

THE ARMENIAN QUESTION ACCORDING TO *TAKVİM-İ VEKAYİ*
(1914-1918)

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis analyses the Armenian Question and the situation of Armenians between the years, 1914-1918, through basing on the news published in *Takvim-i Vekayi* during this period. These years when the dislocation of Armenians occurred had been the turning point in the Armenian Question. Because the events occurring during the dislocation have been represented as genocide and today, this claim is one of the important question for Turkey. *Takvim-i Vekayi*, as being the first official newspaper of the Ottoman Empire, includes the significant news relating to the dislocation. So it is important to study the Armenian Question between 1914-1918 according to *Takvim-i Vekayi*. This thesis not only represents the news on laws, provisional laws and regulations about the dislocation but also gives information about the social, political, economic, legal and religious situations of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire during the years, 1914-1918.

Keywords: *Takvim-i Vekayi*, Armenians, Armenian Question, Dislocation.

ÖZ

TAKVİM-İ VEKAYİ'YE GÖRE ERMENİ MESELESİ **(1914-1918)**

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Bu çalışma, 1914-1918 yılları arasında Ermeni Meselesi'ni ve Ermenilerin durumunu *Takvim-i Vekayi* gazetesinde bu dönem içerisinde yayınlanmış olan haberlere dayanarak incelemiştir. Ermeni tehcirinin gerçekleştiği dönemi içeren 1914-1918 yılları, Ermeni Meselesi'nde bir dönüm noktasıdır. Çünkü tehcir sırasında meydana gelen olaylar bugün soykırım olarak nitelendirilmekte ve bu iddia günümüzde de Türkiye için önemli problemlerden bir tanesini oluşturmaktadır. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun ilk resmi gazetesi olarak *Takvim-i Vekayi*, tehcirle ilgili önemli haberleri içermektedir. Bundan dolayı Ermeni Meselesi'nin 1914-1918 yılları arasında *Takvim-i Vekayi*'de yer alan haberler üzerinden incelenmesi önemlidir. Bu çalışma tehcirle ilgili çıkarılmış olan kanun, geçici kanun ve yönetmeliklerin yanında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki Ermenilerin 1914-1918 yılları arasında sosyal, siyasal, ekonomik, hukuki ve dini yaşamlarına dair bilgileri de sunmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Takvim-i Vekayi*, Ermeniler, Ermeni Meselesi, Tehcir.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	iii
ÖZ.....	iv
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vi
CHAPTER	
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 <i>Takvim-i Vekayi</i>	1
1.1.1 The Objects in Its Publication and The Function of <i>Takvim-i Vekayi</i>	1
1.1.2 <i>Takvim-i Vekayi</i> , 1831-1908	4
1.1.3 <i>Takvim-i Vekayi</i> , 1908-1922	5
1.2 Armenians in the Ottoman Empire	8
1.2.1 Millet System and Turco-Armenian Relations	8
1.3 Armenian Question	12
1.3.1 Advent of Nationalism and Brief Evaluation of Armenian Nationalist Claims	12
1.3.2 Role of External and Internal Major Events	15
1.3.3 The Organization of the Armenian Separatist Movements and Uprisings.....	22

2. POLITICAL, ADMINISTRATIVE, SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, LEGAL AND RELIGIOUS SITUATIONS OF ARMENIANS ACCORDING TO <i>TAKVİM-İ VEKAYİ</i>	27
2. 1 Political, Administrative and Social Situations of Armenians	27
2. 2 Economic Situation of Armenians	32
2. 3 Legal Situation of Armenians	36
2. 4 Religious Situation of Armenians	44
3. DISLOCATION	49
3. 1 Important Developments Relating to the Armenian Question Until Dislocation	49
3.1.1 Reform Projects for the Eastern Provinces and Their Final Stage, 1914 February Project	49
3.1.2 The Van Revolt of 1915	54
3. 2 The News Relating to Dislocation in <i>Takvim-i Vekayi</i>	57
3.2.1 Laws, Provisional Laws and Regulations	57
3.2.2 The News Concerning the Liquidation Commissions	81
3.2.3 The News on the Appropriations Reserved for the Commission of Settlement and Immigrants	85
3. 2.4 The News Concerning Diseases	87
3. 2.5 The News on the Activities of Armenians Against the Ottoman Army and Muslims in Eastern Anatolia, in 1918	90
4. CONCLUSION	92
REFERENCES	97

APPENDICES

- A. The Regulation of the Armenian Catholicosate and Patriarchate..... 102

- B. Regulation Informing the Ways of Enforcement of the Provisional Law Dated 13
September 1331 and ‘Taarifname’ 107

- C. The List of the Commissions of Abandoned Properties 111

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 *Takvim-i Vekayi*

1.1.1 *Takvim-i Vekayi: The Objects in its Publication and The Function of Takvim-i Vekayi*

The first newspapers in the Ottoman Empire started to be seen from 1795 onwards. Firstly *Bulletin de Nouvelles* was began to be published by the French Embassy in İstanbul, in 1795. Then the embassy published the second newspaper, *Le Journal de Constantinople*, one year later. However the printing house of the French Embassy was closed in 1798 because of the French occupation in Egypt and the publication of *Le Journal de Constantinople* came to an end. Then in the first half of the nineteenth century a number of newspapers were published in İzmir. These were *Spectateur Oriental* (1821), *Smyrneen* (1824) and *Currier de Smyrne* (1824).

After these experiences in the publication of journal, the Ottoman press started with the publication of the first official newspaper, *Takvim-i Vekayi*. It began to be published on 1 November 1831 and occupied a special place in the history of the Ottoman press because of being the first Turkish and official newspaper.¹ First of all some needs necessitate the

¹ In other words, journalism in Turkish began with *Takvim-i Vekayi*. Nesimi Yazıcı states that although the newspaper, *Vakayi-i Misriye* (started to be published in 1828, Egypt) and *Vakayi-i Giridiye* (in 1831, Crete) published by Mehmet Ali Pasha contain the part in Turkish, *Takvim-i Vekayi* should be accepted as the first Turkish newspaper. Because, first of all, it was published completely in Turkish. Moreover when its continuity, the number of its printing copies, the situation of its delivery and the impact emerged with its publication are taken into account it is accepted as the first Turkish newspaper. See: Nesimi Yazıcı, 'İlk Türkçe Gazetemiz

publication of *Takvim-i Vekayi*. When we look at the time of its first printing we see that it coincided with the time of Mahmud II, the period preparing the background of Tanzimat Reforms. In the very time many reforms in political, social and cultural realms were realized. The enforcement of new laws and regulations or the developments in administration, military, culture and economy increased the need of the Ottoman state for the official journal which reached these innovations into the public. The state wanted to inform its bureaucracy and subjects about the reforms and in this way it wanted to create the public opinion which is at the side of the Ottoman state.²

As being parallel the objects, firstly the civil-servants in high positions were selected as the readers and the particular amount of the copies of *Takvim-i Vekayi* started to be sent to the administrative centers for the civil-servants.³

Beside the readers, also the language of *Takvim-i Vekayi* shows the state's desire for reaching into the large amount of the population as much as possible. According to this, the Turkish used in *Takvim-i Vekayi* was simple and understandable in order to be read by the ordinary Turkish subjects. Also to reach into the other subjects, Greeks, Armenians, Arabs and Persians *Takvim-i Vekayi* was published in Greek, Armenian, Arabic and Persian in the particular times.⁴ In addition to the desire for reaching the all subjects within the Ottoman

Takvim-i Vekayi ile İlgili Bazı Düşünceler', *Milletlerarası Türkiye Sosyal ve İktisat Tarihi Kongresi*, 21-25 Ağustos 1989, Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara, 1990, p. 215.

² The Ottoman state wanted to make contact with its own subjects directly. In other words the imperial edicts announced in public squares, the speeches made in the mosques, the propaganda of the sheiks replaced with the official newspaper and this was the directing of the public opinion in the European style. See: İlber Ortaylı, *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı*, 13th pr., İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2002, p. 46.

³ According to the delivery book belonging to *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 1 copy was sent to the centers for the civil-servants, soldiers and religious people in high ranks; 10 copies were sent to the centers of the towns and sub-districts for the civil-servants and important people; 2 copies were sent to other sub-districts for the judges and notables. In this application 5000 copies were printed daily and subscription fee was taken in advance. See: Nesimi Yazıcı, *Takvim-i Vekayi: Belgeler*, Gazi Üniversitesi Basın Yayın Yüksekokulu Basımevi, Ankara, 1983, p. 48; Cengiz Orhonlu, 'Türkçe Yayınlanan İlk Gazete: Takvim-i Vekayi', *Belgelerle Türk Tarihi Dergisi*, vol.1, no.6, İstanbul, March 1968, pp. 35-39.

⁴ We have very little information about *Takvim-i Vekayi* in Arabic and Persian. Only some information is given by Yazıcı. According to him, *Takvim-i Vekayi* in Arabic and Persian was started to be published in 1832 and the documents show that the translators continued to take their salaries till 1838. However this doesn't show that they're published regularly between 1832-1838. See: Yazıcı, *Takvim-i Vekayi...*, pp. 63-65; Orhan Koloğlu, *Takvim-i Vekayi Türk Basınında 150 Yıl (1831-1981)*, Ankara, no date, pp. 37-38. The only Arabic copy of

Empire, it is aimed at being effective in creating public opinion in Europe. So in the beginning, it was thought to be publish the half of *Takvim-i Vekayi* in French and the other half in Turkish. In the following days this thought was not adopted and it was determined that the two separate copies were published; one in French and the other one in Turkish.⁵ Then the French copy of *Takvim-i Vekayi*, *Le Moniteur Ottoman*, began to be published on 5 November 1831.⁶ From the first years of its publishing onwards it became the main source of news about the Ottoman Empire in the European embassies and by effecting from it, *Moniteur Egyptien* was began to be published in August 1833 with the same objects but its publishing continued only for eight months.⁷

Finally, for representing clearer picture, we can state the objects of the publication of *Takvim-i Vekayi* through the list given by Koloğlu:⁸

(1) Learning of the events both inside and outside the Ottoman Empire by all the Ottoman subjects and to show the policy of the Ottoman state to the foreigners; (2) To provide public order through not giving way into the expansion of the untrue news from the other sources; (3) Presentation of the information on art, physics, politics and commerce to the benefit of the public; (4) To make the policy of the state known to the public and in this way to provide the adopting of this policy by the subjects. Finally through the adoption to continue the unity of the Ottoman state.

1.1.2 *Takvim-i Vekayi* (1831-1908)

Takvim-i Vekayi dated 5 March 1845 is presented by Selim Nüzhet Gerçek. In this way we can follow the presence of *Takvim-i Vekayi* in Arabic till 1845. Selim Nüzhet Gerçek, 'Takvim-i Vekayi', *Aylık Ansiklopedi*, vol.1, İstanbul, 1945, pp. 189-191. For *Takvim-i Vekayi* published in Greek and Armenian, it can be said that they were began to be published in 1832 and because the income did not meet the expenditures, their publication was stopped in the same year. Then we know that they were started to be published again in 1840 and we have some information showing their presence until 1855, see: Yazıcı, *Takvim-i Vekayi...*, pp. 60-63; Koloğlu, *Takvim-i Vekayi...*, pp. 38-43.

⁵ Yazıcı, *Takvim-i Vekayi...*, pp. 27-28; 30-31.

⁶ Yazıcı states that *Le Moniteur Ottoman* continued to be published regularly for five years and he follows the presence of it till 1850, see: Yazıcı, *Takvim-i Vekayi...*, pp. 56-58. After 1850 there is no information to which time it continued to be published or whether it was published regularly or not.

⁷ Orhan Koloğlu, *İlk Gazete İlk Polemik: Vekay-i Mısriyye'nin Öyküsü ve Takvim-i Vekayi ile Tartışması*, Çağdaş Gazeteciler Derneği, Ankara, 1989, pp. 65-67. It is also stated that *Vekay-i Mısriyye* could not be as effective as *Takvim-i Vekayi* and in March 1834 its publishing was stopped.

⁸ Koloğlu, *Takvim-i Vekayi...*, pp. 6-7.

Between the years 1831-1908 the publication of *Takvim-i Vekayi* was stopped two times, in 1879 and 1891, because of typographical errors. So the publishing of it continued with the two intervals. The period containing the years between 1831-1879, the first thoughts about the publication of the official newspaper is seen in the official writings among the Sultan and his bureaucrats. It is seen that this thought was discussed for a long time and even the suggestions were presented about the name of the future official newspaper, the quality of the news cited in it, the employments made for the newspaper, its delivery and its subscribers.⁹ Then for the publishing of *Takvim-i Vekayi*, Takvimhane-i Amire was set up and for the management of it, Takvimhane Nezareti was established. For the first eight months it was published regularly as being weekly newspaper. However after the eight months, though all those works made in the beginning, the significant breakdowns emerged in the publishing of *Takvim-i Vekayi*. After 1849 with the endeavors of Mustafa Reşid Pasha *Takvim-i Vekayi* reached its previous standards and the content of it was expanded and even the translations from the foreign newspapers and information on physics were taken place in *Takvim-i Vekayi*.¹⁰ Indeed the content of *Takvim-i Vekayi* did not display the characteristics of an official newspaper in the very time. Regarding the quality of the news it is seen that these news divided into two parts: official news and non-official news. Official news included only the internal events and non-official news include both internal and external events. The news were given under the titles of Umur-ı Hariciye, Umur-ı Dahiliye, Mevadd-ı Askeriye, Es'ar and Fünun.¹¹ Towards 1860s the content of *Takvim-i Vekayi* transformed into the content of an official newspaper and after 1860 only the regulations, laws, declarations and

⁹ Yazıcı, *Takvim-i Vekayi...*, pp. 41-51; Adnan Giz, 'İlk Türk Gazetesi Takvim-i Vekayi', *Belgelerle Türk Tarihi Dergisi*, no.62, March 2002, pp. 70-72.

¹⁰ Enver Behnan Şapolyo, *Türk Gazeteciliği Tarihi: Her Yönüyle Basın*, Güven Matbaası, Ankara, 1969, pp. 105-106.

¹¹ Until 1860 it is seen that the scope of the news in *Takvim-i Vekayi* was very extensive. For example in the first years of its publishing it entered polemic with *Vekay-i Mısriye*, official newspaper of Egypt, and even the comments about the events experienced during the revolt of Mehmet Ali Pasha were taken place in *Takvim-i Vekayi*. For more information about the polemic and the impact of *Takvim-i Vekayi* in those years, see: Koloğlu, *İlk Gazete İlk Polemik*.

appointments were published.¹² In 1879 the publishing of *Takvim-i Vekayi* was stopped and it started to be published again after twelve years, 6-7 March 1891. However this second period did not last long and in 1892 its publishing was stopped again because of typesetting error.

1.1.3 *Takvim-i Vekayi* (1908-1918)

After the proclamation of the second constitution in 1908 the third and last period of *Takvim-i Vekayi* started. In this period, the content of it reflects the official newspaper.¹³ All regulations, laws, proclamations, instructions, statutes and appointments were published. The followings are the kinds of the news taken place in *Takvim-i Vekayi*.¹⁴

1- Tevcihat (granting rank or position): The news of Tevcihat generally is given in the first page. It contains the appointments of the bureaucrats, governors, mutasarrifs, civil-servants of the civilian administration and finance; announcements on the being removed of them from their positions or the changes occurring in the places of the employments. Generally the news on appointments is given under the sub-titles like Civil-Service (Mülkiye) and Ministry of Finance (Maliye). The news under that title is published like this: ‘Kirkor, sub-governor of Şirvan, was appointed to the sub-governor of Ezine.’¹⁵

2- Nişan and Madalya (medal): After Tevcihat, the news on the granting of medals is published under the title of Nişan and Madalya. In this part the medals given by the foreign countries to the Ottoman subjects or the news on medals given by the Ottoman state to the both Ottoman subjects and foreigners is published. One example can be given to that news:

¹² Also the publication of *Ceride-i Havadis* (1840) and *Tercüman-ı Ahval* (1860) effected the transformation of *Takvim-i Vekayi* into the exact official newspaper. Yazıcı, *Takvim-i Vekayi...*, p. 19.

¹³ It doesn't mean that no news out of official ones was published in *Takvim-i Vekayi*. Under the title of Mevadd-ı Umumiye the events informed by the governors or ministries were taken place. For example the Adana events (1909) were examined by Seyitdanlioğlu through basing on the news of *Takvim-i Vekayi*. See: Mehmet Seyitdanlioğlu, *Takvim-i Vekayi (1908-1918)*, Ankara Üniversitesi Dil Tarih Coğrafya Fakültesi Yakınçağ Tarihi Ana Bilim Dalı Unpublished Ms. Thesis, Ankara, 1985, pp. 108-115.

¹⁴ The list showing the kinds of the events is the parallel with the list of Seyitdanlioğlu. His work on *Takvim-i Vekayi* concentrated on the quality of the newspaper and contains the period, 1908-1922. And when we look at the content we see that the concentration is between the years 1908-1914. For detailed information about the characteristics of *Takvim-i Vekayi*, the format of its pages, size and measurement of it etc., see: Seyitdanlioğlu, *op.cit.*, pp. 29-49.

¹⁵ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 5 November 1330 [18 November 1914], no. 1996, p. 1.

‘The fourth rank Mecidi Nişanı was given to goldsmith Asop Tolayan and Atanin Ütüciyan and İftihar Medals were given to Artaki Kapamaciyan and Diran Kalahat by the Ottoman government.’¹⁶

3- Mukarrerat (decisions) and Tebligat (notification): In this section the news from the Council of State and the Ministry of Public Works including the official records of them is published.

4- Kavanin (laws) and Nizamat (regulations): Until the number 737, all laws, provisional laws and regulations are given under the title of Mevadd-ı Umumiye (common laws) and then they started to be published under the title of Kavanin and Nizamat.¹⁷

5- Mevadd-ı Umumiye: The external and internal events about any issue are published under this title. The news from outside the Ottoman Empire is given under the sub-title of ‘From Ministry of Foreign Affairs’ and the news from inside the Ottoman Empire is published under the sub-title of ‘From the Ministry of Education’. Moreover after 18 October 1908 the announcements made by Public Prosecutor (Dersaadet Müdde-i Umumiliği) started to be published in this section.¹⁸

6- Saray-ı Humayun: this section started to be taken place in *Takvim-i Vekayi* after 18 August 1918. The news about sultan and palace and the writings between sultans and the emperors or kings of other empires are published under this title.

7- İlanlar (notices): The last part of *Takvim-i Vekayi* is reserved for the notices. It consists at least two pages. Sometimes more than half of the pages of the newspaper consist of the notices. They can be given by the government, ministries, administrative offices of the provinces, the courts and the persons.

In the stages of publishing of *Takvim-i Vekayi*, the first Turkish and official newspaper of the Ottoman Empire, it is seen that it was a part of the reforms of Mahmud II. He

¹⁶ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 14 May 1333 [14 May 1917], no. 2883, p. 1.

¹⁷ Seyitdanlioğlu, *op.cit.*, p. 55.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

authorized the publication of *Takvim-i Vekayi* and wanted to use it in order to form and direct the public opinion. By starting to be published with this object, *Takvim-i Vekayi* contained all laws, provisional laws, regulations, declarations, appointments and the other announcements made by the Ottoman state. Although it is an official newspaper it didn't reflect all the characteristics of it until 1860. Because the scope of the news included the non-official news and so the content was more extensive when it is compared with the content of an official newspaper. However after 1860 *Takvim-i Vekayi* transformed into the official newspaper. When we come into the period between 1914-1918 that the thesis includes it is seen that *Takvim-i Vekayi* had all the characteristics of the official newspaper. So the scope of the news is very narrow at this period. However the existing news published in *Takvim-i Vekayi* presents us extensive information for our thesis. It will be seen in the chapters II and III that from the section of Kavanin and Nizamât to the section of İlanlar we can obtain significant amount of information, both official and non-official, about Armenians between 1914-1918.

1.2 Armenians in The Ottoman Empire

1.2.1 Millet System and Turco-Armenian Relations

Before the emergence of the “modern nation system” which is based on ethnicity the people living under the Ottoman rule were defined and divided according to their religious basis. In other words, the beliefs of an individual determined his nationality in the empire. So the term “millet” should be understood as a community defined not on the basis of ethnicity but religious criteria.¹⁹ However, the millet, in the general usage “cemaat”, does not only refer to religious community but it is also the administrative commune which conducts their

¹⁹ Cevdet Küçük, “Osmanlı Devleti’nde Millet Sistemi”, *Osmanlı*, Güler Eren, Kemal Çiçek, Cem Oğuz (eds.), vol.4, Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, Ankara, 1999, pp. 210-211; Bilal Eryılmaz, “Osmanlı Devleti’nde Farklılıklara ve Hoşgörüyü Kavramsal Bir Yaklaşım”, *Osmanlı*, vol.4, p. 236; Yuluğ Tekin Kurat, “Çok Milletli Bir Ulus Olarak Osmanlı İmparatorluğu”, *Osmanlı*, vol.4, p. 359.

educational, social, economic and private (such as marriage, divorce) affairs within itself.²⁰ In the broader sense, Davison gives three usages of the term:

The first and the most common meaning of millet is a community of people, a collection of individuals, who get their identity from a common religious affiliation; in the second usage it refers to primarily the body of doctrine and practice common to one of the confessions, such as millet worship, millet ritual, millet law; the third use of millet means a formal organization of the religious community, its ecclesiastical hierarchy, its clerical or judicial organs, its constitution, its partial autonomy as recognized by the Ottoman Sultan.²¹

In the relation between the Ottoman state and the millets it is seen that in the millet system the Ottoman state did not destroy the existing socio-economic tradition of the units and it had only political claims on their subjects, such as loyalty to the state, payment of the taxes, and the preservation of peace and order.²² According to this administrative policy, whenever the Ottomans began to establish their rule on a new territory, the codes of law which fit the special character of that city or region were prepared and put into effect. Within this context the religious communities under the millet system were free in their language, internal affairs, economic affairs, educational practices and they're not subjected to any efforts by the Ottomans to establish cultural homogeneity. So all the communities under the Ottoman rule could preserve their national identities.

