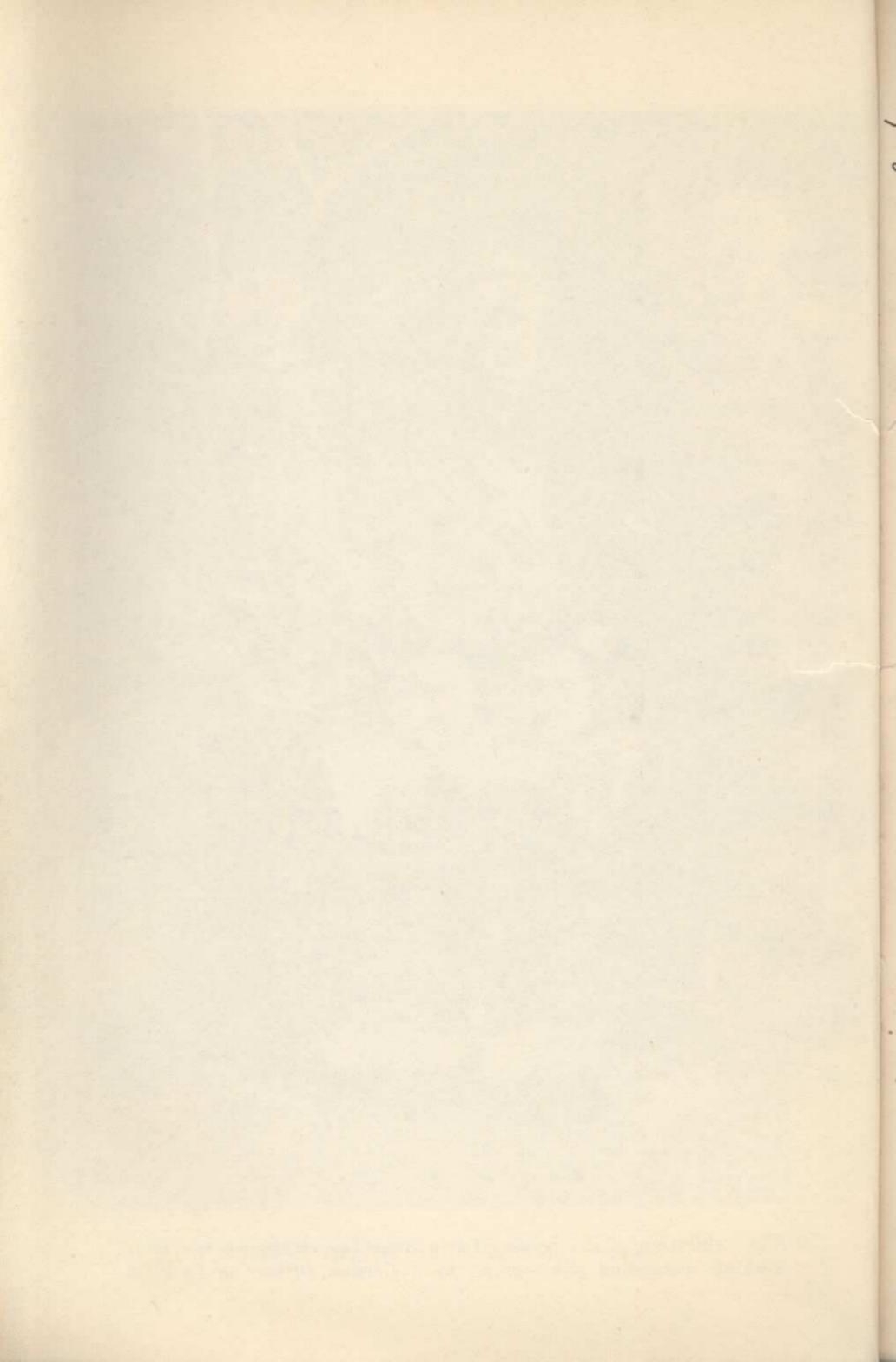
24. The parade of victims and their Turkish hangmen.



25. The Turkish hangman and the Armenian victims.



26. The exhibition of the heads of two Armenian clergymen and their Turkish assassins (*Photograph by a German Officer in Turkey*).





B L A C K S E A

R U S S I A

C A S P I A N S E A

M E D I T E R R A N E A N S E A

G r e a t S y r i a n D e s e r t

A R A B I A N D E S E R T

- 1915
- - - 1916
- · - · 1917
- · · · 1918

Cairo  
Suez  
SINAI PENINSULA  
Gaza  
Jerusalem  
Amman  
Beersheba  
Hebron  
El Khatib  
Asludch  
Ruhelbe  
Magdaban  
Et Arish  
Dyebel Maghara  
Dyebel Jelak  
Dyebel Jalul  
Kuzelma  
Kadesh Barnea  
Meen

Constantinople

Angora

Afium Kara Hisar

Konia

Mersina

Aleppo

Hama

Beirut

Acre

Jerusalem

Cairo

Kaisarie

Nigde

Marsina

Aleppo

Hama

Beirut

Acre

Jerusalem

Cairo

Sivas

Kaisarie

Nigde

Marsina

Aleppo

Hama

Beirut

Acre

Jerusalem

Cairo

Erzerum

Mush

Marash

Urfa

Aleppo

Hama

Beirut

Acre

Jerusalem

Cairo

Van

Bitlis

Mardin

Urfa

Aleppo

Hama

Beirut

Acre

Jerusalem

Cairo

Baghdad

Mosul

Mardin

Urfa

Aleppo

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Aleppo

Hama

Beirut

Acre

Jerusalem

Cairo

