Mass Media and the Genocide of the Armenians

One Hundred Years of Uncertain Representation

Joceline Chabot, Richard Godin
Stefanie Kappler and Sylvia Kasparian

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To the victims of the Armenian Genocide

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Introduction: Representations of the Armenian Genocide in the Mass Media

Joceline Chabot, Richard Godin, Stefanie Kappler, Sylvia Kasparian

In 1915, one of the first genocides in contemporary history was witnessed by representatives of powerful countries such as the United States of America, Italy, Germany, and Russia. Between April 15, 1915 and November 1916, at least 1.5 million Armenians were massacred on Turkish territory, as ordered by the government. When this news was made public in international newspapers, it was already too late to intervene. The Armenian population of Turkey was in the process of being exterminated. The process was put in place in March 1915 by order of the Turkish government itself, headed by the Young Turk Revolution Party and its main leaders Ismail Enver Pasha and Mehmed Talaat Pasha.

However, what the press reported at that time then must be seen as the continuation of a process that had been launched in the mid-19th century, when some European nations pressured the Ottoman government to improve minority rights. As a result of this, in 1876 the Ottoman Empire designed a reform program which affirmed the equality of all Ottoman subjects whatever their ethnicity or religion. According to Ternon (1989) and Dadrian (1995), this was partly rejected by the Muslim population.

The Armenians, mainly Christian at that time, were targeted largely by Muslims, Kurds, and Circassians (Sunni Muslims). The main motivation was to homogenize the Turkish nation. Two political facts explain this: firstly, the political nationalist program of the Young Turks had spread through the whole country and was being imposed on all other ethnic groups, such as Armenians, Greeks, and Assyrians; secondly, there was an attempt to dictate population development, to take control of demography and territorial management, through the seizure of land – the purification of territories.

As a result, two specific events need to be highlighted. The first, the Hamidian Massacres, took place between 1894 and 1896 during the reign of Sultan Abdul Hamid II, who ordered that an Armenian revolt be crushed. At least 200,000 are said to have been killed in this massacre (Surbezy, 1911). In 1908, the revolution that brought the Young Turks to power seemed to suggest that the new regime would be liberal, but a second massacre was carried out in Adana, from April 14 to 27, 1909, with over 3000 casualties (Akçam, 2006). Both events were early signs of the genocide that would follow.

At that time, the term "massacre" was used rather than "genocide." The Armenian Massacre was commonly mentioned, and survivors used "*Medz Yeghern*" or "Great Calamity" (Great Crime) as labels. The world was then about to experience one of the worst conflicts in its history. The first stages of World War I were telling: never before had soldiers and civilians suffered so much from war, from so-called "extreme violence" on and around the battlefields (Audoin-Rouzeau, 2008). It is in this context that the extermination of the Armenian people in Turkey must be understood (Bloxham, 2011).

At the turn of the 19th century, the mass killings and massacres of the Armenian population were reported on the front pages of newspapers all over the world, and had an immediate impact on international public opinion (Duclert & Pécout, 1999; Kirakossian, 2004; Wilson, 2009).

When they took power in 1913, the Young Turks made quite clear their determination to reinforce the Muslim and Turkish character of the Ottoman Empire:

> They were convinced that only their vision of saving the country by forcefully transforming it into an ethnically homogeneous core state with an ethnically homogeneous core population was the only acceptable model for the Ottoman Empire. (Üngör, 2011: 293)

Long before Turkey's participation in the First World War, the Young Turks had put in place formal measures to enable them to pursue their nationalist political program. For example, ethnographic missions were sent to Anatolia to investigate the situation regarding non-Muslim populations in the empire (Dündar, 2006). As early as February 1914, the Central Committee of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) had laid out plans to expel Greeks living in Thrace and Anatolia and to move the Armenian populations into the interior of the Empire (Dündar, 2006: 190–220). The Great War contributed to the radicalization of the politics of the CUP, a key faction of the Young Turks that was

in government in Constantinople. By October 30, 1914, a CUP majority voted for the participation of Turkey in the war, alongside Germany and Austria-Hungary. Sporadic massacres of Armenian civilians occurred a few weeks later. The turning point, however, was the defeat of the Third Ottoman Army by the Russians at Sarikamish between December 1914 and January 1915. This defeat marked an important step in the radicalization of the Young Turks in power. The Armenian population was accused of betrayal and held responsible for the defeat.