After given the brief outline of the "millet system" the Armenian community in the Ottoman Empire can be evaluated. The relations between the Ottomans and Armenians dated back to the beginning of the establishment of the Ottoman state. The first Ottoman ruler, Osman Bey, permitted Armenians to be organized as a separate community and then the first Armenian religious center was established in Kütahya. When Bursa was conquered and became capital, the religious center in Kütahya was moved to Bursa. After the conquest of İstanbul, the religious leader of the Armenians, Hovakim, was brought from Bursa to İstanbul

²⁰ Eryılmaz, *op.cit.*, p. 360.

²¹ Roderic H. Davison, "The Millets as Agents of Change in the Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Empire", in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society*, B. Braude and B. Lewis (eds.), vol.I, New York, London, 1982, p. 320.

²² Mim Kemal Öke, *The Armenian Question*, Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara, 1993, p. 46.

in 1461 and the Armenian Patriarchate was established with a royal decree. So in the millet system,

Armenians were left to the rule of their religious leader. This formed the basis of developments which opened the way for obtaining and preserving the national identity under the church or under the “mechanism of millet system”. In the following years a number of Armenians living in the villages and rural areas started to migrate into the cities. And generally after this population movement, the Armenian population began to be concentrated in urban areas. For example in the center of Arapgir, the Armenians formed 53% of the total population while they formed only 18% of the total population in the periphery areas of Arapgir.²³ This population movement can be thought as the stage affecting the structure and the future activities of the Armenian population when the Armenian merchants and professionals are taken into account. Following this process, as cited by Sonyel, the Armenian millet formed the five broad classes in the Ottoman Empire:

The first class consisted of rich and influential men in the government and civil service; the second class was the class of merchants, financiers, industrialists of Istanbul and of the cities and towns of Anatolia; third class was composed of peasantry scattered all over the empire; the fourth was the class of the mountaineers; the fifth class included priesthood and higher clergy.²⁴

From the nineteenth century onwards, the first two classes played important role in the financial and bureaucratic realms in the Ottoman Empire who can be also named as “Amiras”, a class composed of the leaders of the community who were favored by the Ottoman government in a variety of way.²⁵ They lived mainly in the big cities and trade centers of the Ottoman Empire. They obtained important positions and pursued some professions in economic realm especially in finance and industry. The Amiras were sarrafs (usurers), the Ottoman designation for a banker or money

²³ Nejat Göyünç, *Osmanlı İdaresinde Ermeniler*, İstanbul, 1983, pp. 50-51.

²⁴ Salahi R. Sonyel, *Minorities and the destruction of the Ottoman Empire*, Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara, 1993, p. 119.

²⁵ Hagop Barsoumian, “The Dual Role of the Armenian Amira Class within the Ottoman Government and the Armenian Millet (1750-1850)”, in *Christians and Jews...*, p. 173.

lender, goldsmiths, merchants and they used their economic power for holding the important positions in the Ottoman Empire. For example Duzian Family held the position of superintendent of the mint until 1880 like a dynastic privilege.²⁶ There were also the superintendent of the gun powder mills from Dadian family.²⁷ Noradounghian family was in charge of the supply of bread to the Ottoman army while Arpiarian family was given the directorship of the silver mines.²⁸ Beside obtaining important positions Amiras were very active in the commercial realm. As merchants they directed transit trade with Persia and almost in every trade centers like İstanbul, Bursa, Sivas and Tokat the existence of Armenian traders can be seen.

The increasing role and influence of Amiras in the Ottoman service coincided with the rise in the influence of the Great Powers in internal administrative and economic affairs of the Ottoman Empire. Because the Armenians used capitulations which were granted to the Great Powers gradually and they gained initiative in commerce through commercial privileges in 18th and 19th centuries.²⁹ They also began to held important positions in journalism, translation activities and diplomatic realm. In other words they became intermediaries between the West and the Ottomans.

However, while much information have been given about the influential Armenians in the sources, there is little information about the activities of the peasantry and the mountaineers. For example, Göyünç writes about only the Armenians in the Eastern and Southern Anatolian regions who engaged in some services in the castles; Gülek Castle, three castles of Karaisalı, and castle of Van.³⁰ Though this little concentration of the searches on the Armenian peasants and mountaineers, it is known that some part of the Armenian population

²⁶ Sonyel, *op.cit.*, p. 123.

²⁷ Göyünç, *op.cit.*, p. 50.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

²⁹ Sonyel, *op.cit.*, p. 123.

³⁰ Göyünç, *op.cit.*, p. 35.

was living in the villages of the Anatolian lands and they engaged in agriculture and animal husbandry.

In the cultural realm the relations and interactions between the Turks and the Armenians were intense and peaceful. The Armenians were scattered throughout the Ottoman territories and were influenced by the Turkish cultural life and literature. For example more than 400 Armenian composers are recorded from the 17th century up to the 1840s.³¹ In the following years they continued to make contributions to the Turkish music. The most famous ones of the composers are Tanburi Nikogas Aga (1836-1885), Bimen Şen (1872-1943), Kemani Tatyos (1885-1948).³²

1.3 Armenian Question

1.3.1 Advent of Nationalism and Brief Evaluation of Armenian Nationalist

Claims

In the nineteenth century the theory of nationalism spread firstly throughout Europe and then reached the Ottoman territories. The nationalist ideas firstly effected the non-Turkish elements of the empire which meet their demands for self-government or bulding their own nation-states. And because of operating in the different social, political and economic context in such a multi-national empire, nationalism brought about almost different results to the Ottoman territories. While this strong ideology, nationalism, was used as unifying factor by the European states and empires, in the Ottoman Empire the same ideology was used by the non-Turkish peoples as a force to free themselves from the foreign authority or rule. In other words, the nineteenth century nationalism which is based on ethnicity became an agency of destruction and it became one of the factor that caused the break-up of the multi-national empires.

³¹ Nejat Göyünç, "Turkish-Armenian Cultural Relations", in *The Armenians in the Late Ottoman Period*, Türkkaya Ataöv (ed.), The Turkish National Assembly, Ankara, 2001, p. 28.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 34-36.

Nationalism firstly penetrated into the cultural realm as a factor in gaining national consciousness and then penetrated into political sphere as a force supporting the ideal of establishing the nation-state. It feeded the separatist movements in the Ottoman Empire and caused the disunity among the communities which defined themselves as different from the others. As a result with the impact of the new ideology, Sultan's Christian subjects after fueled with the nationalist ideals started to struggle to convert cultural nationalism into politically independent state.

However the establishment of independent state would be possible only after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. When this desire, destruction of the empire, shared by the great powers, the nationalist movements became the part of the Eastern Question. And of course it brought the Armenian Question into the international realm like the Greek, Serbian, Romanian and Bulgarian ones.

The Armenians, one of the non-muslim communities in the Ottoman Empire, witnessed these events and experienced the two stages first in cultural then in political realm through the efforts of the church, their intelligentsia, missionaries and great powers. When Armenian nationalists started to struggle for the establishment of their own nation-state they faced with significant obstacles. First off all the territories which were claimed as belonging to Armenians were under the Ottoman rule and belonged to the Ottoman Empire. Indeed Armenians throughout their history remained under the rule of the different states and could not establish long-lasting political administration or unified political Armenian presence.³³

The second obstacle for the establishment of the Armenian nation-state was the demographic structure of the Armenian population. Armenians dispersed throughout the Ottoman territories. So it is impossible to talk about the Armenians on the principle of self-determination. Armenians formed 6.9% of the total population in the Ottoman territories.³⁴

³³ Kamuran Gürün, *Ermeni Dosyası*, 4th pr., Ankara, 1988, p. 32.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

Even in Cilicia or the vilayets (the six provinces of Erzurum, Sivas, Bitlis, Harput, Diyarbakır, Van) where Armenians regarded as their original homeland, they never formed a majority. There were more Armenians in Ankara than in most of the eastern provinces of Anatolia. Furthermore statistical data shows that the Armenian population never rose above 30% in Bitlis and above 26% in Van, where the Armenians were most heavily concentrated.³⁵

Beside the obstacles the conditions in the Ottoman Empire or administration of Ottoman Empire neither created the strong basis for the claim of free the nation from the cruelty and repressions of the foreign rule nor it became a factor in the rising of the Armenian nationalism. As it has been mentioned in the previous part of this paper, the Armenians were in good relations with the Ottomans and they highly participated in both economic and bureaucratic realms. At this point it will be useful to look at Gürün's comparison of the standing of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire with the situation of their descendants in the Russian Empire. He says:

It is obvious that the privileges presented in the Ottoman Empire were nothing less than a landless autonomy... the practice of granting autonomy to a nation which does not have land is unheard of in the international law...and their descendants in the Russian territories could not have this freedom...faced with pressure by the Russian government...³⁶

Though these conditions the Armenian nationalists' claims and terrorist activities only focused on the territories of the Ottoman Empire. Indeed the desire and the ideal for being a nation is the most important motive in the rise of the Armenian Nationalism. In the coming part the factors giving a way to the emergence and rise of this ideal will be discussed.

1.3.2 Role of External and Internal Major Events

On the one hand the changes and developments in the political, economic realms and international relations of the century, on the other hand internal national movements and

³⁵ Öke, *op.cit.*, p. 76. For more information on the population of Armenians in the Ottoman territories, see: Gürün, *op.cit.*, pp. 125-147; Justin Mc Carthy, 'The Population of the Ottoman Armenians', in *The Armenians in The Late Ottoman Period*, pp. 65-85.

³⁶ Gürün, *op.cit.*, p. 60.

achievements on social, economic, cultural, educational grounds affected the future of the Armenians and Turco-Armenian relations. The followings are firstly the internal decisive factors and secondly the external ones.

The nineteenth century was the preparatory period for Armenian Question in which cultural, educational and literary achievements were realized which played vital role in national awakening of Armenians. These achievements firstly were experienced in the ecclesiastical realm largely through the efforts of the religious leaders and then the works of the Catholic and Protestant missionaries.³⁷

First of all the nineteenth century was the period of reforms which aimed at unification of the empire through the westernization and modernization. This object did not only necessitate the new regulations in the mechanism of the state, laws and military but also it necessitated making of some regulations in the organizations of the millets. The doctrine behind these reforms was Ottomanism. One of the object of it was to exterminate the conditions which formed the background of the desire for being free from the Ottoman rule.³⁸ So the regulations in the organization of the millets began to be put into force. However these reforms led very different results for Armenians. They helped to development of better

³⁷ For the endeavors of the Armenian church leaders, see: A. J. Arberry, ed., *Religion in the Middle East*, Cambridge University Press, 1969, pp. 482-520. According to the information given by him, firstly the Gregorian church leaders took initiative in national awakening through served the nation on spiritual, educational, cultural grounds. One of some outstanding figure in church's historic mission was the Catholicos Nerses V Ashtaraketzi (1843-51). He saw himself as a champion for Armenian emancipation from the Persian rule (1827-28) and he founded the Nersesian Secondary School in Tiflis; Kevork IV (1866-82) can be added the list. He founded Kevorkian Jemaran, a new seminary, in Echmiadzin which became center of higher learning in theological and armenological studies. The other character firstly in the protection of Armenian national existence in the Russian territories was Khrimian (1892-1907). His struggle was famous with the Russian assimilation policy and confiscation problem of 1905. On the other hand, the patriarchate of İstanbul undertook the sponsorship of theological and armenological center, a new monastery in Armash, Nicomedia opened in 1889.

³⁸ The reform action was the work of the Ottomans who saw the future of their country in the Ottoman unification under slogan of Ottomanism and Ottomanism was the political doctrine of the Ottoman Constitution (Kanun-u Esasi). See: NevinYazıcı, *Osmanlılık Fikri ve Genç Osmanlılar Cemiyeti*, Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, Ankara, 2002, p.33; Ortaylı, *op.cit.*, p.70. They believed that through application of the reforms they integrated the non-Muslim subjects into the system. However continuing nationalist movements proved that it was impossible and undermined the doctrine as time went on. Firstly the Russo- Turkish war of 1877-78 weakened the basis of the doctrine and it lost its ground with the catastrophe of the Balkan Wars (1912-13). Although the program of the Committee of Union and Progress in 1908 including Ottomanist elements after 1913 this program changed into Turkish nationalist one, see: Tarık Zafer Tunaya, *Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler: İkinci Meşrutiyet Dönemi*, vol.1, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 1998, pp.180-189.

organized millet who saw these efforts of the Ottoman state as preliminary for national cause. In other words the reforms were regarded by the Ottoman bureaucrats and intellectuals as the factors in saving the empire they meant a step toward freedom for the Armenians and other non-Muslims and non-Turkish elements of the empire.³⁹

Having given the different understandings of the Ottomans and Armenians about the reforms and regulations it can be looked at the reforms. The Reform period started with the Gülhane Edict (1839) which provided security for the lives and honor of the all Ottoman subjects and granted them equality before law. The second important reform came with the Reform Edict (1856). According to, it all subjects from any millet had the right to be appointed to public positions, to be elected to provincial and sub-provincial assemblies, to attend public, military and civil schools and to join the military service. As part of the reforms, “Ottoman Citizenship Law” was passed by the Ottoman state in 1869. Beside these general reform edicts, the particular regulations decided to be made within the organization of the millets. Then the Armenians started to prepare the drafts for the future constitution that opened the way for them to organize their ecclesiastical national life on the principals of the rights for equality of all the people. In this way before the adoption of the Armenian National Constitution they experienced some constitutional developments. They established two councils recognized by the government in 1847. This served as the basis for drafting the constitution. Finally the Armenian National Constitution was formulated in 1857, given final shape in 1860 and approved by the Ottoman government in 1863. According to the constitution the supreme authority was in the hand of the National General Assembly

³⁹ Nevin Yazıcı, *op.cit.*, p. 173.; Especially after the events in Syria and adoption of the autonomy of Lebanon, Armenians regarded the regulations, especially constitution, as an important stage in path to the independence. See: Esat Uras, *Tarihte Ermeniler ve Ermeni Meselesi*, 2nd pr., Belge Yayınları, İstanbul, 1987, p. 174. Even in the Berlin Congress (1878) by using the administration statute for Lebanon, as a model, Armenians asked for granting a Christian governor, local self-government, civil courts of law etc. to the eastern provinces inhabited by Armenians.

composed of 120 laymen and 20 clergymen.⁴⁰ In this way it gives greater weight to the secular or civil aspects of the Church's activities rather than the spiritual and purely ecclesiastical. Most importantly the participation of the laity in church affairs brought the dominance of French political ideas.⁴¹ In the coming years the Armenian assembly became the arena in which the national desires and problems of the Armenian population. Indeed Armenian Question, were discussed while the Ottoman bureaucrats hoped that these new rights given to Armenian millet gave way the integration of them into the Ottoman state.⁴²

In addition to the developments in ecclesiastical organization of the Gregorian Armenians, Catholic and Protestant missionaries' activities brought about important change to the organization of the Armenian millet. In the process of the penetration of the missionaries into the Ottoman territories, the history of the Catholic missionary activities dated back the seventeenth century. They could firstly entered into the Ottoman Empire after the French protection of the Catholics was accepted with the treaty of 1604. As a result of their activities the tendency for converting to the Catholic sect started gradually among Armenians. In 1830, after long disputes with the Armenian Gregorian church, religious autonomy of the Catholic Armenians with their own church was recognized by the Ottoman government. So the Roman Latin influence started to penetrate into the Armenian life.

On the other side the history of the works of Protestant missionaries dated back the beginning of the nineteenth century. From 1820 onwards the British and American Protestant missionaries began to come into the Ottoman territories. Among the Catholic and Protestant

⁴⁰ For more detailed information on the content of the constitution, see: Uras, *op.cit.*, pp.165-171.

⁴¹ Arberry, *op.cit.*, pp. 500-502.

⁴² Especially the endeavours of Miğirdiç Hırimyan (1866-1873) can be mentioned briefly for their importance in the progress of Armenian Question. While he came to İstanbul he brought the Armenian Question into the Armenian National General Assembly. During his patriarchate the assembly became the arena in which the problems and complaints of the Armenians in all fields from the taxation system to the justice system were discussed, see: Uras, *op.cit.*, p. 176. Due to all these changes in the organization of the Armenian millet, with taking the initiative, the parliament of the Armenians, under the leadership of patriarch Hırimyan, claimed the sovereignty for Armenian provinces and stated the Armenian Question openly before the Berlin Congress. Also in the following years the church leaders took the initiative in the national awakening and in making the Armenian Question part of the international politics.

missionaries the most effective ones on the Armenians were the American Protestant missionaries. The coming of them was coincided with the advent of the American merchants and their activities formed one branch in the formation of American presence in the Ottoman territories.⁴³ The offerings like opening new schools, supplying higher education and sending students to the United States added new Armenian intellectuals and nationalists into the Armenian population. And in the beginning, these activities formed a great threat to unification of the Armenians however in the following years intellectuals, Catholic, Protestant and Gregorian Armenians all worked for the development of the Armenian social life.⁴⁴

Regarding the time, all these internal developments within the Armenian millet coincided with the external events effecting the Armenian Question. One of the most important of them was the advent of new power “Russia” in the nineteenth century. Its expansion into Caucasus and Balkans changed the life of the Armenians and directed to a large extent their national cause. The first important contact with Russia occurred during the Russo- Persian war (1826). During the war, Russia seized the lands inhabited by Armenians

⁴³ The first American merchants began to be seen in harbor of İzmir in 1780s and the first American missionaries started to come to İzmir in 1820s. While American presence continued to develop through the commercial treaties in 1830 and 1862, the activities of the merchants and missionaries intensified and interaction between them continued to support the expansion of American influence. As it is seen the activities of missionaries was not only the religious issue. These activities were means in order to create the sphere of influence in the foreign territories which had economic, social and cultural sides. See: Uygur Kocabaşoğlu, *Kendi Belgeleriyle Anadolu'da'ki Amerika: Ondokuzuncu Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki Amerikan Misyoner Okulları*, Arba Yayınları, İstanbul, 1989, pp. 9-24. American Protestant missionaries played the vital role in the development of Armenian social and cultural life through their schools. Indeed Armenians demanded the highly developed education of the missionaries. Because improvements in economic and social life in Tanzimat Period required the secular and professional education and as being the people who were active in economic life of the Ottoman Empire, Armenians saw the necessity of the education. *Ibid.*, pp. 78-82. Being parallel with this, the missionary schools consisted mostly of Armenian students. For example in 1904 there were 465 missionary schools and %75 of the students of them were Armenian. *Ibid.*, p. 125. Although the particular necessities supported the penetration of the missionary ideas, the education of the missionary schools not only gave the education to meet the necessities of the age but also caused the reconstruction of the ancient Armenian culture and prepared the background of Armenian nationalism. Dündar Kılıç, *Osmanlı İdaresinde Ermeniler Arasındaki Dini ve Siyasi Mücadeleler*, ASAM Yayınları, Ankara, 2000, p. 101. In other words, the most important factor in the Armenian self-discovery was the education of missionary schools. According to Hovannissian, Armenians passed through a long period of cultural revival and thousands of youngsters enrolled in schools established in the nineteenth century by American and European missionaries, see: Richard G. Hovannissian, ‘The Armenian Question, 1878-1923’, in *A Crime of Silence: The Armenian Genocide*, Pierre Vidal-Naquet (ed.), The Pitman Press; Bath, Cambridge, 1985, p. 13. For more information on the activities of the American Protestant missionaries and their schools, see: Kocabaşoğlu, *op.cit*

⁴⁴ For the clashes among the Gregorian, Protestant and Catholic Armenian communities, see: Kılıç, *op.cit.*, pp. 127-178.

including the plain of Ararat. The war ended with the Treaty of Türkmençay (1828) which gave Russia an important foothold in the southern Caucasus. In the same year Russo-Ottoman war started and resulted with the Adrinople Treaty in 1829. Russia obtained the all castles on the coast of Black Sea and approximately 100,000 Armenians migrated into Russia from Erzurum and Alaşkirt.⁴⁵ After these developments the number of Armenian population started to live in the Caucasian territories under the rule of Russia. They experienced educational, cultural, intellectual, social renaissance in these lands. In addition to these wars, the Crimean War (1856) in which Russian forces expanded as far as Kars and the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78 created the favorable ground for the Armenian nationalists to present their claims and created a hope for the Russian support to the Armenian cause.⁴⁶ After the end of the war the Armenian patriarch in İstanbul, Nerses Varzhabedian, wanted from the tsar, through patriarchate in Echmiadzin, not giving back of the seized eastern Anatolian territories to the Ottomans. He also went to St. Stephano with three alternative claims requested from the Grand Duke Nicholas: Russian annexation of eastern Anatolia, autonomous Armenia like Bulgaria, application of reforms in favor of the Armenians. However Russia accepted the least favorable, the last one, for the Armenians which became the 16th article of the St. Stephano Treaty. According to this article, the Ottoman government was responsible for the application of reforms in eastern Anatolian vilayets inhabited by the Armenians and for the security of Armenians against Kurds and Circassians and Russian withdrawal would be contingent upon the implementation of the reforms. This Russian initiative in the Armenian Question created great disturbance for England. Because she thought that with this initiative Russia could expand her sphere of influence into İskenderun and Mezopotamia which would be against

⁴⁵ Gürün, *op.cit.*, p. 80.

⁴⁶ Armenians saw in the 1877-78 Russo-Turkish war that the Bulgarian nation-state was established mostly through the support of Russia. This increased Armenian expectancy for Russian support. Moreover in the following years Armenian adopted the method of uprisings used by Bulgarians to be able to attract the attention of the Great Powers. Because the Bulgarian rebellion of 1876 created pro-Bulgarian feeling and then led to the Russo-Ottoman war of 1877-78 and finally led to the establishment of the Bulgarian state. See: Ömer Turan, *The Turkish Minority in Bulgaria, 1878-1908*, Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara, 1998, pp. 47-55.

the English interests in the region.⁴⁷ So in Berlin Conference (1878), in which St. Stephano Treaty was changed, also the Russian initiative in the article 16th passed into the hands of all signatory powers with the changing on the article. And this article became the article 61 of the Berlin Treaty only changing the situation cited above. According to the article:

‘The Sublime Porte is responsible for carrying out, without further delay, the alleviations and reforms demanded by local requirements in the provinces inhabited by the Armenians, and to guarantee their security against the Circassians and the Kurds. It will periodically inform the steps taken for the reforms to the powers, who will superintend their implementation’.

As can be seen with this article, the initiative passed into the all signatory powers. And there would be no Russian army of which withdrawal would be subject to the application of the reforms. Through this changed provision, the condition which was favorable for England was created. In this way an Armenian State which was not under the control of Russia would constitute a better barrier against the aggression of Russia.⁴⁸ The real failure of Russia in this treaty was the establishments of independent states, Serbia, Montenegro, Rumania and autonomous state, Bulgaria, in the Balkans out of its control. So, because she did not want another Bulgaria beyond its frontiers and she was not strong enough to secure her interests in the Eastern Question, she ceded from the Armenian Question and adopted the policy aiming at the prevention of an autonomous Armenian region in eastern Anatolia.⁴⁹

On the other hand the article 61 of the Berlin Treaty brought about important results for the Ottoman and Armenian sides. Firstly the Armenian Question transformed into an international issue. And for the Turkish side the enter of Armenian Question into the agenda of the Great Powers was the failure and it was success for Armenians. On the other hand

⁴⁷ Öke, *op.cit.*, p.84.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

⁴⁹ A. Bodger, “Russia and the End of the Ottoman Empire”, in *The Great Powers and the End of the Ottoman Empire*, Marian Kent (ed.), London, 1914, p.77.

Armenian side also regarded the result as a failure in Armenian cause because it did not give independence or autonomy. The disappointment could be seen in the talk of Patriarch on 21 July 1878 in Armenian National Assembly: "...before the emergence of the Question of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Bulgaria there was Armenian Question....this article prolonged the solution of Armenian Question, did not satisfy Armenian hopes.." ⁵⁰

These Armenian interpretations of the last events taught the Armenians two things: the necessity of resort to the other ways beside diplomatic ones and the necessity of foreign intervention. For both of them the methods of terrorist actions would be used.

1.3.3 The Organization Of The Armenian Separatist Movements and Uprisings

The first examples of systematic terrorism had been seen in the second half of the nineteenth century. Radical nationalist groups such as the Irish, Macedonians and Serbs used terrorist methods in their struggle for autonomy or national independence. Armenians were one of these groups of whom activities were unexpected, shocking and outrageous for the Ottomans in the 1890s.

According to Tolelyan, Armenian terrorism have experienced three stages up to this time:

The years between 1896-1908 formed the first phase; the second phase was during the years 1919-1923 in the form of assassinations of members of Committee of Union and Progress participating in dislocation of Armenians in 1915; the third phase started in 1975 and resulted the killings of some Turkish diplomats. ⁵¹

This terrorist tradition continued sporadically to the present day. It was not my attention to deal with the second and third phase. Only the first stage (1896-1908) is among my issues which seem to me necessary to understand Turkish response against possible Armenian uprisings during the First World War which would be same with the uprisings emerged between 1896-1914. Although Tolelyan classified the first period between the years

⁵⁰ Uras, *op.cit.*, pp. 256-66.

⁵¹ Khachig Tolelyan, 'Terrorism in Modern Armenian Political Culture', in *Political Parties and Terrorist Groups*, L. Winberg (ed.), Great Britain, 1992, pp. 14-15.

1896-1908 it is not limited to these years. Because the Armenian terrorist activities started to be seen in the 1890s and continued with the Adana events in 1909 and Van revolt in 1915 and even these terrorist activities had been seen till the end of the war. So in this part, the first period included the years between 1890-1914.

Generally Armenian uprisings and demonstrations or political violence were organized by the two political parties, Hunchaks and Tashnaksutiuns (Federation of Armenian Revolutionaries). The Hunchaks Revolutionary Party was established on Marxist principles in 1882 in Switzerland by Avadis Nazarbekian. Its aim was to free the Turkish Armenia. The methods were the usage of propaganda, terror, organizations of military units....⁵² They organized Erzurum Uprising (20 June 1890), Kumkapı Demonstration (15 July 1890), the first Sasun Uprising (August 1894) and Zeytun Uprising (24 October 1894- 28 January 1896) to focus European attention to Armenian cause. After Zeytun Uprising, the party divided into two sections and interested in their internal problems. So Hunchaks lost its initiative in the uprisings and the initiative passed to the Tashnaksutiuns.

The Tashnaksutiun Revolutionary Party established in 1890, in Tiflis. Later they opened branches in Trabzon, İstanbul, Van and began to be organized throughout Ottoman Empire. The Tashnak organization had two bureaus responsible for the West and the East. The western one was responsible for making propaganda in Europe. On the other hand, the Eastern Bureau was responsible for planning and implementing terrorist and revolutionary activities. Their first action was Van Uprising on 14 June 1896. Then came their most spectacular action, the seizure of Ottoman Bank in İstanbul, on 14 August 1896 to procure foreign intervention. In the following years the terrorist acts of Tashnaksutiuns expanded into the area of Muş and Sasun as a form of local actions directed by local officials.⁵³

⁵² Uras, *op.cit.*, pp. 435-36. Also all content of the program of Hunchaks can be seen in these pages.

⁵³ Tolelyan, *op.cit.*, pp. 12-13. They organize peasantry, established self-defence units, helped smuggle in arms and pamphlets. In these actions organizational links with Russia were close: weapons used by them were

The adoption of terror was not by chance. It was vital for the Armenian revolutionary movement. First of all the area, they wanted to free, was not one like Bulgaria or Greece which can be defined by a religious unified masses. Armenians were living as small groups among Muslims who constituted 87 per-cent of the total population. So the Armenian revolutionary communities applied the actions of individual terror and mass massacres which would be the most effective way of making the Muslim inhabitants of the so-called Armenia flee.⁵⁴ Secondly, as mentioned before, the Armenian revolutionaries realized that they could not be able to succeed in their cause by themselves and it was impossible to make important shifts in the international political system without the intervention and approval of external powers. So the terror was necessary to attract the external powers' attention.

The Armenian terrorist actions succeeded in supplying the foreign intervention on the Armenian issue for only short time. Several joint actions came from the big powers for the applying of reforms in the eastern Anatolian provinces. However the coming of the Turco-Greek war in 1897, the Russian fear of the possible impact of the Ottoman reforms on the Armenians living in the Russian territories, French and German economic interests on the Ottoman lands, British plan to survive the Ottoman Empire as a barrier against the Russian advance put the Armenian Question aside.

In the years following those events, both internal and external, one important change in the political realm of the Ottoman Empire also effected the Turco-Armenian relations: The advent of the Committee of Union and Progress. The preparatory stages for the committee dated back the Young Turks' works in the time of Abdülhamid II. Their actions started as being an opposition movement against Abdülhamid's autocracy and suppression and expanded both in the Ottoman capital and abroad towards the beginning of the twentieth century. Their main object was to save the empire. Young Turks believed that the solution

produced in Russia and brought from there, see: William Laquer, *The Age of Terrorism*, 3rd pr., U.S.A., 1982, p.43.

⁵⁴ Öke, *op.cit.*, p.82.

could be possible through the restoration of the constitutional regime in which all subjects of the empire were represented. Indeed they wanted to bring together all religious and ethnic communities in Ottoman union. The first political body of Young Turks was founded by the students at İstanbul Military Medical School in 1889 under the name of the Committee of Ottoman Union (İttihad-ı Osmanlı Cemiyeti). Being parallel with their aim, Young Turks began to cooperate with the political organizations of the non-Turkish groups because all people living in the Ottoman territories suffered under the Abdülhamid's despotism and these groups thought that any regime would be better than the old one. In the mid-1890's, Young Turks started to ask for the joint action with these groups in which the Armenian revolutionaries took place. In later stages Young Turks, after 1895 under the name of Committee of Union and Progress, reached a compromise settlement with the Armenians in their national congress of 1907.⁵⁵ In July 1908, Young Turk revolution realized and all sides greeted this event but with their own expectancy from the new regime. If the new regime happened to be liberal and committed to administrative decentralization and private initiative it was good for the Armenians.⁵⁶ However the constitutional regime experienced very different stages. In coming years the Committee of Union and Progress became the main political body (although it could not rule the empire directly they were real power behind the state until 1913) which applied unionist policies. So after short time all groups having separatist desires from the empire understood that Unionist aspirations were not parallel with their own plans and interests. In this way the distrust and confrontation emerged between the

⁵⁵ The only answer to the invitation of the Committee of Union and Progress came from the Dashnaks. But it was not known when the cooperation started between the Dashnaks and the Young Turks. They participated in both congresses (1902, 1907) of Young Turks. In 1907 congress they passed a resolution to form a commission consisting of Turks and Armenians to outline the principles of cooperation. The Dashnaks agreed to collaborate with the CUP in return for continuing their revolutionary organization and retaining total freedom of action and Unionist- Dashnak cooperation continued till 1912. However the disasters of the Tripoli and the Balkan Wars emerged different trend in two sides. The Unionist began to adopt the centralist policy against the forceful separatist movement which could not be stopped with the decentralizing and liberal policies while the Dashnaks began to think that it was the time to bring the Armenian Question again into the agenda of Great Powers, see: Feroz Ahmed, "Unionist Relations with the Greek, Armenian, and Jewish Communities of the Ottoman Empire, 1908-1914", in *Christians and Jews...*, p.423.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 403.

Turks and Armenians before very long. The first example became the Adana uprisings (14-27 April 1909)⁵⁷ and this uprising brought the last positive relation among the Turks and Armenians an end.

⁵⁷ For detailed information about Adana events, see: Gürün, *op.cit.*, pp. 225-231; Cemal Paşa, *Hatıralar*, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2001, pp. 390-400.

CHAPTER II

POLITICAL, ADMINISTRATIVE, SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, LEGAL AND RELIGIOUS SITUATIONS OF ARMENIANS ACCORDING TO *TAKVİM-İ VEKAYİ* (1914-1918)

2.1 Political, Administrative and Social Situations of Armenians

With the proclamation of Reform Edict (1856), the admission of non-Muslims to the official positions in the Ottoman government started to increase. Relying on this legal right, in the following years, the presence of non-Muslims in the Ottoman government service began to become appear. When the attention is turned into the situation of the Ottoman Armenians from the very time till the end of the nineteenth century, it is seen that the influence of them in official ranks increased gradually. The presence of Armenians firstly began to be felt in the Foreign Ministry. For example Sahak Abro Efendi was assigned to the Foreign Correspondence Office as director in 1857 and held this position till 1867.¹ Also in the other offices of the Foreign Ministry some Armenian names were seen. Such as Serkis Efendi held the office of the secretary-general of the ministry (he was a key men in the ministry and served as foreign minister ad interim in August 1867) while Artin Efendi was undersecretary in the Foreign Ministry.² They even rose into the top offices in the Ministry of Public Works and in the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce. Krikor Agaton became Minister of Public Works in 1868 and Ohannes Çamiç Efendi was appointed minister to the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce in 1877.³ Beside these top positions Armenians were also appointed to other administrative positions. Garabed Artin Davud Paşa, a Roman Catholic

¹ Carter V. Findley, 'The Acid Test of Ottomanism: The Acceptance of Non-Muslims in the Late Ottoman Bureaucracy, in *Christians and Jews...*, p. 354.

² Davison, *op.cit.*, p. 326.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 327.

Armenian, was governor of Lebanon.⁴ Not only in the nineteenth century but also in the beginning of the twentieth century the employment of Armenians in the official ranks continued. Gabriel Narodunghian was one of the example for the continuing Armenian presence in the official ranks in this century. He was appointed minister to the Foreign Ministry (1912-13).

For the year, 1914, some information is seen in *Takvim-i Vekayi* about the presence of Armenians in the government services. The announcements on the official appointments cited in *Takvim-i Vekayi* show that the Ottoman government employed a number of Armenians various official positions as directors, inspectors and sub-governors even till the end of 1330 [1914].

The first announcement about the appointment of an Armenian was published in *Takvim-i Vekayi* on 5 November 1330 [18 November 1914]. According to this, Kirkor, sub-governor of Şirvan, was appointed to the sub-governor of Ezine by the central government.⁵ It is understood from the data that this person had held this office in Şirvan for a particular of time and in his appointment, the previous profession of him was taken into account so Kirkor was appointed to the same office in other sub-province, Ezine.

On 17 April 1330 [30 April 1914], another Armenian appointment was done by the Ottoman government. The government appointed, Asaduryan Efendi, member of commercial and naval courts of law, to the department of the Civil Service and Expenses of the Council of State. The announcement of this appointment was given in *Takvim-i Vekayi* on 21 April.⁶

The other appointment of Armenian was made for the Civil Service. Mihran Boyaciyan, mutasarrif in sanjak of Ergani, was appointed an inspector to the Civil Service of the first rank.⁷

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 5 November 1330 [18 November 1914], no. 1996, p. 1.

⁶ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 21 April 1330 [4 May 1914], no. 1806, p. 1.

⁷ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 1 June 1330 [14 June 1914], no. 1847, p. 1.

As being the last news about the appointment to the government services, Bekyan, director in Science Office of Public Agricultural Directorship, was appointed to Agriculture Inspector and Suyan, director of Bađdad City Government Office, was appointed inspector to the Civil Service.⁸

Regarding on the rest of the news about the official appointments it can be seen that Armenians were also effective and active in the judicial services in 1914. Because the other eight appointments of Armenians cited in *Takvim-i Vekayi* were made for the memberships of the courts.

According to the news published on 22 May 1331 [4 June 1914], member of lower court in sanjak of Erzincan, Handanyan Karabet, was appointed a member to the central lower court in Diyarbakır. This assignment was announced in *Takvim-i Vekayi* on 29 May.⁹

Then Karabet Bađçegülyan was assigned a member of appeal (istinaf azalıđı) of Erzincan sanjak¹⁰

Another appointment was made for membership of lower court of Erzincan sanjak. According to the news, the Ottoman government appointed Mustafa Estepan Aleksanyan, member of lower court in Muş, to membership of lower court of Niđe sanjak.¹¹

After this news, the appointments of Kudret and Mihran Cevahiryan were published in *Takvim-i Vekayi*. They were the members of court of appeals in Aydın and both was appointed to members of İzmir Naval Court.¹²

Then the other two appointments were made by the Ottoman government. According to the news member of lower court in kaza of Yozgat sanjak, Armanak, was appointed a member to lower court in kaza of Antalya sanjak in return of this, Artin Hınçaryan, member

⁸ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 24 July 1330 [6 August 1914], no. 1899, p. 1.

⁹ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 29 May 1330 [11 June 1914], no. 1844, p. 1

¹⁰ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 14 September 1330 [27 September 1914], no. 1947, p. 1.

¹¹ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 29 October 1330 [11 November 1914], no. 1989, p. 1.

¹² *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 31 October 1330 [13 November 1914], no. 1991, p. 1.

of lower court in kaza of Antalya sanjak, was appointed to the office held by Armanak before the assignment.¹³

Finally Kirkor Efendi, member of court of appeals in the Province of Syria, was appointed a member to the same office in sanjak of Kudüs.¹⁴

This news in *Takvim-i Vekayi* gives us information generally about the Armenians in government services- judicial, political, administrative areas. So to a large extent, a general picture about the attitude of the Ottoman government towards Armenians just before the war can be seen. The news so far presented has shown that only in 1914, thirteen appointments of Armenians were realized by the government.* In other words they were not excluded from official services even in the eastern Anatolian region where revolutionary Armenians intensified their activities against the government in that times. In addition to this, it can be referred from the news that a number of Armenians were civic members of the Ottoman society in some provinces, sanjaks and kazas. Being government officials they hold higher positions in administration and justice.

On the social life or social activities of Armenians between 1914-1918, the presence of the news about the rewarding of some Armenians by the Ottoman government tells us something about this issue. The news also makes it possible to gain clearer picture of the attitude of the Ottoman government against Armenians.

According to the news published in *Takvim-i Vekayi* some Armenians serviced in the area of health to help the Ottoman subjects and they were honored for their services. The followings are the news concerning them.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

¹⁴ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 25 November 1330 [8 December 1914], no. 2016, p. 1.

* The researches on the role of the Millets in the Ottoman Empire focused on the nineteenth century and the first years of the twentieth century. They show that Armenians like other Millets, especially Greeks and Jews, could rise to high positions in administration or other branches of the government. The data obtained from *Takvim-i Vekayi* reveals that Armenians continued to keep these positions just before the war.

According to the news, it was announced that to the people serviced in the various hospitals in İstanbul, the medals of Hilal-i Ahmer were given. The three of them were Armenian people: Apinyan, Madam Asanyan and Madam İspiryan.¹⁵

According to the second news, published in May 1333 [1917], goldsmith Asop Tolayan and Atanin Ütüciyan were honored with 4th rank Mecidi Nişanı and Artaki Kapamaciyan and Diran Kalahat were rewarded for İftihar Medals.¹⁶

Again in the same year the other announcement was made at *Takvim-i Vekayi*. According to this news, the people worked in Hilal-i Ahmer's hospitals in İstanbul were given medals for their services. One of them was an Armenian, Artin Keçeciyan, was honored with bronze medal.¹⁷

After that news, the other one was published which was about the medals given to the people who serviced in the hospitals of Hilal-i Ahmer in Beyoğlu, Darüşşafaka and Kadırga. One of the people was an Armenian, Karanfilyan, and he was honored with silver medal.¹⁸

Then according to the news, published in November 1333 [1917], Madam Düseberyan was rewarded with silver medal of Hilal-i Ahmer.¹⁹

The last announcement including the Armenians serviced in the realm of health was made at 4 August 1334 [4 August 1918] in *Takvim-i Vekayi*. According to it, doctor and accountant Keresteciyan Efendi, one of the previous head of Hilal-i Ahmer, was invited to the palace and the Sultan expressed his gratitude to him.²⁰

Beside the area of health, the Ottoman government tried to present equal access in the area of education for its subjects. According to announcement made by the Province of Trabzon, it was declared that to study in agriculture 4 students were sent to Europe. Of these 4

¹⁵ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 27 February 1332 [12 March 1917], no. 2800, p. 1.

¹⁶ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 14 May 1333 [14 May 1917], no. 2883, p. 1.

¹⁷ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 26 July 1333 [26 July 1917], no. 2953, p. 1.

¹⁸ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 6 August 1333 [6 August 1917], no. 2964, p. 1.

¹⁹ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 3 November 1333 [3 November 1917], no. 3049, p. 1.

²⁰ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 4 August 1334 [4 August 1918], no. 3309, p. 1.

students one would be Greek, one would be an Armenian and the other two students would be Muslim. The applications to benefit from this fund would be made till the end of August. Then the requirements for being able to appeal were given as a list in *Takvim-i Vekayi*.²¹

2.2 Economic Situation of Armenians

As European capital flows into the Middle East the influence of the European powers in economy and then naturally in politics or other realms became more acute. This led to the transformation of the economic positions of the Millets in the nineteenth century and their influence was at its peak in the beginning of this century.²² According to Issawi, in the Middle East - Turkey, Egypt, the Levant and, to a lesser extent Iran - the Millets performed three roles. Firstly they classified as entrepreneurial petty bourgeoisie of traders, moneylenders, brokers and commissioners. Secondly along with some Europeans, they staffed the liberal professions: physicians, pharmacists, engineers, architects, lawyers and stockbrokers. Lastly, they formed a large part of the salaried middle class employed by the government or by the large European enterprises such as banks, railways, public utilities and industries. The news of *Takvim-i Vekayi* were mostly about the Armenians taking place in the first classification between 1914-18. In the announcements including the judges or reports of the courts and including foundations or bankruptcies of companies and mine concessions, Armenians had the titles of directors, owners of companies or workshops or hotels, producers of draperies, sarrafs, brokers, commissioners and merchants.²³

²¹ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 11 June 1330 [24 June 1914], no. 1857, p. 2.