From this point onward, thousands of people were killed in the eastern region of the Turkish Empire, and thousands more were driven through the Caucasus as refugees. On February 25, Enver Pasha ordered all military units to disarm and demobilize Armenian soldiers and to transfer them to labor battalions (Zürcher, 2002: 187). So it seems probable that the decision of the CUP to exterminate the Armenian population was taken around March 1915, and the responsibility of carrying out this policy was given to the Special Organization (SO), a secret paramilitary unit specializing in hunting down "enemies of the nation" (Akçam, 2004; Kévorkian, 2011). SO personnel were largely criminals released from prison in order to become paramilitaries (Kévorkian, 2011: 180–187). A few weeks after the disarmament order, the Young Turk media published articles that represented the Armenians as internal enemies. During the night of April 24, 1915, hundreds of the Armenian elite of Constantinople and other provincial cities were arrested in a massive operation by the Ottoman police authorities. Among them were archbishops, priests, politicians, teachers, journalists, writers, and intellectuals (Kévorkian, 2011).

The Armenian Genocide was perpetrated in two stages. During the first stage, from April 1915 to the end of the same year, it was mainly men of the eastern provinces of the Empire who were executed in large numbers by the squadrons of the Special Organization (SO). At the same time, women, children and the elderly were gathered and deported to the deserts of Syria and Mesopotamia. Most of them perished during the deportation as victims of atrocities perpetrated by the Kurds, the Turkish police and the SO staff. Recent analysis has shown that the ways that women and children were treated during the deportation reflect "gender ideology" (Derderian, 2005; Bjørnlund, 2009). Historians have underlined the specificity of the physical and psychological violence perpetrated against Armenian women. They have shown that the rape, kidnapping and sale of women and children as slaves were an essential part of the Armenian Genocide. At the same time, some categories of victims were left alive because they were seen as amenable to

turcicization, including young children and girls and women who were integrated into Turkish or Kurdish families after their forced conversion. While conversion to Islam saved their life, it eradicated their identity (Gül Altinay, 2013: 1–15). By early 1916, the Armenian provinces of Asia Minor were emptied of their inhabitants, all Armenians. In the western areas of Anatolia, a different mechanism was used against the population: Turkish authorities deported whole Armenian families into the desert by train (Dündar, 2011).

The second instalment of the massacre took place between February and December 1916. During this stage, the Ottoman Empire decided to eliminate all the survivors of the deportation living in Syrian and Mesopotamian camps. Research on this second phase of the genocide has analyzed the organization of 25 concentration camps dispersed throughout the region. It has enabled us to better understand the role of the Aleppo Sub-Directorate of Deportees. Approximately 800,000 deportees passed through the concentration camps; many died from hunger, thirst, and disease (Kévorkian, 1999: 187–221).

Casualties are estimated at more than a million people. In January 1919, following the Armistice of Mudros, a military tribunal was created to judge those responsible for crimes committed against the Armenians. The court found Talaat Pasha, Enver Pasha Cemal Pasha, and Dr. Nazim Efendi guilty of the extermination of the Armenians. They were condemned to death, *in absentia*. Research by Vahkan Dadrian and Taner Akçam (2011) on the trials of Young Turk criminals has highlighted the difficulties that the military tribunals experienced in trying to judge those responsible for the crimes.

Despite censorship and geographical distance, the disaster attracted the attention of international actors, such as the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief, la Société des Dames Arméniennes de France, the Vatican and Pope Benedict XV as well as the British Parliament. It was also the subject of worldwide media coverage, being reported in a number of newspapers including *The New York Times*, *L'Osservatore Romano*, *The Times*, the *London Daily News*, *Le Matin*, *Le Journal*, *The Globe*, the *Montreal Gazette*, and the *Toronto Daily Star*. Eventually, survivors, journalists, consuls, and missionaries took the floor to denounce an "extraordinary crime," and their stories were relayed by the foreign press and publishers, who issued edited collections, reports and personal papers describing the horrific events that took place on the borders of Asia Minor (Leonard, 2003; Chabot & Godin, 2006; Becker & Winter, 2010).

But what stories are represented in these newspapers? Does representation embed the effects of the genocide in our minds and our subjective

realities? Is this a process which acknowledges and legitimizes particular events such as war, elections, human catastrophes, genocides, and so on? If so, how does it work?

Representation, the Media, and Popular Memory

Representations are essential to human beings: we need to know what we can grasp with regard to the surrounding world. Thus, as Jodelet argues, we constantly construct representations to understand and master objects, people, events, and ideas, both physically and intellectually: "Representations guide us in the way we name and define the different aspects of our everyday reality, in our way of judging them and, if the need arises, of taking a stand and defending them"[1] (1989: 47; author's translation).