²² For the increasing role of the Millets, living in the Ottoman Empire, in which areas in detail, see: Charles Issawi, 'The Transformation of the Economic Positions of the Millets in the Nineteenth Century', in *Christians and Jews...*, pp. 261-287. The most important reason why they started to rise to important positions or to accumulate significant wealth and power was the protection of the Great Powers and their better education necessary for holding some offices. See: Davison, *op.cit.*, pp. 319-339; A. Üner Turgay, 'Trade and Merchants in Nineteenth-Century Trabzon: Elements of Ethnic Conflict', in *Christians and Jews...*, pp. 287-319. Issawi, *op.cit.*, pp. 261-287.

²³ The comment was based on the titles of the Armenians mentioned in the court records. As regards recorded titles they were mainly merchants, sarrafs, goldsmiths, commissioners while some were printers, doctors and pharmacists. In addition to this data it is understood from the court records that they accumulated significant amount of wealth and estates if the amount of debts, which they gave, and the land, workshops, houses or flats, vineyards or orchards and fields, which were seized in return for the debts from Armenians, are taken into account.

Being an entrepreneurial people, Armenians were also active in some branches of industry. For example the Dadian family, who had run the gun powder mills for long years, managed various factories founded by the Ottoman government. As Barsoumian cites in his article, in 1840s, the managements of the silk mill and cotton factory at Hereke, factory for the manufacture of çuha at İzmit and tannery at Beykoz were in the hands of the Dadians.²⁴ In the following years Armenians established their own firms or companies. For example in 1910, according to a list of the large importers of textiles in İstanbul, among 28 large firms six firms were belonged to Armenians.²⁵

When we come to the war years we see that Armenians continued their presence in the Ottoman economy. The news of some establishments or bankruptcies of Armenian companies or firms and mine concessions given to Armenians or abrogation of these concessions published in *Takvim-i Vekayi* confirms this situation. The first news about the concession of mine between 1914-18 was published on 11 June 1330 [24 June 1914]. According to the news, in Aydın region a concession of the work of emery (zımparacı) mine was given to Bedrus Dünkiyan and an Austrian person.²⁶ The other announcements were about the abrogation of the mine concessions.

First in Kastamonu region a concession of soot (kurum) mine (granted in 1289, 1873) would be abrogated for not working if the owners of concession, Mahmud and Kılıçoğlu İbrahim, Arslanoğlu Ovadis, Agop and Mihribanoğlu Hacı Karabet would not appeal to the court within three months.²⁷

²⁴ Barsoumian, *op.cit.*, pp.174-175.

²⁵ Issawi, *op.cit.*, p. 263.

²⁶ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 11 June 1330 [24 June 1914], no. 1857, p. 2.

²⁷ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 14 October 1330 [27 October 1914], no. 2005, p. 1.

As being the second example for the abrogation, a concession of copper mine in Diyarbakır belonging to Egyptian Luiz, Ahnus and Hazarus Çinazyan would be abrogated if they did not appeal to the court within one month.²⁸

In addition to these privileges, the Armenians also established companies between 1914-18. The first news about the establishment of a company was published in October 1331 [1915] through the partnership of the Armenian and Turkish persons. According to the news the Ottoman Government gave permission to Nail Bey and Aram Efendi to found a company in İstanbul.²⁹

Secondly it was announced that on 12 May 1332 [25 May 1916] the company selling clothes and silk was founded by Kavramacıyan in İstanbul.³⁰

Thirdly the company engaging in trade of woods and coal was established on 1 June 1332 [14 June 1916] by Armanak Fenerciyan, his wife and daughter in Beyoğlu, İstanbul.³¹

Forth in Galata, İstanbul, another company was established by the partnership of an Armenian and a Turk. According to the news, the owners of this company were Mehmet Tevfik and Haçin Giseryan.³²

Then another announcement about the establishment of a company in İstanbul was published in *Takvim-i Vekayi* on 1 December 1333 [1 December 1917]. Due to the news the company under the name of Gülbenkyan and Şürekası was founded by Gülbenkyan, Ahmed Efendizade Salih and Elizabeth and in this company they engaged in brokerage.³³

²⁸ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 11 December 1332 [24 December 1916], no. 2743, p. 2. There were four other news on the abrogation of the concessions of mines belonging to Armenians in the regions of İstanbul, Sivas and Trabzon in *Takvim-i Vekayi*.

²⁹ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 4 June 1331 [17 June 1915], no. 2205, p. 1.

³⁰ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 8 June 1332 [21 June 1916], no. 2565, p. 3.

³¹ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 15 June 1332 [28 June 1916], no. 2572, p. 2.

³² *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 29 November 1333 [29 November 1917], no.3074, p. 4.

³³ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 1 December 1333 [1 December 1917], no. 3077, p. 2.

According to the news published on 6 January 1334 [6 January 1918], Mikail Apramyan, Ohannes Kuyumciyan and Mihran İcmiyan founded a company producing cigarette paper in Beyoğlu, İstanbul.³⁴

Again in İstanbul another company to produce amber was founded by Dağavin(?) Hanım, Kehribarcı Ali, Muhiddin Andanyadis and Çubukciyan on 1 January 1334 [1 January 1918].³⁵

The last news about the establishment of a company was published on 6 August 1334 [6 August 1918] which belonged to the Armenians and a Muslim. It was founded by Hafız Şerafettin, Arsak Parsamyan and Hiranet Parsamyan under the name of the Ottoman Iron and Tools Company.³⁶

Apart from these news about the companies belonging to Armenians, the other two news about the opening of stores belonging to Armenians was published. They were opened in İstanbul in 1918. Firstly Salvador Kuyumciyan announced the opening of his store in Yusufyan Hanı.³⁷ Secondly the store selling drapery and hand-printed clothes was opened by Dikran İtmenciyan.³⁸

The documents so far presented reveal that Armenians who did not take place in any activities against the Ottoman Government should conduct their economic affairs. Even Muslim and Armenian entrepreneurs could come together to found companies while the tension between Muslims and Armenians in the Eastern regions of the Ottoman Empire increased.

2.3 Legal Situation of Armenians

Reforms in the legal system of the Ottoman Empire started with the promulgation of Noble Edict of the Rose Chamber (Hatt-ı Şerif of Gülhane) on 3 November 1839. According

³⁴ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 13 January 1334 [13 January 1918], no. 3119, p. 3.

³⁵ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 19 February 1334 [19 February 1918], no. 3156, p. 3.

³⁶ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 6 August 1334 [6 August 1918], no. 3311, p. 1.

³⁷ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 19 February 1334 [19 February 1918], no. 3156, p. 3.

³⁸ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 7 March 1334 [7 March 1918], no. 3172, p. 2.

to the edict every subject of the empire had to be not penalized without public trial and everyone was equal before the law. Following it, the Imperial Edict (Hatt-ı Hümayun, 18 February 1856) supported the reforms relating to legal rights of the Ottoman subjects. It granted equal status to every subject in taxation, education, justice, getting property and accession for public offices and administration. Furthermore the disputes between the different religious groups could be settled impartially.

In this way the reform period (1839-1876) brought about the major changes in the Ottoman legal system. It was realized due to the principle of equality. In 1840 the first Criminal Law was accepted and then in 1858 French Criminal Law was adopted after making great changes on it.³⁹ These laws required the establishment of new courts free from the religious ones. To meet this need firstly in 1846 the mixed commercial courts were established in İstanbul. In 1850 Commercial Law was drafted. With the proclamation of Regulation of the Provinces the lowers courts of murder and of law started to be founded and in these courts the Muslims and non-Muslims worked together. Then these courts founded in the provinces were united. In this way mixed courts (Nizamiye Mahkemeleri) emerged.⁴⁰ Then both the Muslims and non-Muslims were started to be judged in mixed courts. Then the courts were bound to the ministry of justice as being one more step into the liberalization of justice.⁴¹ The results of these major processes in the Ottoman justice system and in the situation of the non-Muslims can be seen in the news about the announcements or judgments of the courts in *Takvim-i Vekayi*. At this point the attention can be turned into the legal situation of Armenians. At the beginning, the announcements of the actions in which the plaintiffs were Armenians and the defendants were Muslims will be given.

³⁹ Gülnihal Bozkurt, *Alman-İngiliz Belgelerinin ve Siyasi Gelişmelerin Işığında Gayrimüslim Osmanlı Vatandaşlarının Hukuki Durumu (1839-1914)*, 2nd pr., Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara, 1996, pp. 112-113.

⁴⁰ By foundation of mixed courts, the personal judicial actions were started to be conducted in these courts in stead of conducted in Shari' a Courts. This means the preparation the ground of contemporary state and liberalization of the law, see: Bülent Tanör, *Osmanlı-Türk Anayasal Gelişmeleri*, 4th pr., Yapı Kredi Yayınları, İstanbul, 1999, p. 213.

⁴¹ Tanör, *op.cit.*, p. 213.

The first court's announcement about the actions in which plaintiff was Armenian and defendant was Muslim was made in April 1330 [1914]. According to it Plaintiff Kirkor Efendi, teacher of Edirne Senior High School took Mustafa Sabri Bey to the court for the payment of the debt, about 120 Ottoman Liras. The court decided the auction of land belonging to defendant in return for the debt.⁴²

Secondly member of the credit institution, Ohannes Efendi, brought a suit against Ali Bey for the payment of the debt about 3838 kuruş. The court decided the payment of the debt.⁴³

Again Ohannes Efendi took another action of debt about 5000 kuruş against Reşid Paşa and the judge decided the payment of the debt.⁴⁴

After that Sarraf Parsahyan Efendi brought an action of debt against Mahmud Ağa. The debt is about 30 Liras. It was announced that the suit would be made on 21 February 1330 [3 March 1915].⁴⁵

Another announcement by the court was published in June 1331 [1915]. Member of Nafia Nezareti, Ohannes Efendi, took an action of debt against Tahsin Efendi. It was declared that the suit would be made on 20 August 1331 [2 September 1915].⁴⁶

Another action was brought to the court by Micrinyan Mardirus. He went to court for the payment of debt by Aliyenizade Hüseyin Bey. The court decided the payment of the debt, 39,000 kuruş. So the flat belonging to the defendant would be auctioned within a month.⁴⁷

After that Sarraf Artin Tokatciyan Efendi brought action of debt against telegrapher Hüsnü Bey. The judge decided in favor of plaintiff Tokatciyan. It was announced that if the

⁴² *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 6 April 1330 [19 April 1914], no. 1792, p. 3.

⁴³ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 22 January 1330 [4 February 1915], no. 2043, p.2.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 22 January 1330 [4 February 1915], no. 2043, p. 1.

⁴⁶ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 28 June 1331 [11 July 1915], no. 2229, p. 1.

⁴⁷ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 28 July 1331 [10 August 1915], no. 2258, p. 3.

defendant did not appeal to court within a month the two diamond needles would be sold at auction.⁴⁸

Then Agop Bahri and David Efendi brought personal action against Ali Haydar Bey, old member of registry office. It was announced that the defendant would be in the court on 26 September 1331 [9 October 1915].⁴⁹

The other action of debt was brought to the court by Selim Hüsni Bey, in the name of Gabriel Gazarusyan. As being representative of Gabriel Gazarusyan, Selim Hüsni Bey brought an action of debt against Mehmet Kemal Efendi. According to announcement the action would be made on 12 November 1331 [25 November 1915].⁵⁰

Then Ohannes Sariyan Efendi brought action of debt about 720 Liras against Ali Rıza Paşa. The court judged the selling of the furniture belonging to Hayriye hanım (agent of the defendant) at auction.⁵¹

After that Ahmet Zikri Efendi's land would be sold at auction in return for his debt, 300 Ottoman gold, taken from Karakaşyan Efendi.⁵²

Another action of debt was brought to the court by Karabet Bazbaryan. He took Ahmet Şükrü Bey, who had not paid his debt to the plaintiff, to court. The court decided the payment of the debt, 48 Liras.⁵³

In another announcement from the court, Ohannes Babalyan took action of debt against Abdülfettah Efendizade Mahmut and Mehmet Beyler, the civil-servants of Seyr-ü Sefain İdaresi. According to the judgment of the court the land, room and some furniture belonging to the defendants would be sold at auction.⁵⁴

⁴⁸ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 2 August 1331 [15 August 1915], no. 2260, p. 4.

⁴⁹ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 16 September 1331 [29 September 1915], no. 2305, p. 2.

⁵⁰ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 17 October 1331 [30 October 1915], no. 2332, p. 2.

⁵¹ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 12 November 1331 [25 November 1915], no. 2358, p. 3.

⁵² *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 4 January 1331 [17 January 1916], no. 2411, p. 6.

⁵³ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 17 August 1332 [30 August 1916], no. 2631, p. 2.

⁵⁴ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 17 June 1333 [17 June 1917], no. 2917, p. 4.

After then, the news about the result of the action of Sarraf Kirkor was published. The action that Sarraf Kirkor took against K m rc  Mehmet Efendi had been resulted and the court decided the payment of the debt.⁵⁵

Then Plaintiff Onin Efenyan brought action of debt against Nazlı kadın and the court decided the payment of the debt together with the payment of the court's expenses.⁵⁶

According to another news on the announcement of the court, for the payment of the debt, 150 Liras, Kiforuk Efendi took an action against İffet hanım. The court judged selling of the land belonging to the defendant at auction.⁵⁷

Then because of the payment of the debt, Serkes BaĒdadliyan had taken to Edibe hanım the court and the court decided the selling of the house of Edibe hanım at auction.⁵⁸

Finally Sevih Demirciyan took an action of debt (debt of rent) against his tenant Mahmud Fehmi Derviş Efendi. The court decided to sequester of the furniture of the defendant in return for the debt.⁵⁹

Beside these actions there are also the other examples that the Muslims take legal actions against the Armenians. Like the previous ones many of these actions are the actions of debt. The few of them belong to different years (between 1914-18) will be given below.

On 13 April 1331 [26 April 1915], the judgment of the court about the suit which had been brought by Salim Efendi against M hendisy n Efendi was published in *Takvim-i Vekayi*. According to the judgment for the liquidation of the debt the properties belonging to M hendisy n were sold at auction.⁶⁰

⁵⁵ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 11 July 1333 [11 July 1917], no. 2941, p. 3.

⁵⁶ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 25 August 1333 [25 August 1917], no. 2983, p. 3.

⁵⁷ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 5 October 1333 [5 October 1917], no. 3021, p. 2.

⁵⁸ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 20 October 1333 [20 October 1917], no. 3035, p. 1.

⁵⁹ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 3 May 1334 [3 May 1918], no. 3228, p.3.

⁶⁰ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 13 April 1331 [26 April 1915], no. 1799, p. 7.

On 16 July 1331 [29 July 1915] another announcement was made in *Takvim-i Vekayi* about the action between Reşad Pasha and Vahan Boşnakyan Efendi. According to the announcement, Reşad Pasha claim the money, 5000 *kuruş*, owed to Boşnakyan.⁶¹

Again in 1915 Rifat Efendi brought an action of debt against Agop Efendi Nişanyan. According to the announcement, if defendant did not make an appeal within one month the legal action for the collection of debt would be put in force.⁶²

In some cases, the establishments brought legal actions against Armenians. For example the Ottoman Bank brought an action of debt against the company of Tütünciyan brothers. The court decided the selling of the properties belonging to company for the liquidation of debt.⁶³

As being another example, the announcement from the court was published on 10 January 1334 [10 January 1918]. According to it, the Commercial Bank brought an action of debt, 1452 liras 67 *kuruş*, against Rüstüm Rüstümyan Efendi. This action was notified by the court through *Takvim-i Vekayi*.⁶⁴

Among the news of actions the great amount of them containing the legal disputes between the Armenians. In other words both plaintiff and defendant was Armenian. The followings consist of the few examples of these actions.

The plaintiff, Mihran Alalciyan, took a legal action against Dökmeciyan for the payment of debt given to him. As a result of the action the court judged the selling of the properties at auction after 31 days.⁶⁵

On 1 November 1331 [14 November 1915], another judgment of the court was published in *Takvim-i Vekayi*. According to the announcement, Mıgırdiç Efendi brought an

⁶¹ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 16 July 1331 [29 July 1915], no. 2246, p. 1.

⁶² *Takvim- Vekayi*, 22 November 1331 [5 December 1915], no. 2368, p. 2.

⁶³ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 10 January 1331 [23 January 1916], no. 2416., p. 4.

⁶⁴ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 10 January 1334 [10 January 1918], no. 3116, p. 2.

⁶⁵ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 3 April 1330 [16 April 1914], no. 1789, p. 6.

action of debt, 11 liras, against doctor Aramis Şamilyan. The court decided the liquidation of debt and notified the decision in *Takvim-i Vekayi*.⁶⁶

On 2 March 1333 [2 March 1917] the action of debt belonging to Agop Zirekyan was announced. According to the announcement, he brought legal action against the Children of Yurnazyan Company belonging to Dikran and Ragarşan Yurnazyan. The court announced that the action was done on 5 April 1333 [5 April 1917] and the defendants must be in the court in the very time or must send their representatives to the court.⁶⁷

Some other actions were between Armenians and the people belonging to other nationalities. For example one announcement was made in September 1331 [1915]. According to the announcement, Gümüşgerdanyan took a legal action against a Russian, Mösyö Libaron de Astagor. He claimed the amount of his rent, 215 liras, which was not given by the defendant. The court notified that the action will be made on 26 November 1331 [9 December 1915] and the defendant must come to court in that day or sent his representative.⁶⁸

Another announcement was published on 16 October 1331 [29 October 1915], the merchant Yorgaki brought an action against merchant Miradyan Efendi to be able to retake his money, 199 liras and 32 kuruş, owed to Miradyan. The court announced that the action would be made on 10 November 1331 [23 November 1915] and the defendant must be made in the court in that day or sent his representative.⁶⁹

Being another example; Madam Dömin Fiyamacıyan took a legal action against Mösyö Savo David and Bakontoratu (?), from Austria-Hungaria, and claimed her flat's rent

⁶⁶ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 1 November 1331 [14 November 1915], no. 2347, p. 1.

⁶⁷ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 2 March 1333 [2 March 1917], no. 2810, p.1.

⁶⁸ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 1 September 1331 [14 September 1915], no. 2290, s. 2.

⁶⁹ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 16 October 1331 [29 October 1915], no. 2331, s. 2.

about 491,5 liras. The court judged the payment of the debt and the judgment was announced in *Takvim-i Vekayi* on 4 February 1334 [4 February 1918].⁷⁰

The news so far presented has displayed that in the war years, 1914-18, Armenians living in the Ottoman Empire were well represented in the Ottoman judicial courts. Without discrimination both Muslims and Armenians could take legal actions against with each other. Armenians could also solve their any legal problems with other Armenians or with the people from other nations. They could protect their personal rights and properties against Muslims and the others. It can be also seen that while the Turco-Armenian relations were getting worse in the eastern part of the Ottoman Empire or while Armenians were dislocated, in İstanbul they could claim their rights in the Ottoman courts. Within this context it is necessary to refer that the Ottoman Government protected the rights of its Armenian subjects although it didn't have to feel any fear of foreign intervention.⁷¹ In other words innocent Armenians who had not involved in the actions against the government had not been exposed to any negative attitude by the Ottoman Government. The data, obtained by the courts' announcements published in *Takvim-i Vekayi*, confirmed that the endeavors, to supply the equality for all subjects living in the Ottoman Empire, and laws started to be adopted with the *Tanzimat* had not been remained only on paper.

2.4 Religious Situation of Armenians

In the nineteenth century there were five religious centers situated in both inside the Ottoman territories and outside its borders: 1) The Catholicosate of Echmiadzin in Russia: According to the Armenian belief Armenians adopted Christianity under the leadership of Saint Gregoir and he established the first Armenian church in Echmiadzin. So the Catholicosate of Echmiadzin is accepted as the most supreme religious center of the

⁷⁰ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 4 February 1334 [4 February 1918], no. 3141, s. 1.

⁷¹ The Ottoman Government announced the annulment of all capitulations given to the foreign powers. The declaration was made hear to the public under the title of ' İmtiyazat-ı Ecnebiyenin Kaldırılması Hakkında İrade-i Seniyye', *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 4 September 1330 [17 September 1914], no. 1938, p. 1.

Armenian community and had significant authority. Gregorian Armenians accepted the Catholicosate of Echmiadzin the highest religious authority in the Armenian community.⁷² 2) The Catholicosate of Cilicia: It existed in the Armenian religious life since 1441. It was distinct and autonomous center in the religious realm and sometimes it clashed with the Catholicosate of Echmiadzin upon the issue of religious authority.⁷³ 3) The Catholicosate of Aghtamar: It was established in the province of Van in the beginning of twelfth century in opposition to the Catholicosate of Echmiadzin. Of these five centers it was the weakest one and in fact the Catholicosate of Aghtamar was only a relic preserved from ancient times.⁷⁴ 4) The Patriarchate of İstanbul: The patriarch of İstanbul was accepted the patriarch of all Armenians in the Ottoman Empire by the Ottoman government. It was responsible for the Armenian community in the empire. Also the other non-Muslims, apart from Orthodox and Jews, were under the authority of the patriarch. Although the Catholicosates of Aghtamar and Cilicia (Sis) were upper than the patriarch according to religious position, the patriarch was the most powerful religious leader in the Ottoman Empire.⁷⁵ 5) The Patriarchate of Jerusalem: It has had the character and scope of a monastic institution. The main task has been the preservation of the religious rights and privileges of the Armenian church in the Holy Land. During the whole course of the nineteenth century, the patriarchate was administratively related and subordinate to the Patriarchate of İstanbul.⁷⁶

Among these the two, Catholicosate of Echmiadzin and the Patriarchate of İstanbul, were active centers of the Armenian religious life and played significant roles in the Armenian Question. The Patriarchate of İstanbul became the national arena of the Ottoman

⁷² Kılıç, *op.cit.*, pp. 44, 185. Due to these religious authority of the Catholicosate of Echmiadzin the Gregorian Armenian priests and bishops were under the influence of Echmiadzin especially in the times when Russian support increased the power of Echmiadzin.

⁷³ Even the Ottoman government tried to take the Catholicosate of Cilicia under its influence in order to undermine the authority of the Catholicosate of Echmiadzin and in this way to prevent the interference of it into the Armenian Question, see: Kılıç, *op.cit.*, pp. 190-194.

⁷⁴ Arberry, *op.cit.*, p. 493.

⁷⁵ Uras, *op.cit.*, p. 149; Gürün, *op.cit.*, p. 49.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

Armenians with its National Assembly where the problems, claims or needs of the Armenians were discussed and it started to play active role in the Armenian independence movement. Meanwhile the Catholicosate of Echmiadzin became the representative of Armenian nation through its active policies in the international arena.⁷⁷ So as time went on, the relationship between these two centers have intensified with these common objects and the effect of Echmiadzin on the Patriarchate in İstanbul increased.

During the war years the communication was conducted between these two centers that just oppose to the security and existence of the Ottoman state. Through these communications, the information about secrets of the Ottoman state and its military position was passed into the hands of Russia. The director-general of security of the Ottoman Ministry of the Interior informed the director of Ottoman Intelligence that reliable sources reported irregular communication between the Armenian Patriarchate of Istanbul and the Catholicos of Echmiadzin, through the Italian Embassy in Istanbul.⁷⁸ Moreover these religious leaders directed the actions of religious man under their authority and these religious man participated in the uprisings through making contact with the Armenian brigands and through helping the concealment of the arms of Armenians in the churches. For example in August 1914 the governor of Halep asked for permission from Interior Ministry to send Armenian religious leader in that region to the military court because of his contacts with Armenian regiments.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ The Russian expansion into the Caucasus began in the beginning of the nineteenth century. The Catholicosate of Echmiadzin very sympathized with this Russian penetration when it was under the Persian rule. After Russo-Persian wars the region of Ararat with Echmiadzin and Yerevan was seized by Russia (1827) and these regions were ceded by the Persians to Russia with the Treaty of Türkmençay (1828). Although the Armenian church affairs were taken under the control of the Russian government with the draft, Polojenye, (1836), the Catholicosate's activities for the Ottoman Armenians were not restricted in the times when the Russian interests coincided with the Armenians. So especially before and during the war, when the future Russo-Turkish clash became clear, the Catholicosate became more aggressive and assertive or more powerful for the Armenian national movement and it started to be directly effective in the activities of the Patriarch of İstanbul. When the First World War started the Catholicos of Echmiadzin, Kevork IV, wrote to Vorontsov-Dashnok, the viceroy of the Caucasus, asking him to take advantage of the favorable time and suggesting a degree of autonomy for the so-called Armenian provinces. Then he wrote Tsar Nicholas II that the Armenians hoped for protection, see: Uras, *op. cit.*, 580-585.

⁷⁸ Salahi R. Sonyel, *The Ottoman Armenians*, London, 1987, p. 287.

⁷⁹ Halaçoğlu, *Ermeni Tehciri ve Gerçekler (1914-1918)*, Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara, 2001, p. 34.

Upon the harmful activities like the ones mentioned above, the Ottoman government started to think about the regulating the internal affairs of its non-Muslim communities from the beginning of 1915.⁸⁰ Aftermath of this thought, ‘The Regulation of the Armenian Catholicosate and Patriarchate’ defining the procedure of the administration of the patriarchate and the borders of its authority was prepared by the Ottoman government and published in *Takvim-i Vekayi* on 28 July 1332 [10 August 1916].⁸¹ It consisted of three part (bab) and five sections (fasıl). According to the first article, the Catholicosates of Sis and Ahtamar are united with the Patriarchates of İstanbul and Jerusalem. In this way all was united under one Patriarchate and Catholicosate and the residence of it became Jerusalem. The religious sphere if this new center was all Ottoman territories. In this way, the contact with the Catholicosate of Echmiadzin was cut. According the second article, the Patriarch can start his activities in this position with Memuriyet Berat-ı Aliyyesi, he is bound to office of religious sects (Mezahip Vekaleti) and only for the affairs about the denominations he has a right to appeal to this office.

The first section is about the procedure in the election of Patriarch. According to the third article of the section the candidates for the Patriarchate have to be ratified by the government and Mezahip Vekaleti. So the Patriarch is elected from these candidates who are regarded as being favorable to this position. After the election, the new Patriarch is again ratified by Mezahip Vekaleti. According to this ratification, the election of new Patriarch is approved by the government. According to the forth article of section one, The candidates for patriarch had to win the trust of the community and state with his morality and behaviors and had to be Ottoman subject (even his father and grandfather must be the Ottoman subjects).

⁸⁰ Bozkurt, *op. cit.*, 207.

⁸¹ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 28 July 1332 [10 August 1916], no. 2611, pp. 1-5. The first regulation was the National Constitution (which took its final shape in 1860 and was approved by the Ottoman government in 1863). It was prepared by the Armenians not by the Ottoman government. As opposed to it, the second one was prepared by the government in order to stop the harmful activities of the Armenian religious leaders and to control them.

According to the second and third sections, including articles five, six, seven, eight and nine, the previous National Assembly (formed with 1863 Regulation) is annulled and two assemblies are founded- the Religious Assembly and Mixed Assembly. They engage in the affairs among the sections in the Armenian community and engage in the administration and expenditures of the churches, monasteries, religious endowments and schools. However the schools are under the surveillance of Ministry of Education.

The fourth section presents the mode of relationship between Patriarchate and the assemblies while the fifth one specifies the procedure of the administration of Patriarchate. Then the regulation continued with second part. This part is about the delegation committees (Murahasalıklar).

The third part consists of various articles (the title is not given). The articles, thirty-one and thirty-two, of this part contain the procedures which are followed when the patriarch and delegates act against the law and benefits of the Ottoman people and the Ottoman state.

When we look into the content of the regulation we understand that the main aim of the Ottoman government was to form the Armenian Catholicosate and Patriarchate of which activities can be free the effect of Catholicosate of Echmiadzin. Moreover the government tried to prevent the contacts and actions against the security of the Ottoman state by interfering into the election of Patriarchate, surveying their schools (third section, article 8) and financial sources used in the formation of its budget (fifth section, article 21).^{*} In the article 31 and 32 the mode of the punishment against the possible harmful activities of the patriarch and delegates was specified.

Finally after looking into the content of the regulation it is said that the Ottoman government had to regulate again the organization of the Armenian church because of preventing the harmful actions of Echmiadzin Catholicos and Patriarch of İstanbul.

^{*} The whole context of the Regulation of Armenian Catholicosate and Patriarchate will be given at the end of thesis.

CHAPTER III

DISLOCATION

3.1 Important Developments Relating to the Armenian Question Until Dislocation

3.1.1 Reform Projects for the Eastern Provinces and Their Final Stage, 1914 February Project

The reform question in the eastern Anatolian provinces of the Ottoman Empire firstly became an international issue with the Berlin Treaty (1878, article 61). In the very times the Great Powers were highly interested in the Armenian Question and forced the Ottoman Empire to take necessary measures in the eastern part of Anatolia. To supply the security and order in that region several commissions had been sent to the provinces by the Ottoman government and these commissions prepared their reports on the possible measures or policies to solve the problems of the Armenians living there. However in practice very little had been done by the Ottoman government because of lack of necessary financial sources to apply the reforms and the fear of the government that such reforms would cause breaking away of these lands from the empire. Upon this the detailed and comprehensive project had been prepared by Russia, England and France and it was sent to the Ottoman government on 11 May 1895. This comprehensive project was not accepted completely by the Ottoman side and it changed the project into the form that doesn't undermine central authority and existing legal system and then it was proclaimed on 11 November 1895.¹ Beside the works on the reform projects the amnesty was proclaimed by the Sultan in 1896 as a sign of good will. While the processes were in favor of the Armenians one important event in the international realm changed this

¹ The succession of events on the Reform Question at the very times and the contents of the projects, see: Uras, *op.cit.*, pp.296-355.

situation- Turco-Greek war on Crete (1896). Because upon this war the attention of the European Powers suddenly focused on the Crete Question. In that time this problem was more important for the European Powers than the Armenians' problems.

As can be seen the attention of European powers to Armenian question changed time to time according to succession of events and their interests. And this case can be seen also in the Russian policies towards the Armenian question. As it is known the main sponsor of the Armenian Question in the Berlin Treaty was Russia. Although she brought the question into the agenda of Great Powers, after the treaty, Russia turned its back from the Armenian Question until its strategic interests forced it to turn its eyes into Armenian question again.²

The Russian ignorance of the Ottoman Armenians ended with the coming of the twentieth century. Mostly the strategic reasons of Russia caused this change: command of Black Sea (with a minimum goal of defending Russian coasts and a maximum task of seizure of the straits) and defense of the Caucasus frontier and Persian sphere of influence.³ The isolation of the eastern Anatolian region from the outside influence* and the support of the

² Although Russia highly interested in Armenian question in the Berlin Treaty, after the founding of Bulgarian nation-state it did not want another Bulgaria beyond its western frontiers. Because the independent Bulgaria was free from the Russian influence. Moreover in the Caucasus the highly- developed sense of nationalism of Armenians very disturbed Russia and they were suspect for them; the order and security of the region which was very important economically for Russia must be continued. So Russia did not supported Armenians living in Eastern Anatolia, Bodger, *op.cit.*, p. 60. Relating to this policy, for example, in 1896 Armenian Crisis Russia did not accept to force the Sultan to pursue radical reform program (this program was supported by the European powers) requiring the autonomous Armenian region in the Eastern Anatolia.

³ *Ibid.*

* The most important threat to Russian interests, as being outside influence, was Germany. The German penetration into the economic, military and political affairs of the Ottoman Empire dated back 1830s. From that times the first German penetration began in the military affairs and some Prussian officers came to the empire and started to play an active role in the re-organization of the Ottoman army. For example Louis Kamphövener was the general inspector of Ottoman infantry units for many years. Addition to this many German officers were appointed as general inspectors of cavalry, artillery and engineer units of the Ottoman army, see: Ulrich Trumphener, 'Germany and the End of the Ottoman Empire', in *The Great Powers and The End of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 134. Then after 1880s Germany tried to create her own spheres of influence in the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman attitude towards Germany facilitated this penetration. Because it was seen clearly in the Berlin Conference (1878) that Russia, England, France and Austria-Hungaria aimed at plundering the Ottoman territories. Beside this, the Russian historical policy, French occupation of Tunisia, Austrian plans in the Balkans, England's support of the independence of Montenegro forced the Ottoman Empire for German support and created an expectation and hope for Germany's friendship. İlber Ortaylı, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Alman Nüfuzu*, 3rd pr., İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2002, pp. 45-51. So in 1888, obtaining the first important concession, including the construction of railroad line between the straits and Ankara, was not difficult for Germany. After that in 1898 German Emperor II. Wilhelm visited the Abdülhamid II. and took the promise of

Armenians should provide this. Moreover Russia wanted to found basis for future expansion either south or west.⁴ So to create the Russian zone of privilege in the region free from outside influence, it interested in obtaining concessions in eastern railway constructions. Firstly in March 1900 Russia made railway agreement with Turkey that prevented granting concessions for railway construction north of a line between Kaiseri, Diarbekir, Sivas and Kharput to any foreign company.* In this way Russia also prevent the challenge of Germany against the Russian control of this region through Baghdad Railway construction. In 1911 Russia tried to co-operate with Germany through signing Baghdad Railway agreement including not to building branch lines into the Caucasus. These agreements recognized Russian interests in Eastern Anatolia and Persia respectively. In September 1913 Russia again obtained concession that lines to Erzurum, Trabzon and the frontier would be built only by Russian firm. Addition to its diplomatic endeavors, at the same time, Russia gave its military aid to the Ottoman Armenians for obtaining support from inside against possible Russo-Turkish clash. Undoubtedly Russian agitators, some consular officials among them, gave money, arms and advice to both Kurds and Armenians and generally the Armenian revolutionaries in Turkey had come from Russian Transcaucasia.⁵

At that times, Armenian propaganda and preparations were continuing and especially during the Balkan Wars Armenians encouraged by the Ottoman defeats intensified their actions to reach their national aim in the Eastern Anatolia. As Sonyel pointed out from the

the Sultan for the Bagdad Railway construction by Germany. Upon this, clash of Russian and German interests became more intense especially in the eastern Anatolian territories of the Ottoman Empire.

⁴ Roderic H. Davison, 'The Armenian Crisis, 1912-1914', *American Historical Review*, 53 (1948), p. 487.

* This Russian control of the railway in the north of Eastern Anatolia affected her co-religionists, Armenians, greatly. Because from the beginning their main object was to obtain foreign help for their national cause like Balkan nations. They saw the increasing interest of Russia in the region and started to prepare to take advantage of opportunity from this as being in the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78. It is necessary to give the comment of Mc. Carthy about the 1877-78 Russo- Turkish war: 'the support of the Ottoman Armenians by Russia and the support given by the Ottoman Empire to the Muslims in the Caucasia during the war strengthened the loyalty to co-religionist states other than their own rulers. This strengthened the borders that divide the two nations', Justin McCarthy, *Ölümler ve Sürgünler*, Bilge Umar (tr.), İnkilap Yayınları, İstanbul, 1998, p. 115.

⁵ Davison, 'The Armenian...', p. 489. According to Cemal Paşa the first contacts between the Armenian revolutionaries and Russia dated back 1853 Turco-Russian war and the results of this contact started to be seen with the first Zeytun uprising in 1867. As well-known these kind of activities continued in the following years. Cemal Paşa, *op.cit.*, pp. 378-379.

reports of British Consuls B. H. Fontana in Aleppo ‘the Armenians of Dörtyol were well armed with modern rifles every mail adult armed himself.’⁶ According to British Vice consul in Van, Ian Smith, the Dashnak Party had imported arms during the year 1913 and distributed money its followers and its agents in Van province ...’⁷ Meanwhile continuing their agitations in the region, they pursued great propaganda demanding reforms in Eastern Anatolia beyond the borders of the Ottoman Empire. As pointed out in that time Armenian interests coincided with the Russian policies. So, firstly, they appealed to Russia through the Catholicos George V, head of the Gregorian Church to ask for help the Armenians for achieving their national aim.⁸ The Catholicos also appointed a delegation headed by Boghos Nubar Pasha (in all 1913 he was in Europe) to present the Armenian cause to Europe. The delegation demanded autonomous Armenia under European commission appointed by the Porte and giving equal responsibility to Christians and Muslims in military and administrative offices. At this point Russia broached the problem in two ways, firstly warned the Ottoman government and then sounded out British and French cabinets as to the possibility of making effective such reforms.⁹ However the Ottoman government prepared its own plans for reform in Eastern Anatolia and asked for English officials to help carry out their new reforms. The Russian reaction was great because this was just threat to Russian control of the region. On the other hand the Ottoman government thought that English participation would prevent Russian encroachment. However England firstly consulted Russia and Russia wanted to solve the problem through the negotiations among the ambassadors of the great powers in İstanbul.¹⁰

⁶ Sonyel, *The Ottoman...*, pp. 73-74.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 76-77.

⁸ Since 1905 the Gregorians had adopted loyalism to Russia and like in the previous times the religious leader was the great supporter of the Armenian cause and he wanted help for Turkish brethren.

⁹ Davison, ‘The Armenian...’, p. 490.

¹⁰ The distrust of Germany caused English-Russian approach after 1895 and in 1907 they solved their clashes in the Far East and then they acted together against the interests of the Ottoman Empire, Öke, *op.cit.*, p. 87.

The other reaction came from Germany because of fear of Russian partition of Asiatic Turkey.¹¹

Then the Great Powers decided to discuss the question of reforms for eastern Anatolian provinces and Germany and its allies were invited to negotiations and talks started. They came to an agreement on the reform plan after long-lasting quarrels and on 8 February 1914 Russo-Turkish convention was signed.¹² It granted almost autonomy to the six provinces of Eastern Anatolia. According to the reform scheme these Vilayets were divided into two administrative sectors: Erzurum, Trabzon and Sivas would form one sector, Van, Bitlis, Harput and Diyarbakır would form the other one. Each sector would be governed by European inspector-general who had extensive power: all civil-servants, police, gendarmes and justice in the sectors would be under the control of them. The inspectors-generals would be appointed by the Sultan for a fixed term, but could only be removed with the consent of the Powers. The convention was not announced to the public by the Ottoman government. Only the appointment of the two inspectors-general, Norwegian Major Hoff and Dutch Westenek were announced in *Takvim-i Vekayi* in the Tevcihat section together with the appointments of other people to administrative positions in the other towns and cities.¹³ The agreement meant almost autonomy and achievement of Armenians nationalists. Indeed, with this way, the zone of special privilege of Russia was fortified.¹⁴ However this convention was not applied because of the outbreak of the First World War. And these inspectors-generals were removed by the Ottoman government on 31 December 1914.

¹¹ Indeed suspicion was intense on all sides on the plans of the partition of Anatolian lands. Actually according to Davison, the question was the partition of Asiatic Turkey not Armenian one. So the problem was very complex and delicate. For this reason any decision about the reform plans could come only from a united front. During the negotiations, lasted all through the summer and autumn of 1913, tension was great. At the end, the amended Russian scheme was imposed to the Ottoman government (it was Germany that prevented the acceptance of the extensive Russian plan). For detailed information about the succession of events and attitudes of the Great Powers during the Armenian Crisis, 1912-14, see: Davison, 'The Armenian...', pp. 481-505.

¹² The whole context of the reform plan and also the previous Russian project, see: Cemal Pasha, *op.cit.*, pp. 403-411.

¹³ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 1 July 1330 [14 July 1914], no. 1877, p. 1.

¹⁴ Bodger, *op.cit.*, p. 96.

3.1.2 The Van Revolt of 1915

As mentioned above Armenians started their preparations and actions which can be evaluated as being the first signs of possible revolt long before the outbreak of the First World War and just before the war they intensified their rebellious activities. The consequences of Armenians' preparations were seen firstly in Zeytun. After the Ottoman government declared mobilization on 7 August 1914, Armenians decided not to join the Ottoman army and set up their own volunteer regiments under their own officers at Zeytun. Then one of the earliest rebellions against the Turks started on 30 August 1914 at the region and the Ottoman army unit was attacked by these volunteer regiments.¹⁵ Upon this the Ottoman government took one of the first measures against potential, indeed direct threat, from Armenians. It coded a circular (6th September 1914) including to keep the Armenian leaders under continuous surveillance in the regions which were highly inhabited by Armenians.¹⁶ In spite of this measure Armenian intrigues with Russia increased. During the months of September-October 1914 the Governors of Bitlis, Trabzon and Erzurum reported to 3rd Army Commandership that the cooperation between the Armenians and Russian government continued to intensify through the arming of Armenians by Russian weapons and establish military regiments with the support of Russia.¹⁷

In September 1914, some 600 Armenians from Bayezit, Van, Bitlis, Muş and Gümrü met at Iğdır and organized in guerilla bands under Antranik, Ershan, Portakalyan, Rupen Mıgırdıçyan, Toros Karakaşyan and Surin, they planned to pass into Selmas when Armenian revolutionaries, Melkon and Ohannes, went to Van to make propaganda there.¹⁸ While the

¹⁵ Gürün, *op.cit.*, pp. 260-61. The rebellion in Zeytun continued until the application of the order of Dislocation. During the rebellion 713 rifles, 21 shotguns, 12 mauser rifles belonging to Armenians were seized by Turkish soldiers. These records are important because of showing how Armenians were well-armed. For more information about the arming of the socialist Armenians and their help to the Ottoman Armenians in arming of them, see: Erdal İlder, *Türkiye'de Sosyalist Ermeniler ve Silahlanma Faaliyetleri, (1890-1923)*, Turan Yayıncılık, İstanbul, 1995, pp. 83-87.

¹⁶ Sonyel, *The Ottoman...*, p. 288.

¹⁷ Gürün, *op.cit.*, pp. 262- 63.

¹⁸ Sonyel, *The Ottoman...*, p. 290; Gürün, *op.cit.*, p. 263.

Armenian propagandists planned to pursue their activities in Van, the other revolutionary Armenians worked on the arming of Armenian population in that region. On 10 October 1914, the son of the Russian Armenian General, Loris Melikov, went to Van and made arrangements for the distribution of weapons in Van and Bitlis. Moreover in the beginning of December 1914 Armenians of the Karçikan, Gevaş districts of Van cut the telegraph wires, killed a corporal and fired at a sub-governor and his entourage.¹⁹ When, on 1 November 1914, Russia declared war on the Ottoman Empire, Armenians were full of optimism on being independent from the Ottoman state. With the hope of taking an advantage of Turco-Russian clash, more than 200,000 Russian Armenians joined to Russian armies to help their Turkish brethren for the liberation.²⁰ At the very time Armenian attacks on Muslims continued in various provinces of Eastern Anatolia, the first reports about the coming of Van revolt started to reach into the Ottoman government. Between November 1914 and March 1915 the Governor of Van, Cevdet Bey, started to send telegraphs about the attacks of Armenian rebels in various sub-districts of Van.²¹ By the middle of April extensive rebellion all over the Province of Van started which was mostly organized through the efforts of Dashnaks from the Caucasus.²² At that time Russian army to which many Armenians joined voluntarily began an offensive towards Van. When the Armenian rebels began to set fire the Muslim villages, Van

¹⁹ Sonyel, *The Ottoman...*, p. 293. While Van rebellion was extending, Armenians were pursuing their attacks against Muslim villages, Ottoman governors and soldiers in the other regions- Zeytun, Elazığ, Sivas (January 1915). In addition to these attacks, atrocities and attacks were made by Armenians in Bitlis, Aleppo, Kayseri and Siirt through February 1915. So the central government decided to disarm the Armenian soldiers and gendarmes, placed them in work battalions and employed them in construction and transport work.

²⁰ Sonyel, *The Ottoman...*, p. 289.

²¹ Gürün, *op.cit.*, 264-267.

²² Van region was one of the important centers for Armenian cultural, political and military activities in the Eastern Anatolian region. Firstly the region became the area of the propaganda of Patriarch Hrimyan for independent Armenian state. He was sent to Van in 1854 by the Patriarch of İstanbul and he published the journal called as Van Eagle (Van Kartalı) there. Between 1870-80 Araratlı Association was organized in the region and in 1885 Armenekan Party was established by Avedisyan. All these political and cultural activities resulted in the uprisings of Armenians in June 1895. See: Gürün, *op.cit.*, pp. 210-211. With the coming of second Constitutional Period especially after Revolutionary Armenians were freed from the prison, Van witnessed mass activities of them, especially Dashnaks; they started to kill Armenians who refused to help them or not engaged in illegal activities against the Ottoman government. For example in the local elections made after the proclamation of the Constitution (1908) an Armenian Bedros Kapamaciyan was elected as Mayor of Van but he was killed by his own son, member of Dashnak Committee, because of not supporting the Dashnaks. See: Hüseyin Çelik, 'The 1915 Armenian Revolt in Van: Eyewitness Testimony', in *The Armenians in the Late Ottoman Period*, pp. 91-92.

started to be evacuated and Ottoman soldiers retreated from the province to the south side of the Van lake. After Russian army reached into the province, an Armenian state was set up at Van under Russian protection and an Armenian legion was formed to expel the Turks outside of Van entirely. Although Van was taken under control by the Turkish forces on 22 July 1915, it was seized again by the Armenian and Russian forces in August.²³

The Van revolt was the turning point in Turco-Armenian relations during the First World War. It forced the Ottoman government to take some decisions finally ending with dislocation. The Ottoman government firstly appealed to the Armenian parliament members with the purpose of providing security inside and calming down the rebellious Armenians and warned the Patriarch.²⁴ Then against the possibility of another rebellions that undermined the power of Ottoman army units, the instruction was sent to 14 governorships, 10 administrations, on 24 April 1915, which ordered the arresting of the leaders of the Armenian communities and closing of their centers and confiscation of their documents, papers. However in spite of all these measures Armenian attacks continued and this forced the Ottoman government to put more effective and strict measures into action.*

²³ For detailed information based on mostly English documents about the Armenian incidents and revolts in Van during the war : Sonyel, *The Ottoman...*, pp. 291-299; for extensive research based on Turkish military archives and is about the sequence of events in Van rebellion: Gürün, *op.cit.*, pp. 251-275; and for obtaining information based on Prime Ministry Archive and General Staff Head Quarters ATASE, Azmi Süslü, *Armenians and the 1915 Event of Displacement*, 2nd ed., Köksav, Ankara, 1999, pp. 106-133; for accessing information (based on eye-witness accounts of Muslims inhabiting in Van) about the social, economic situation of the Armenian population and Turco-Armenian relations in Van before the rebellion and Armenian atrocities (during the rebellion) : Çelik, *op.cit.*, pp. 87-109.

²⁴ Sonyel, *The Ottoman...*, p. 299.; Süslü, *op.cit.*, pp. 106-107.

* From the other side the picture is presented as being very different. For some, the 'defensive' uprisings of the Armenians in Van provided the Young Turk government with an excuse to begin mass arrests in other areas as well and especially in the capital, see: Tessa Hofmann, 'German Eyewitness Reports of the Genocide of the Armenians, 1915-16', in *A Crime of Silence: Armenian Genocide*, p. 71. On the other hand according to Ternon, it would be understandable for the military authorities to request the evacuation of the Armenian population from the field of operations and its transfer to the interior in order to improve the security of the Ottoman lines of communication and ensure that information on the army's plans and movements was not passed to the enemy. However he also accepted that the population movement with this aim turned into the organized and systematically executed plan of extermination by the Committee of Union and Progress, see: Yves Ternon, 'Report on the Genocide of the Armenians of the Ottoman Empire, 1915-16', in *A Crime of Silence: Armenian Genocide*, pp. 105-106.

3. 2 The News Relating to Dislocation in *Takvim-i Vekayi*

3.2.1 Laws, Provisional Laws and Regulations

During the war, Armenians continued their intrigues with Russia and Russian Armenians like occurring in the prior times and in Van revolt. For pursued their contacts and for helping with each other both Russian and Ottoman Armenians crossed in many times the borders into the Ottoman Empire and Russia respectively. Moreover some Armenian rebels or propagandists went from one place to other one to continue activities against the Ottoman government. Under the conditions of mobilization it was highly possible that such activities would intensify. So, for internal order and security and to control the activities of its non-Muslim subjects, passed into other nationalities, and foreigners, the Ottoman government adopted the Provisional Law On the Residence and Traveling of the Foreigners in the Ottoman Empire. This provisional law consisted of 12 articles. To see the sensitivity of the Ottoman government to any possible harmful activities against its existence²⁵ or to see endeavours of it for not losing control over the foreigners who beared any intent against the Ottoman government the whole text of the provisional law will be given: ‘The Provisional Law about the Residence and Traveling of the Foreigners in the Ottoman Empire’.²⁶

Article 1- Apart from the foreigners and people of whom entrance into the Ottoman Empire had forbidden before, the other people could enter into the empire.

Article 2- When the foreigners entered into the Ottoman territories they have to apply to the police centers in their places of residence and have to represent their written statements containing their personal information and the reason why they come into the country. They

²⁵ This sensitivity is normal for the government that witnessed many rebellions of its own subjects. As well known the Ottoman government had to fight against its own millets, which revolted for independence, from the beginning of the nineteenth century until its destruction. Indeed the examples of this application is seen in the first years of Tanzimat with the name ‘*mürur tezkeresi*’ and in the 1830s the people had to have *mürur tezkeresi* to go from one place to another, see: Fuat Dündar, *İttihat ve Terakki'nin Müslümanları İskan Politikası (1913-1918)*, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2001, p. 65 and see Musa Çadırcı, ‘Tanzimatın İlanı Sırasında Anadolu’da İç Güvenlik’, *Tarih Araştırmaları*, vol.13, no.24, 1979-1980, AÜDTCF, pp. 56-57.

²⁶ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 4 March 1331 [17 March 1915], no. 2114, p. 2-3

also have to give information about their families or people coming with them. After this, the police center is responsible for giving the residence and traveling permit.

Article 3- If they changed their places of residence they again have to apply to police centers in the places where they have gone and they also have to show their residence and traveling permit.

Article 4- If the non-Muslims use the spurious identity cards they are put into the prison from 15 days to 2 years; or they are fined from 5 Ottoman gold liras to 100 Ottoman gold liras.

Article 5- Interior Minister and Council of Ministries have a power to sent the foreigners outside the Ottoman territories or they have a power to force foreigners to go another region inside the Ottoman territories for a specified period of time or for all time because of military, political or administrative reasons. When Interior Ministry or Council of Ministries notify the foreigners of expel or relocation, the foreigners have to make requirements of the notice during the particular time. If they do not obey the decision they are sent away from the Ottoman Empire with military force. If the disobedience to notice occur by concealment firstly they are put into prison from 3 to 6 months and then they are sent from the country again with military force. Entering of these people into the Ottoman Empire is prohibited.

Article 6- If the foreigners, who are previously removed from the places of residence and sent to another region inside the Ottoman Empire, turn back into their previous residences without official permission they are put into prison for 15 days or fined from 1 Ottoman gold lira to 15 Ottoman gold liras.

Article 7- If the foreigners, who had been sent into the outside of the Ottoman borders, enter into the Ottoman Empire without official permission they are punished for prison

sentence from 1 month to 6 months or fined from 10 Ottoman gold liras to 50 Ottoman gold liras.

Article 8- Mutasarrifs and governors of the border provinces or in the provinces on the coasts (determined by the Ministry of Interior) or of the provinces which do not bound to any center have a power to dislocate or expel the foreigners if they are regarded as being a threat to internal security and order or if their residence inside borders of the Ottoman Empire is a potential threat to the public security. They are removed for minimum 3 months. But Interior Ministry has to be informed about the reasons of these decisions.

Article 9- These punishments, cited in this law, are given by the justice of peace (Sulh Mahkemeleri). If there is no justice of peace the judges are given by the lower courts through basing on the laws relating to it.

Article 10- This law is valid after 15 days from its publication.

Article 11- The foreigners who have been already inhabited in the Ottoman Empire have to show their written statement (cited in Article 2) during two months.

Article 12- The Minister of Justice and Minister of Interior are responsible for the application of the articles of this law.

Regarding the content, this law can be commented as a measure against the activities or contacts leading breakdown of the order and security (as seen in the articles 5 and 8). Regarding the areas it can be said that the conditions mentioned above forced the Ottoman government to give significant power even to the local governors (cited in the Article 8) in the particular areas. Because, for example, in the very time one of the most potential threat against the internal security came from the Armenians living in the border areas like Van, Erzurum and Bitlis (Even the dislocation started to be carried out firstly in these regions).²⁷

²⁷ Erzurum and Van were the most affected regions by the activities of Russian Armenians. Through the activities of them, especially the members of Dashnaks, many Armenians migrated into Russia from Erzurum and became the members of voluntary regiments of Armenians in Russia, Halaçoğlu, *op.cit.*, p. 35. For the Russo-Armenian contacts, see: Halaçoğlu, *op.cit.*, pp. 37-40; Gürün, *op.cit.*, pp. 257-265.

Being parallel with this law the Provisional Passport Law was announced in the same number of *Takvim-i Vekayi*. In the following part only the articles which are thought as important will be given: ‘The Provisional Passport Law’:²⁸

Article 1- The people coming into the Ottoman Empire from the foreign countries and the people go to the foreign countries from the Ottoman Empire have to show their passports.

Article 2- The identities of the people who come into the empire without passport or with invalid passport will be investigated in the border before permitting their entrance.

The Ottoman subjects had to prove their identities through showing their identity cards or showing other official documents similar to these identity cards. Until they prove their identities they are put under surveillance of police force.

If the foreigners (not Ottoman subjects) come into the Ottoman Empire they have to take passport from their own consulates in 5 days. Although they obtain the passports from the consulates, the government has a power to permit them or not.

Article 3- The people who are not permitted to enter into the empire although they have passports will be explained below:

First, the bums and tramps.

Second, the people, who had been expelled from the Ottoman Empire for a specified period of time, turning back the empire before the time is over. Moreover the people who are expelled from the empire for all time.

Third, the people about whom the Ottoman government get suspicious participation of them in the instigations and preparations leading the breakdown of the order of the state.

Fourth, the Ottoman subjects whose entrance into the empire are prohibited because of changing their nationality or because of deceiving.

²⁸ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 4 March 1331 [17 March 1915], no. 2114, pp. 3-4.

It is understood from the given text of the law that the central Ottoman government tried to prevent the entrance of any people inside its borders who would participate in harmful activities against the security and order of the state (article 3). In other words the Provisional Passport Law is complementary for the Provisional Law about the Residence and Traveling of the Foreigners in the Ottoman Empire. Beside their contents of these laws the timing of announcements of them is also important because it coincided with the rebellions or damaging activities of the Armenians and with the ordering of instructions on the deportation of Armenians. During the very time, the first signs of Van Revolt began to be seen and the reports informing the preparations of the Armenians for future revolts started to be reached into Interior Ministry. Approximately after one month the first signs of the dislocation orders started to be seen with coded telegraph of Interior Ministry about the sending the Armenians of Dört Yol into the previously specified place. It is also ordered that the emergence of any rebellion or revolt would be prevented with swift and effective measures.²⁹

On the other hand, when we look at the other provisional law, published in *Takvim-i Vekayi* in March 1330, about the change made in the first article of Military Criminal Law, we see that the Ottoman government faced with significant problems during the period of mobilization. According to the information cited in the proclamation of this law, the reasons of emergence of these problems or obstacles mainly based on the harmful attempts of the people employed in the official services and based on the rebellions: 'The first article of Military Criminal Law (dated 12 Şevval 1332; 21 Ağustos 1330) is amended as below':³⁰

During the mobilization, civil-servants employed in the means of transportation commissions, the gendarmes employed in the procurement of military vehicles, the people assigned to the distribution and collection of military tax (tekalif-i harbiye), the people employed in drafting of the soldiers or taking them into their places of military service, if they

²⁹ *Osmanlı Belgelerinde Ermeniler (1915-20)*, p. 20, BOA. DH ŞFR, NO. 50/141, Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, Yayın no.14, Ankara, 1995.

³⁰ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 5 March 1331 [18 March 1915], no.2115, s.1.

acted for their own interests instead of the interests of the state and public or acted against the interests of them are condemned to life sentence or death sentence.

The Ottoman government was not only suspicious about the activities of its civil-servants in the means of transportation commissions or of the others listed above but also it was suspicious about the acts of the other Armenian civil-servants. On 1 April 1915, Interior Ministry sent the instruction to the provinces which ordered the removal of the Armenian civil-servants and police who are not reliable or who participated in the events. Then it ordered the sending of them into the other areas of the provinces or into the other regions.³¹ About one month later the government ordered the removal of the Armenian civil-servants who were bound to Ministry of Finance. According to this, on 23 April 1331 [6 May 1915] Finance Ministry sent the notice to Erzurum, Bitlis, Van, Sivas, Ma'muretu'laziz and Diyerbakır provinces and it ordered the removal of the Armenian civil-servants of Ministry of Finance from their positions because of their disloyalty to the Ottoman government and of being the members of the Armenian committees.³²

In the same month, beside facing the harmful activities of the Armenians in official services, the Ottoman government also faced the attacks of the Armenians in some regions. As being an example of these attacks of the Armenians, on 2 March 331 [21 March 1915], the Head Commander-ship sent to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs which mentioned about the killed Muslim men and the escaped Muslim women and children into the mountains because of the attacks of the Armenians in Kars and Ardahan with the provocation of the Russians.³³ In the following days the instruction by the minister of Interior, Talat Pasha, was sent into the Fourth Army Commander, Cemal Pasha. It ordered that not sending the new Armenians into Konya (up to this time the Armenian population from Zeytun, Maraş and neighboring regions had been sent there) in case they will make contacts with the existing Armenian population of

³¹ Halaçoğlu, *op.cit.*, p. 44.

³² *Osmanlı Belgelerinde Ermeniler (1915-1920)*, p. 26, BOA. DH. ŞFR, nr. 52/249.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 22, BOA. HR. HU, Kr. 122/4

Konya. For this reason it noticed the transferring of the Armenians inhabiting in İskenderun, Dörtyol, Adana, Haçın, Zeytun and Sis into the south-east of Aleppo and into the regions around Zor and Urfa (11 April 1331; 24 April 1915).³⁴

When we turn again into the news taking place in *Tavim-i Vekayi*, we see that the government started to enforce the laws against the rebellious actions while it continued to deport Armenians by giving orders to authorized offices. Although the rebellions were often mentioned in the coded telegraphs, in the reports of the commanders and the governors the term, rebellion, was firstly mentioned in *Takvim-i Vekayi* with the announcement of the provisional law on 7 March 1331[20 March 1915]: The Provisional Law On the Enforcement of Article 61 of Military Criminal Law* In the Regions Where Rebellions Occurred.³⁵

Article 1- In the regions where the general revolts occurred or where the people revolt with arms, the Article 61 of Military Criminal Law is enforced.

Article 2- This law is valid from its publication.

Regarding the news in *Takvim-i Vekayi*, the government firstly enforced the military criminal law (article 61) in the particular regions then it decided to exterminate the favorable grounds or conditions under which the uprisings emerged. So the other provisional law was passed: ‘The Provisional Law On the Confiscation of the Weapons, Ammunitions and Fired Substances (Mevadd-ı müştail) Belonging to the Subjects’.³⁶

Article 1- During the mobilization if the army, the independent army corps, independent local commanders bound to the Head Commander-ship and central commander in İstanbul see any necessity they have an authority to announce the handover of the weapons,

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 24, BOA. DH. ŞFR, nr. 52/93. Indeed through these orders the deportation of Armenians was started by Interior Minister, Talat Pasha, before approval of it by the assembly and publication of the law of dislocation.

* Article 61 of Military Criminal Law: Delaying and Violation of the Mobilization ; Whoever delays the mobilization or neglects his military service, facilitates the attempts of the enemy, damages the combat and allied detachments are condemned to imprisonment for 3 years or over 3 years. If these acts are not made intentionally they are sentenced to imprisonment for maximum 3 years, *Askeri Ceza Kanunu*, No. 1632, 22.m, 1930.

³⁵ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 7 March 1331 [20 March 1915], no. 2117, p. 1.

³⁶ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 21 April 1331 [4 May 1915], no. 2161, s.1. The arms seized during the war by the Ottoman army display the truth of the decision. For information about the list of the arms, see: İter, *op.cit.*, pp. 85-87.

ammunitions and mevadd-ı müştail which are in the hands of the subjects in the their whole military zones or in the part of the zones. The period for the handover of the weapons, ammunitions and mevadd-ı müştail is specified by the commanders.

Article 2- If the people did not give their arms until the end of the period they are regarded of betraying the army or participating in the actions against the army and they were sentenced to death penalty. Only the people who are employed by the commanders in defense of the country can hold arms.

Article 3- In every district the making of the announcements through suitable ways are recorded into the sheets which are prepared by the civil-servants.

Article 4- This law is valid from its publication.

Article 5- The Minister of War is responsible for the enforcement of the law. On 13 April 1331 [26 April 1915], the law had been added to Civil Law.

After 8 days, on 29 April 1331 [12 May 1915], the new provisional law which make a change in the previous law was announced in *Takvim-i Vekayi*: ‘The Provisional Law On the Amendment in the First and Second Articles of the Provisional Law On the Confiscation of the Weapons, Ammunitions and Fired Substances, belonging to the Subjects, into the Army’.³⁷ This law consists of 4 articles. According to it, the word ‘mevadd-ı müştail’ cited in first and second articles of the provisional law (presented above) is amended with that term ‘..in every form or shape the dynamite, bomb, munitions similar with the dynamite or bomb, every explosive substances and the objects or materials which are used in making of the arms’. To a large extent this law proves that beside the fired substances, very developed and harmful weapons are exist in the hands of the ordinary people. Moreover it can be referred that these people can make weapons by themselves by having the necessary materials or

³⁷ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 29 April 1331 [12 May 1915], no. 2169, p. 1.

objects. So the Ottoman government had to expand and make clear the content of the term, *mevadd-ı müştail*.

As it is seen above, upon the harmful activities against the security and order, the Ottoman government took some measures on transportation, travelling or arming. However, because the revolts, sabogates and attacks did not come to an end and the Armenians in Eastern Anatolia continued to collaborate with the Russians during the war, to arm themselves and to attack on the Turkish army and civilian people behind the front, the Ottoman government continued to dislocate the Armenian population of Eastern Anatolia to the southern provinces where they could not take part in another rebellions or attacks. According to this decision the instructions on the dislocation started to be sent from the Interior Ministry and Head Commander-ship into the related offices. On 26 April 1331 [9 May 1915] a coded telegraph was sent to the Provinces of Van and Bitlis by the Interior Ministry. It informed that the transferring of the Armenians heavily populating in some parts of Van into the south is decided and this decision is applicated into the Armenians living in the south of Erzurum and the sub-districts bound to Bitlis.³⁸ On 10 May 1331 [23 May 1915] Interior Minister, Talat Pasha sent a coded telegram supplying information about the deported Armenians and listed the places he wanted to be evicted.³⁹ According to the list the places were: Erzurum, Van and Bitlis; sanjak of Maraş except the city itself; the province of Aleppo except its administrative center and all towns and villages attached to İskenderun; Beylan, Cizr-i Şugur and Antakya; sanjaks of Adana, Sis (Kozan) and Mersin except the cities and sanjak of Cebel-i Bereket. The Armenians removed from Erzurum, Van and Bitlis would be settled at the southern part of the province of Mosul, the sanjaks of Zor and Urfa except the administrative center. The Armenians deported from the Adana-Aleppo- Maraş area would be sent to the regions specified by the government at the eastern part of the Syrian province and the east and

³⁸ *Osmanlı Belgelerinde Ermeniler (1915-1920)*, pp. 28-29, BOA. DH. ŞFR, nr. 52/282.

³⁹ Halaçoğlu, *op.cit.*, pp. 112-113.

southeast of the province of Aleppo. As a result of the process of the deportation, new Armenian inhabiting centers started to emerge. Within these regions to prevent the possible emergence of undesirable events the Head Commander-ship issued some points about the settlement of the Armenians in the regions where they would be sent. These points were sent to Interior Ministry in a note. According to the note, the Head Commander-ship stated that officials should give an attention the following points:⁴⁰

(1) The Armenian population in their new residences should not exceed 10% of the local tribes and Muslims. (2) The villages which were set up by the deported Armenians should not have more than fifty houses at each. (3) Resettled Armenian families should not change their homes even through traveling and transportation.

As can be seen above, the responsibility of the deportation of Armenians belonged to Interior Ministry, Talat Pasha up to this time. So he decided to give this responsibility also to the other members of the government and Parliament and decided to supply legal basis for the dislocation. Firstly he sent Memorandum to the Prime Minister's office dated 13 May 1331 [26 May 1915] containing the reasons why such a decision had been given for Armenians and whole process of dislocation up to that time.⁴¹ This memorandum was discussed on 17 May 1331 [30 May 1915] in the Council of Ministers and the Decision of Dislocation was approved.⁴² In addition to this, the regulation including necessary directives for the officials employed in deportation was specified. It was sent to the Ministries of Finance, War and Treasury. It consists of 15 articles which instructs the guidelines for deportation.⁴³ Indeed the Council of Ministers discussed the deportation of Armenians while it discussed the problems

⁴⁰ Prime Ministry Archive, Meclis-i Vükela Müzakeratına Mahsus Zabıtname, no. 163, 17 May 1331(30 May 1915) referred to by Süslü, *op.cit.*, p. 113; General Staff, No. 1/1 File No. 207, F. 2-3, referred to by Gürün, *op.cit.*, pp. 277-278.

⁴¹ He also gives the reasons for taking the decision of deportation in detail through explaining the actions of Armenians in each regions separately, see: Tevfik Çavdar, *Bir Örgüt Ustasının Yaşamöyküsü: Talat Paşa*, 4th pr., İmge Kitabevi, Ankara, 2001, pp. 395-407.

⁴² For the whole text of the decision, see: *Osmanlı Belgelerinde Ermeniler (1915-1920)*, pp. 30-32, BOA. Meclis-i Vükela Mazbatası, 198/163.

⁴³ For its original text, General Staff Head Quarters ATASE Archive, no. ½, kls. 361, file-1445, list. 3 referred to by Süslü, *op.cit.*, pp. 116-117.

of the immigrants like feeding, settlement. So the decision of dislocation was not only for Armenians but also the other minorities and Muslims were added to this law. Because war conditions and political reasons necessitated the deportations of Armenians, other minorities and Muslims according to this law.⁴⁴ Adding to the feeding and settlement problems of the immigrants, the deportation of Armenians caused the emergence of the question what would be done for the left assets of Armenian deportees. The Council of Ministers decided firstly to fix the value, amount, quality of the properties abandoned by Armenians and then distribute them to the immigrants who would be settled in the regions evacuated by Armenians. After the distribution, the rest of the properties like garden, factory and store were sold at auction. Then the money obtained from it was transferred into the funds.⁴⁵

Then a second regulation including the procedure of protection of the goods and properties of Armenians and expanding the provisions of the previous regulation was put into force on 28 May 1331 [10 June 1915].⁴⁶ According to it firstly the properties of the deported Armenians were taken under protection. Abandoned Property Commissions were established which consist of a president and a representative from the administration and treasury. The goods had been written in records according to their kinds, quantities, estimated values, names of the owners in details and then they would be transferred to suitable places which can be used as stores like churches, schools, large commercial buildings. Within these buildings they would be stored separately to reach their owner easily and the minute of fixture including the quality and quantity of the goods and the names of the owners would be prepared. Finally one copy of these minutes would be sent to the local government and one copy would be sent to the Abandoned Property Commissions. Perishable goods and livestock would be auctioned and the proceeds would be kept in custody. If products or crops are present at the abandoned

⁴⁴ Dündar, *op.cit.*, p. 63.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 179, 184, 213.

⁴⁶ See the whole original content of this directive, General Staff Head Quarters ATASE, no. ½, kls. 361, file 1445, list 3-1 referred to by Süslü, *op.cit.*, pp. 119-123.

estate or land they would be sold at auction by the committee appointed by the commission, a minute would be arranged to be sent into the local government and the Administration Commission. If no customers was found these goods could be rent and the money obtained from it would be sent into the banks of properties in the name of their owners. The properties of the deportees would be distributed to the immigrants, sold at auction or rent (in order to be able to keep them operating) through meeting specified conditions cited in the regulation by the commissions. In the places where no commission was set up, local officials would be sent to execute the directives. Both the commissions and local officials would be responsible for the protection of the abandoned property till the return of the Armenians.

While those regulations were conducted the provisional law which was enacted on 14 May 1331 [27 May 1915] was put in force with its publication in *Takvim-i Vekayi* on 19 May 1331 [1 June 1915]: ‘The Provisional Law Concerning the Measures to Be Taken by the Military Against Those Who Oppose the Actions of Government During Wartime.’⁴⁷

Article 1- If during the time of the war the army and army-corps and commanders of military divisions and their assistants and the independent local commanders meet with opposition and armed attack and resistance against the government orders, to defense the country and protect the security and order in any way, they were empowered to take immediate military action against the people opposing government orders, security and order. In the event of armed attack or resistance they were empowered to annihilate the rebels.

Article 2- The army and independent Army-Corps and Military Divisions have the authority to deport individuals or whole population of villages and of townships and settle them elsewhere which they regarded as suitable if they engage in espionage or treason.

Article 3- This law is valid after its publication.

⁴⁷ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 19 May 1331 [1 June 1915], no. 2189, p. 1.

Article 4- Vice-Head Commander and Minister of Defense are responsible for the enforcement of the law.

From this time onwards the texts of the legislated laws concerning the property of deported Armenians can be followed by *Takvim-i Vekayi*. The first law on the left properties of Armenians was published on 14 September 1331[27 September 1915]:

‘The Provisional Law On the Properties, Debts, and Settlement of the Abandoned Assets of the People Who Are Deported to the Other Areas.’⁴⁸

Article 1- Based on the law dated 14 May 1331 [27 May 1915], the abandoned estates, credits and debts are liquidated by the courts according to the minutes which are prepared separately for each people by the commissions.

Article 2- During their transferring, the estates (buildings and lands) belonging to the people who are deported into other regions are registered in the name of Muslim pious foundation (Vakıf) Administration and the real estates of them are registered in the name of Finance Ministry. Both properties are liquidated on the price which is specified by Vakıf Administration and Finance Ministry. Then the amount obtained by the liquidation will be sent to the owners.

In the actions for recovery of property against the deported people, the civil-servants of the Imperial Registry Office became representative of other side. For the proving disposal of that properties, also the documents even apart from deeds are used.

If any exorbitant price or collusion are seen in the proceedings about the transfer of the (made 15 days ago the people are deported) properties or money, these proceedings are annulled.

Article 3- The estates and cashes belonging to the deported people are collected and restituted by the presidents of the commissions or the representatives of them. The estates

⁴⁸ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 14 September 1331 [27 September 1915], no. 2303, p. 2-3

which are not legally disputed are sold at auctions and sent into the credit unions (mal sandıkları) in the name of the owners.

Article 4- The people who claim credit from deported people or share on the abandoned assets belonging to deportees have to appeal to the commissions in two months if they are inhabiting in the Ottoman Empire. The others who are outside the empire have to appeal in 4 months. They can appeal to the commissions by themselves or through representatives. Then they had the officers registered their credits and they have to give their residence paper. If the actions are brought against the deported people after the time is over, they are conducted according to the civil law (ahkam-ı umumi).

Article 5- The commissions search all appeals or claims about the credits and debts and prove their reliability. Then they accept the applications which are proved to be true. They transfer the actions for recovery of property to the relevant courts. They prepare minutes including estates and accounts for each person. After this proceeding, the ratified copies of them are announced in the relevant regions in order to notice the people cited in the minutes. The original minutes are sent to the public prosecutors. Then these public prosecutors sent them into the lower courts in the region where the deported people had lived before relocation. The debtors can appeal to these courts in 15 days after the announcement. If the debtor appeal to the court for objection to the action, the head of the commission or his representative and the debtor come into the court and the court listen them. If the court needs, it has a power to amend the minutes. Finally the court sent the written copy of its decision (for application as mentioned in the prior articles) into the commissions. The judges of the court can not be objected, sent back or appealed.

Article 6- If the win of the action becomes definite, the credits are liquidated by preferring the distinguished debts and other debts. If it is not enough the distinguished debts

are preferred and liquidated equally by the commissions. The completing of the collection of them is under the responsibility of the courts which deal with the debts and bankruptcy cases.

Article 7- The judges about operation of distraint or provisional distraint which had been given before the publication of this law are regarded as invalid. The people of whom actions still continue have a responsibility for following their actions and for appealing to the commissions.

The last part of the fourth article of this law is enforced for the people who do not appeal to the commissions. The continuing actions, in favor of these people, are followed by the heads of the commissions or their representatives.

Article 8- The formation of the commissions and mode of the application if this law will be defined with the regulation.

Article 9- The estates recorded in the name of *Vakıf* Administration and Finance Ministry and the abandoned immovable estates are delivered equally into the immigrants according to the immigrant regulation.

Article 10- The enforcement of this law is under the responsibility of Evkaf, Interior, Justice and Finance Ministries.

Article 11- This law is valid from its publication (12 September 1331, 25 September 1915).*

Having not passed one month from the publication of this law, the regulation instructed the procedures on the execution of the law dated 28 October 1331 [15 October 1915] was announced in *Takvim-i Vekayi*:

* On 11 October 1915 Ahmet Rıza Bey gave a proposal to the assembly for the amendment of the article 11. In the proposal it was suggested that the law should be put into force after the end of the war or after one month the announcement of the peace was made. Because according to him under the conditions of war the selling of the left assets would not be in the favor of the owners and native people of those areas could not benefit from these sellings, Meclis-i Ayan Zabıt Ceridesi, 3,1,1,28,28 Eylül 1331/11 Ekim 1915, s. 441 referred to by Dündar, *op.cit.*, pp. 63-64.

‘Regulation Informing the Ways of Enforcement of the Provisional Law Dated on 13 September 1331 [26 September 1915].’⁴⁹

1. Part: Relating to immovable estates

Article 1- In every sub-districts containing immovable estates belonging to the deported people, the committees are formed by the top officer in the civil service of the sub-districts. These committees are presided by the director of the state tax and finance office (mal müdürü) and consist of the civil-servants from the tax office, deed office, registry (of population) office and, if it is exist, from Muslim pious foundations. The committees prepare the lists containing the conducts of cessions (muamelat-ı feragiye) which have been made by the deported people 15 days before their deportation or which started or made after the order of deportation was announced. To prepare these lists, the information is obtained from the Imperial Registration Office’s record books. The lists will be completed in three days. The time of deportation is the day of the first order that is realized through the ratification of the top officer in the Civil Service.

Article 2- Having finished the first process, the committees keep the register books including the names of the committees, charity foundations or communities which have a right for claim a share (based on the law dated 16 February 1328) on the vakıf estates and the other immovable estates of the deported people. These books are kept as being two copies separately. Each register book includes the names of places or streets, the numbers of the doors, value or amount of share (if the immovable estate is divided into shares between people). For the empty villages, because of the complete transferring of its population, the record books are prepared through appealing into tax records, the records containing the information about the legal proceedings of the estates and the books including cash recipients. Moreover they appeal to the officers, tax collectors of these villages and to the old reliable

⁴⁹ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 28 October 1331 [10 November 1915], no. 2343, pp. 1-4. The whole text of the regulation will be added to the end of thesis.

people living the villages during preparing these records books. For the format, the tax registry book and the summary including the owners of the estates (for sequence and regulation) are taken into account.

Article 3- All prepared books are signed by the members of the committees. Then they are sent to Defter-i Hakani Kalemi and administrative council for one month. The administrative council specified the contemporary value of the estates (building and lands) as a cash and recorded them in the books . Then the council add its official report to the end of the books and sent them into the finance office and Evkaf. One copy is sent to the liquidation commission.

Article 4- Regarding the law dated 13 September 1331 no tax or money is taken for the records made in the name of finance and Evkaf treasuries.

2. Part: Relating to the conduct of the commissions and authority of them

Article 5- In the regions which are announced by the Ministries of Interior and Justice, the commissions are organized in order to conduct the affairs mentioned in the law dated on 13 September 1331 [26 September 1915]. They consist of the director (assigned by the Interior Minister) and the members from Justice and Finance Ministries. More people can be assigned by the Finance and Interior Ministries to the regions where the proceedings are more complex and difficult.

Article 6- The presidents of the commissions have a power to employ civil-servants and secretaries if there is necessary.

Article 7- In the regions where there is no necessity to establish a commission because of the little work, the conduct of liquidation affairs, the regulation and preparation of report (mazbata) are under the responsibility of the commissions in the neighboring villages. Then these commissions transferred the conducts of liquidation (belonging to that regions) into other office or person appointed by the presidents of the commissions. Official reports on the

liquidation of the properties (tasfiye mazbataları) are ratified by the courts in the residences (before dislocation) of the deported people. This bases on the 5th article of the law dated 13 September 1331 [26 September 1915].

Article 8- One and half liras are paid to the presidents of the commissions; one lira is paid to members of them; the representatives (mentioned in the article 7, assigned by the presidents of the commission) are paid a half lira; civil-servants and secretaries are paid as kuruş which do not exceed 40 kuruş. The amount of the last payment is decided by the commission.

Article 9- The president of the commission is responsible for pursuing of the conducts regularly. He also has a power to assign the people for the tasks requiring particular kind of profession. He has to prove the truth of the points or issues appealing to the written proceedings like receipt.

Article 10- The collection, retake and liquidation of the cash (money) and the abandoned estates; if needed to take a legal action; selling of the estates (legally not disputed) at auction; to make a decision on the conducts of other proceedings are under the responsibility of the commission.

Article 11- All affairs and documents, prepared before this regulation come into the force, are reported to the liquidation commissions. In these documents or affairs although there is an application about the claims over money, which owed to the deported people, or over a share on the estates, belonging to the deported people, they are accepted and the missing points are completed. Then all necessary proceedings are started to be done.

Article 12- The people who claim on money owed to the deported people have to make official application and present deed or similar documents. If the applications are done by their representatives they have to present power of attorney. They also inform their residences, the last residences of the deported people to whom they give money as a debt, the

professions of the people and the amount of the debt. Then the document gives to the plaintiff which includes the number and the date of the document (application date); the name of the debtor; the amount of the credit (which will be taken from the debtor in the future time). Each people who claims on a share on the estates of the deported people has to declare to the commission that he will take personal action. Then the necessary document is given to this plaintiff and he can appeal to the court. It can be appealed to the commission in the last residence of the deported people before dislocation with a telegraph in order to benefit from the time spare given in the 4th article of the law dated 13 September 1331 [26 September 1915]. However the required documents (mentioned in this article's previous part) must be accepted and recorded before the liquidation proceedings are completed and the mazbata is formed.

Article 13- The duties of the commissions:

a- Investigating the affairs of liquidation in the lists which are mentioned in article 1. If there is any illegal affair, *muvaazaa*; *gabn-i fahiş*, appealing to the courts and bringing an action for nullity.

b- Confiscating the money, furniture and all properties which belong to the deported people and which are taken under protection by the government .

c- Appealing to the banks and similar establishments to ask for the account of the money and properties abandoned by the deported people. Fixing the properties which is given to people in return of the debt and retaking them.

d- To demand for abolishing of sequestration on the properties of the deported people.

e- To pursue recordings and investigations through all possible ways. To investigate obtained documents, deeds, and commercial record books; to liquidate the debts of these

people and to take a legal action for them. To follow the continuing actions which are in favor of the deported people and to conclude them.

Article 14- The offices, establishments and banks have to send documents and deeds demanded by the commissions.

Article 15- The commissions have to compare the commercial record books through investigation. They have to summon the documents existing in the courts and official bureaus. They have to appeal to the people who had pursued commercial business with the deported people before dislocation. The commissions have to make researches about the commercial deeds like bonds in the regions where they have been used.

Article 16- The properties and holy books belonging to the churches are recorded into the books. In this way they are kept. The possession rights of the properties of schools and monasteries are transferred into the Ministry of Education.

Article 17- The value of the properties of which the owners are not known is recorded in the name of the villages or areas. Then they are sent to the regions where the population of those regions had been transferred.

Article 18- The commissions work for the selling of immovable estates with their exact value.

Article 19- The account books prepared by the commissions consist of two parts: the main book and the book including current account of the abandoned estates. The example (taarifname) * shows the format and usages of these books is added to this regulation. If needed, the commissions can use this example. The presidents of the commissions control the pursuing of the records and they are responsible for any deficiency in the processing.

Article 20- The requirements and notices sent by the commissions have to be taken into account by the civil-servants to whom they had been sent.

* The original form of this *taarifname* which published in the same number of *Takvim-i Vekayi* will be given at the end of thesis.

Article 21- If the president of the commission requested the police and gendarmes, they are assigned by the central government.

Article 22- The conducts of the commissions are under the surveillance of the central government.

Article 23- The presidents and the members of the commissions are account for the all damages and deficiencies originated from the ignorance of the duties (deliberately or not).

Article 24- This regulation is valid after its publication.

Article 25- Interior, Finance and Justice Ministries are responsible for the enforcement of this law.

Having instructed in the previous regulations based on the Memorandum of Council of Ministers, this regulation firstly notified the registration of the properties belonging to deported people. And while realizing these proceedings the government endeavored to obtain the most reliable records on the properties of the deportees. As mentioned above it was planned by the government to give these properties to the Muslim immigrants. This was thought as a solution to the question of the settlement of the immigrants.

In the following stages, during the applications of these laws and regulations, the government endeavored to prevent any possible corruption in the selling of these properties. Upon the claims that the properties had not been sold on its exact value, Ministry of Interior sent a coded telegraph dated 29 July 1331 [11 August 1915] to various provinces notifying the annulment of the contracts concerning the selling of the properties.⁵⁰ On the same date the other telegraph was sent to all provinces including the measures and procedures to be adopted:⁵¹ According to these new instructions, the sales, made below the normal rates, would be annulled and auctions would be made again for these properties. Deported Armenians could take with them their properties if they wanted. Among the properties the ones, that

⁵⁰ *Osmanlı Belgelerinde Ermeniler (1915-1920)*, BOA. DH. ŞFR, nr. 54/381

⁵¹ BOA. Cipher Desk, no. 54-A/368 referred to by Halaçoğlu, *op.cit.*, p. 127.

could not be carried or could deteriorate would be sold, but the durable ones would be kept in the name of their owners. The transfer, rent or mortgage of these properties would be made through contact with the owners and if the transactions were not made according to the specified rules they would be annulled. Any disputes will be allowed on the ownership of the properties. Deported Armenians would be permitted to sell their properties to people they wanted except foreigners.

The news on the laws, provisional laws and regulations relating to the dislocation ended with the publication of the regulation dated 28 October 1331 [11 November 1915]. And we could not follow the sequence of the events about dislocation through using the information obtained from *Takvim-i Vekayi*. So when we turn into the other sources it is seen that the dislocation of the Armenians which started in May 1915 carried out till in February 1916. On 21 February 1916 the Ottoman government notified all provinces that the deportation was stopped. However the ones, contact with the Armenian committees, were assembled at sanjak of Zor.⁵² The second order again on the halt of the deportation was sent to all provinces and sanjaks by the government on 15 March 1916.

3.2.2 The News Concerning The Liquidation Commissions

In the Regulation Informing the Ways of Enforcement of the Provisional Law Dated on 13 September 1331 [26 September 1915], it was announced that the commissions would be set up at the regions decided by Interior Ministry (article 5). Moreover according to the law the people who claimed their credits owed to the deportees firstly had to appeal to these commissions. On 20 November 1331 [3 December 1915] the list of the Commissions of the Abandoned Properties and one procedure in application was published in *Takvim-i Vekayi*.⁵³

From Interior Ministry:

⁵² Dahiliye Nezareti Şifre Kalemi, nr. 61/72 referred to by Halaçoğlu, *op.cit.*, p. 81. The detailed list shows the Armenians who were deported into other regions and shows the others who were permitted to stay in their residences, see: Halaçoğlu, *op.cit.*, pp. 74-81.

⁵³ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 20 November 1331 [3 December 1915], no. 2366, s.2. The list of the Commissions of Abandoned Properties in *Takvim-i Vekayi* will be given at the end of thesis.

(For the Attention of the People Who Had Claimed Right From the People Deported into the Other Regions)

According to the law dated on 13 September 1331 [26 September 1915], the liquidation Commissions had prepared the minutes for each deported people separately. So the people who had claimed their money or credits owed to the one more deportees, had to write petition for each person even for the deportees had lived in the same place. Then they appealed to the commissions being in their residence place and had to give also their own residence papers with their petitions. If this requirement do not be realized the applications would not be accepted.

The Commissions of the Abandoned Properties are formed in the places given below:

- 1- Adana, Mersin (The commission is in Adana)
- 2- Cebel-i Bereket (in the center of *Liva*)
- 3- Kozan (in the center of *Liva*)
- 4- Mudanya, Karacabey, Kermas (in Mudanya)
- 5- Gemlik, Orhangazi (in Gemlik)
- 6- M'ulhakat , Erdağrıl (in Bilecik)
- 7- Yozgat, Kırşehir and Boğazliyan (in Yozgat)
- 8- Ankara, Keskin and Çorum (in Ankara)
- 9- Bafra, Çarşamba and Terme (in Samsun)
- 10- Ünye, Fatsa and Tirebolu (in Ordu)
- 11- Trabzon (in the center of the province)
- 12- Amasya, Gümüş Hacıköy (in the center of Sivas)
- 13- Merzifon, Harıza (in Merzifon)
- 14- Tokat (in Tokad)
- 15- İzmit, Karamürsel and Yalova (in İzmit)

- 16- Adapazarı, Kandıra and Kive (in Adapazarı)
- 17- Eskişehir (in the center of Liva)
- 18- Sivrihisar, Mihalıççık (in Sivrihisar)
- 19- Kayseri (in the center of Liva)
- 20- Develi (in the center of Kaza)
- 21- Halep (Aleppo) (in the center of the province)
- 22- Meriç (in the center of *Liva*)
- 23- Antakya (in the center of *Liva*)
- 24- Konya (in the center of the province)
- 25- Erzurum (in the center of the province)
- 26- Bitlis (in the center of the province)
- 27- M'amüratü'laziz (in the center of the province)
- 28- Diyarbakır (in the center of the province)
- 29- Niğde (in the center of *Liva*)
- 30- Karahisar-ı sahip (in the center of *Liva*)

As seen above this announcement not only instructed one proceeding in appealing to the commissions but also shows the places where the Commissions of the Abandoned Properties were formed. It can be seen that in many regions, from west to east, the commissions were established. After the publication of this announcement, the other announcements, during the year of 1916, relating to the date of the application to the commissions were made by the various commissions which were published in *Takvim-i Vekayi*.

The first announcement was made on 29 March 1332 [11 April 1916] by the commission set up in Erzincan. The people claiming the liquidation of their money from deportees could appeal to the commission until the end of the month.⁵⁴

The other one was made again in the same number of *Takvim-i Vekayi* by the commission in Kale-i Sultaniye. According to it, the people being in the Ottoman Empire could appeal to the commission in two months. The other people being outside the empire could appeal to the commission in four months.⁵⁵

Also the announcement by the commission in Urfa was published in the same number of *Takvim-i Vekayi*. It was informed that because of the formation of liquidation commission of Urfa was completed on 16 September 1332 [29 September 1916], the people (resident inside the empire or outside it) who claim their money from the deported people can appeal to the court for the liquidation.⁵⁶

The fourth announcement was made on the same date by the liquidation commission of Merzifon. It stated that the period of two months which was given for the application to the commission ended in the second day of February.⁵⁷

The fifth one was made by the liquidation commission of Eskişehir. The commission announced that the people who wanted to appeal to the commission for liquidation of his money from the deportees had to give their documents required by the commission until 9th May.⁵⁸

The sixth announcement was published in *Takvim-i Vekayi* made by the commission of Samsun. It was announced that for the people both living in the Ottoman Empire or outside

⁵⁴ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 29 March 1332 [11 April 1916], no. 2495, p. 3.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* The same announcement was published again on 31 October 1332 [13 November 1916], no. 2702, p. 1.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 9 May 1332 [22 May 1916], no. 2535, p. 3.

the empire, the period reserved for the application about the liquidation was prolonged till the end of the May.⁵⁹

Then the last announcement by the commission in Karahisar-ı sahip was published on 27 August 1332 [9 September 1916]. According to it the people claiming the liquidation of their money from the deportees (who had been deported from the province of Aydın) could appeal to the commission in two months if they were in the Ottoman Empire. If they were outside the empire they could appeal to the commission in four months.⁶⁰

3.2.3 The News On the Appropriations Reserved for the Commission of Settlement and Immigrants

When the migrations started from eighteenth century with the Russian expansion and continued increasingly, they led to the question of immigrants. Then the mass migrations began in the second half of the nineteenth century and the Ottoman government had to set up various immigrant commissions from 1860 to 1913.* To deal orderly with the immigrants, the regulation of the settlement of the immigrants was accepted on 13 May 1913. Then the Directorate for the Resettlement of the Tribes and Refugees was set up in the beginning of 1914.⁶¹ The duties of it were: to meet all needs of tribes, to deal with the settlement, feeding and transportation of immigrants and to prevent the migrations made out of the Ottoman Empire.

During the deportation, the government tried to meet all necessities and needs for deportees. So many orders and instructions were given to the directorate and the funds were

⁵⁹ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 11 May 1332 [24 May 1916], no. 2537, p. 2.

⁶⁰ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 27 August 1332 [9 September 1916], no. 2641, p. 3.

* Between the years 1859-1870, 1,5 millions immigrants reached the Ottoman borders and after 1877-1878 Russo-Turkish war approximately 1,5 millions people migrated from the Balkans. The mass immigrations from Bulgaria was one example to the Balkan migrations. 1,130,000 Bulgarian and 1,233,500 Muslims lived there and to exterminate the Muslims or to expel them out of Bulgaria were thought to be a solution to create Bulgarian nation-state. So the mass population movement from Bulgaria or other Balkan regions caused significant problems for the Ottoman Empire, see: Turan, *op.cit.*, pp. 134-145.

⁶¹ Dündar, *op.cit.*, p. 60.

reserved for it from the budget. In *Takvim-i Vekayi* it is possible to see the news concerning these funds.* The list of the announcements concerning the funds will be given below.

The first announcement was made in February 1330 [1914]. For the section of settlement and immigrants of the budget of Interior Ministry, 1,536,000 kuruş was allocated.⁶²

The second announcement was published on 3 June 1332 [16 June 1916]. According to it 10 million kuruş was appropriated to the budget of Interior Ministry for the settlement and immigrants.⁶³

Then after two days it was announced that for the settlement and immigrants 15 million kuruş was reserved to the Interior Ministry budget.⁶⁴

Approximately after six months it was announced that 50 million kuruş was reserved for the commission of the settlement and immigrants.⁶⁵

Again in the same month the announcement was published that 5 million kuruş was added into the directorate of tribes and immigrants.⁶⁶

Another announcement was made in *Takvim-i Vekayi* in September 1917. According to it 1 million was taken in advance for the general directorate of feeding from the Finance.⁶⁷

Then in the year of 1918 100 million kuruş was allocated for the budget of feeding of the immigrants.⁶⁸

Finally it was announced that 100 million was transferred into the budget of the settlement of the immigrants.⁶⁹

* The funds were not only spent for Armenians but also for Greeks, Arabs and Muslim refugees. In this part it is not possible to present the exact amount of the funds which were reserved for the Directorate of the Settlement of the Tribes and Immigrants. Because after the budget were accepted in the assembly the government could change these with their later decisions. For the list showing the amount of the funds between 1913-1918, see: Dündar, *op.cit.*, pp.223-224.

⁶² *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 2 February 1330 [15 February 1914], no. 2084, p. 3.

⁶³ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 3 June 1332 [16 June 1916], no. 2560, p. 2.

⁶⁴ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 5 June 1332 [18 June 1916], no. 2562, p. 2.

⁶⁵ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 10 December 1332 [23 December 1916], no. 2742, p. 1.

⁶⁶ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 28 December 1332 [10 January 1917], no. 2759, p. 1.

⁶⁷ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 2 September 1333 [2 September 1917], no. 2991, p. 1.

⁶⁸ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 4 January 1334 [4 January 1918], no. 3110, p. 2.

⁶⁹ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 15 January 1334 [15 January 1918], no. 3121, p. 2.

In all 101 million liras and 181, 536, 000 kuruş was appropriated for the settlement and immigrants according to the news on the funds between 1914-1918.⁷⁰

3.2.4 The News Concerning Diseases

During the deportation many Armenians had been died because of the various diseases. It is estimated that 20-21,000 Armenians have succumbed to contagious diseases on the way.⁷¹ According to the cipher telegraph sent by Interior Ministry to the Province of Syria, 17 October 1915, typhoid fever and dysentery were seen among the deportees in Hama. It was stated that daily 70-to-80 people died because of the diseases and it was asked for the swift measures.⁷² The news published in *Takvim-i Vekayi* relating to the diseases shows that especially in the years, 1915-16, some diseases were seen both inside and outside the Ottoman empire and the government try to take measures against them and made expenses from the budget to stop the expansion of these diseases or to get rid of them.

In August 1330 [1914], it was announced that the import of the clothes, vegetables and fruits from the regions where cholera and typhoid had emerged was banned.⁷⁴

In the year of 1915, it is seen that diseases continued to be exist. So the Ottoman government took measures like assigning professionals in health or spending particular amount of money.

For example, by the government 1 million was reserved for the health budget against the diseases and this news was published in *Takvim-i Vekayi* on 17 February 1330 [2 March 1915].⁷³

⁷⁰ For the information about the budget of the settlement of the tribes and immigrants basing on Meclis-i Mebusan Zabıt Ceridesi and Meclis-i Ayan Zabıt Ceridesi, see: Dündar, *op.cit.*, pp. 223-224. According to BOA, *Babıali Evrak Odası*, nr. 334063 referred to by Halaçoğlu, the budget of the Directorship of the Settlement of the Tribes and Immigrants was 78, 000, 000 in 1331; 200, 000, 000 kuruş in 1332, Halaçoğlu, *op.cit.*, p. 67. Moreover according to Interior Ministry Cipher Office, for meeting the needs of deportees 400, 000 was sent to Konya; 150, 000 was sent to sanjak of İzmit; 200, 000 was sent to Eskişehir; 300, 000 was sent to Adana; 300, 000 was sent to Halep; 100, 000 was sent to Suriye; 300, 000 was sent to Ankara and 500, 000 was sent to Musul and in all 2, 250, 000 kuruş was reserved, referred to by Halaçoğlu, *op.cit.*, pp. 66-67.

⁷¹ Halaçoğlu, *op.cit.*, p.59.

⁷² *Osmanlı Belgelerinde Ermeniler (1915-1920)*, p. 107, BOA. DH. ŞFR, nr. 57/ 71.

⁷⁴ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 1 August 1330 [14 August 1914], no. 1907, p. 1.

In the other news, through health (sıhhiye) regulation which was put into force through its publication on 7 June 1331 [20 June 1915], 11 nurse's aide, 25 doctors and 25 health civil-servants were decided to be assigned for to prevent the syphilis in the sanjaks of Kastamonu and Bolu.⁷⁵

According to the records of the meeting of the Ottoman Parliament published in *Takvim-i Vekayi* on 29 September 1331 [12 October 1915] and 7 October 1331 [20 October 1915], the reservation of 11 millions for taking measures against cholera was discussed.⁷⁶ It is very large amount of money when the conditions and possibilities of the Ottoman Empire is taken into account and only in the serious or dangerous situations such an amount can be thought to expense.

According to the other news published on 26 October 1331 [8 November 1915], it was decided to reservation of money from the budget of Interior Ministry for cholera.⁷⁷

Then on 17 November 1331 [30 November 1915] spending of 2 millions was decided for preventing cholera emerged in some provinces.⁷⁸

In 1332 the measures continued to be taken against the diseases. On 31 May 1332 [13 June 1916] it was announced that the vaccine of cholera was applied in the necessary regions.⁷⁹

Then 2 millions was given to the budget of Interior Ministry for the expenditures which would be made for cholera.⁸⁰

Again for the cholera 500,000 kuruş was decided to be sent to the budget of Interior Ministry.⁸¹

⁷³ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 17 February 1330 [2 March 1915], no. 2099, p. 1.

⁷⁵ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 7 June 1331 [20 June 1915], no. 2208, p.1.

⁷⁶ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 29 September 1331 [12 October 1915], no. 2318, p. 1; 7 October 1331 [20 October 1915], no. 2322, p. 1.

⁷⁷ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 26 October 1331 [18 November 1915], no. 2341, p. 2

⁷⁸ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 17 November 1331 [30 November 1915], no. 2363, p, 1.

⁷⁹ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 31 May 1332 [13 June 1916], no. 2557, p. 1.

⁸⁰ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 9 June 1332 [22 June 1916], no. 2566, p. 1.

⁸¹ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 10 June 1332 [23 June 1916], no. 2567, p. 2.

It is understood from another announcement that the other diseases emerged beside cholera in those years and also the soldiers were died because of the diseases. On 6 July 1332 [19 July 1916] it was announced that the help was made for the families of the soldiers who died because of cholera, typhoid fever and dysentery.⁸²

In the same month also the financial support was given to the directorship of the health through giving 1,5 millions to the budget of health for the diseases.⁸³

From the news concerning the diseases it can be understood that during the years of 1331-1332 [1914-1915] the Ottoman Empire was highly effected by the diseases. It had to both supply money for the extermination of these diseases and assign health personnel. The empire not only lost its ordinary subjects but it also lost its soldiers because of the diseases. Finally these news from *Takvim-i Vekayi* supported the claim that significant amount of Armenians died because of the diseases.

3.2.5 The News On the Activities of Armenians Against the Ottoman Army and Muslims in Eastern Anatolia, in 1918

After the Russian Revolution (7-8 November 1917) the Bolsheviks decided to cede from the war and asked for armistice between the Ottoman Empire and Russia. This event changed all conditions in the Eastern front and Eastern Anatolia. Firstly the peace treaty was signed between the Ottoman Empire and Russia on 3 March 1918 and then the Russian army started to retreat from the Eastern Anatolia. This gave an advantage to Armenians and they began to occupy the areas evacuated by Russia. However the Ottoman army started its campaign on 12 February 1918 and until April 1918 Erzincan, Trabzon, Erzurum, Van, Batum and Kars were ceded to the Ottoman Empire.⁸⁴ During the very time the Muslims were exposed to the atrocities of the Armenian brigands. Especially the most serious ones were

⁸² *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 6 July 1332 [19 July 1916], no. 2593, p. 1.

⁸³ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 25 July 1332 [7 August 1916], no. 2608, p. 1.

⁸⁴ Gürün, *op. cit.*, p. 325.

seen in Erzurum.⁸⁵ The news published on 2 July 1334 [2 July 1918] is one of the examples to these atrocities of Armenians. It is about the Sefakat Nişanı given to Ayşe Hanım, the wife of the governor. According to the news 300 Muslims from Cedid quarter of Erzurum were assembled by force in one house to set fire and she rescued 200 of them. So she was honored with Sefakat Nişanı.⁸⁶

Meanwhile the Ottoman campaign continued and the Ottoman army occupied Gümrü and defeated the Armenian forces in Karakilis.⁸⁷ At the very time we see the news in *Takvim-i Vekayi* came from the Caucasus front. It was stated that in the front of Gümrü-Alexandropol, the Turks faced with the attacks of Armenian detachments and they repulsed the Armenians completely with bloody casualties.⁸⁸

Although the peace treaty was signed between the new Armenian Republic (declared on 28 May 1918) and the Ottoman Empire, the war did not come to an end because of dispute in Bakü and English soldiers were there. Parallel with this, the news from the Eastern front was published in August in *Takvim-i Vekayi*. It was stated that the Turkish forces in the north of Persia repulsed the Armenian and Nasturi brigands outside Urfa, who were intriguing with England.⁸⁹ These news based on official military sources were significant. Because in the official newspaper of the Ottoman Empire the contacts between Armenians and Nasturi and their contacts with England were stated in the news about the front.

The last news is on the decision of death sentence about Armenians who walked around the mountains and plains with their arms and robbed the passengers and even killed

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 6 July 1334 [6 July 1918], no. 3282, p. 1. The news from the fronts started to be published on 20 May 1334 [20 May 1918], (no. 3245) and continued to be published.

⁸⁷ Gürün, *op.cit.*, p. 305.

⁸⁸ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 26 May 1334 [26 May 1918], no. 3253, p. 2.

⁸⁹ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 3 August 1334 [3 August 1918], no. 3308, p. 3

them deliberately and then attacked against the gendarmes who began to follow them after these actions. These were Topal Agop, Maraşlı Karacya Asup, Zeytunlu Ohannes...⁹⁰

To the extent that we rely on the news in *Takvim-i Vekayi*, we note that Armenians continued their attacks and atrocities against Muslims and the Ottoman army during the year of 1918. Moreover they help England in the Caucasus in 1918 like helping Russia in the Eastern front during the war and they acted together with Nasturis in the very times.

⁹⁰ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 6 August 1334 [6 August 1918], no. 3311, p.1. The whole list of the people who were punished for death sentence will be given at the end of Thesis.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

This thesis includes the news, concerning Armenians and the Armenian Question, from *Takvim-i Vekayi* published between 1914-1918. *Takvim-i Vekayi* is studied in the thesis due to three main reasons. To begin with, the main thought behind the studying on this newspaper is that, as being an official newspaper, it would contain the significant official news relating to the Armenians between 1914-1918 (when the important events were experienced among the Turks and Armenians). Secondly, up to this time, the content of this newspaper have not been studied for the Armenians between the years, 1914-1918. And if there is any news were published in *Takvim-i Vekayi* concerning Armenians and the Armenian Question, they must be came into light for the future researches on the Armenian Question and on the Turco-Armenian relations during the First World War. Thirdly, all issues of *Takvim-i Vekayi* between 1914-1918 are exist in the National Library and so it is possible to study whole issues of it published between 1914-1918.

As a result of this research, it is seen that *Takvim-i Vekayi* contains important laws, provisional laws, regulations and official announcements relating to the Armenians. So the researcher who wants to study on the Armenians and on the relocation should look at this newspaper to see the legal processes or procedures concerning the Armenian Question and the relocation.

On the other hand the researcher bears in his mind that it is the official newspaper and because of this, the scope of the news is limited to the official announcements. So for the researcher who wants to obtain information about the events occurring during the war between the Turks and Armenians or the events occurring during the application of the laws

and provisional laws, *Takvim-i Vekayi* does not contain any news relating to these events.¹ For example, although the newspaper includes the provisional law and regulation on the abandoned properties of the deportees and the announcements relating to the commissions of the abandoned properties it does not include any news about the events occurring during the application of these law and regulation by these commissions.

Although *Takvim-i Vekayi* is the official newspaper and its content is very limited, as mentioned above, it represents significant information about the political, administrative, social, economic, and legal situations of Armenians between 1914-1918. So the political, administrative social, economic and legal situations of Armenians can be examined through basing on the news about the appointments of Armenians, establishments of companies by Armenians, courts' records including Armenian names or rewarding of Armenians for their services by the Ottoman government. In this way, *Takvim-i Vekayi* presents significant amount of information for the researchers about the Armenians continuing their normal life during the relocation.² With these news, *Takvim-i Vekayi* represents different picture against the claims on so called Armenian Genocide.

To begin with the news on the appointments, it is seen that a number of Armenians were appointed to important positions in administration and justice. They also show the attitude of the Ottoman government towards Armenians who did not participate in the actions against the government. According to this, their accession to the government service was not limited even in the time when the Armenian revolt started to be seen in Eastern Anatolia. However in the following years it is not seen the news on the appointments of Armenians. This would be due to the continuing activities of Armenians or the conditions of war.

¹ The provisional laws and regulations relating to the process of the relocation are mostly about the properties of the deported people and the liquidation commissions engaging in the affairs concerning these properties. All these news tells us about the conducts relating to the liquidation of the properties of the deported people. It is understood from the announcements that these procedures were specified in accordance with the legal ways and required the records of any affairs relating to the properties regularly.

² However, on the other hand, it does not present the situation of the Armenian deportees during the relocation or after it.

The other news tells us something about the social activities of Armenians during the war years. According to this news some Armenians took place in the charity activities in service of Hilal-i Ahmer and honored with the various medals for their services.

Information on the legal positions of Armenians is obtained, more than expected, from the news on the announcements of the courts, published under the title of 'Notices'. It should be pointed out that all these actions were in İstanbul. To the extent that relying on this news, it is stated that Armenians were well represented in the justice system of the Ottoman government. They could take legal actions against the Muslims, other Armenians and foreigners or the Muslims and foreigners brought the actions against Armenians. The legal disputes among them were conducted by the Ottoman courts. Also the titles of Armenians mentioned in the courts' records display that they were mostly merchants, commissioners, sarrafs, goldsmiths.

In addition to this information about the professions of Armenians, it is also seen in the news about the establishments of the companies or opening of the stores that they were active in economic realm by being merchant, commissioners, sarrafs. They established companies on the production of silk, textile, cigarette paper and on brokerage and they opened stores selling textile productions. Even in some establishments their partnerships were Muslims. This situation shows that the relationship between Armenians and Muslims were good and based on mutual trust in İstanbul while the Turco-Armenian clash in Eastern Anatolia became worse during the war years. For example the contradictory two news including Armenian activities was published in the same number of *Takvim-i Vekayi*. On 6 August 1334 [6 August 1918], in the first page of the newspaper, it was announced by the Ottoman government that the Armenians robbing Muslims in the mountains and on the roads, killing Muslims and attacking the gendarmes who followed them were punished with death sentence. On the other hand, in the fourth page of the same number, the news about the

establishment of the Iron and Tool Company by Hafız Şerafettin, Arsak Parsamyan and Hiranet Barsayan was published.³

This news which gives a general picture about the situation of Armenians during the war is significant for the researches on the Armenians. Because the years between 1914-1918 are the most important period for the Armenian Question. The events occurred during the dislocation of Armenians (1915-1916) are represented today as 'genocide' by some Armenian historians. It is claimed that the aim of the Ottoman government was to exterminate the Armenian population in the Ottoman territories. However the news took place in *Takvim-i Vekayi* presents the information which is opposed to this claim. As cited above the Armenians in İstanbul continued to establish companies, pursue their legal affairs and take place in charity activities between 1914-1918. It is not possible for the population to continue their economic, social and judicial activities who are exposed to the systematic genocide. Also any government does not reward its subjects for their various services while it tried to exterminate these subjects. Therefore the dislocation can not be regarded as genocide when the news of *Takvim-i Vekayi* are taken into account together with other Turkish documents represented so far.

³ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 6 August 1334 [6 August 1918], no. 3311, pp. 1,4.

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