Since the 1960s, research in social psychology on representation has been extensive. Generally, approaches emerging from cognitive psychology tend to argue that representation is a process of mental activity for an individual or a group that gives reality a specific meaning (Abric, 1987). According to Abric, while representation has a relatively stable and consistent core that resists change, it also has a peripheral system with its own dynamics. This peripheral system incorporates new information related to the social context, thus causing changes in the peripheral content of the representation. From this point of view, the reception of information is crucial. The pluralities of social representations are seen as a system of interpretations used to guide our relationships with the world. Jodelet suggests that systems organize our behavior and social communications through the internalization of our common experiences (Jodelet, 1989). From this perspective, social representations help us understand and explain reality. Jodelet adds that it is easy to observe representations for "they are found in our conversations, are carried by words, shared through messages and images in the media, crystalized in material and spatial behavior and activities"[2] (1989: 48; author's translation).

From a cultural studies perspective, it has been argued that:

> [t]he common sense meaning of the concept of representation is a set of processes by which signifying practices appear to stand for or depict another object or practice in the "real" world. Representation is thus an act of symbolism that mirrors an independent object world. ... . That is, representation does not involve correspondence between signs and objects but creates the "representational effect" of realism. (Baker, 2004)

The notion that representation is the symbolization of an object world that produces an effect suggests that someone or something acts as an intermediary between the object and the manufactured symbols and signs. Thus, the media do not offer a simple mirror of reality, but participate in its construction. Indeed, the media engage in complex processes of selection, composition, framing and dissemination of information (cf. Entman, 1993). Hence, while there is no direct convergence between journalistic reporting and reality, the connection between the journalist and reality remains necessary. In other words, the construction of events by the media results in multiple representations of the same event. Does this mean that the journalistic construction of a media event is independent of a given reality? Several researchers have answered this question by asserting that journalistic discourse should adopt an ethical standard of truth (Altheide, 1978; Bell & Garret, 1998; Gauthier, 2005).

When addressing the topic of representation, we need to be aware that this is a social and political process that is never neutral. The ways in which actors and events are "re-" presented is indeed informed by the ways in which we relate in a sociopolitical context. In this sense, an analysis of the representation of certain events is not so much about these events themselves, but primarily about how they are portrayed, framed, imagined and used in given sociopolitical circumstances. At the same time, an investigation of processes of representation can be indicators of power and control. Brown, for instance, argues that the labeling of things, people, or communities reflects power and control by ascribing rules and values to the object of representation (Brown, 1993: 658). The labeling of events can be read in a similar vein, in that any representation will always imply the creation of narrative coherence in order to make complex and potentially chaotic events manageable. This is particularly true in a context of genocide, which represents disruption and chaos on a particularly high level. In this context, O'Neill and Laban Hinton argue that:

> [t]he "truth" of genocide (...) often becomes a power-laden tool over which politicians, activists, and the international community wrestle by asserting and contesting representations cobbled together from the often fragmented and clashing memories of survivors, perpetrators, witnesses, and bystanders. (2009: 5)

Against this background, a linguistic analysis of political discourses allows for an understanding of collective representations

of institutions (Cotteret, 1973). It helps us investigate the symbolic nature of communication, which is full of explicit and implicit signals. It therefore communicates not only the content and ontology of the event, but also the ways in which reality is modified, manipulated, embellished, or demonized.

In this respect, representations can be the grounds on which narratives flourish and history can be accessed in a variety of ways (cf. White, 1987). We are interested in the ways in which mass media have constructed narratives on the Armenian Genocide as well as how these narratives impact collective memory and forgetting. How can we read media representations to cast light on the rhetoric of memory (Boyarin, 1994: x)? Indeed, the role of mass media in genocidal phenomena is fundamental and multifaceted with respect to the disclosure and flow of information. Mass media provide both explanations and interpretations of events to the public in potentially controversial ways. Ambroise-Rendu (2005), Delage (2003), and Halen & Walter (2007) argue that genocide and other mass crimes represent issues of such importance that they impose social, moral, historical, and political responsibilities on the media.

The body of literature in the field of media anthropology offers insights into the question of media representation (Coman, 2003; Lardellier, 2003). A "representational reading" of media cases sheds light on the temporal and spatial structure of the ways in which media have an impact on and interfere with historical memory. It also allows us to identify interactions between memory mediators, such as journalists or columnists, and those subject to media representations, including victims, executioners and witnesses. The overlapping of those two different temporalities allows for the modification of perspectives and their relation to politics, identity, and philosophy or ideology.

In this context, we need to distinguish between different kinds of mass media, including the printed press, TV, movies, and, more recently, internet-based sources, including social media. Given that our edited volume largely investigates representations of the Armenian Genocide in a historical perspective, the main focus is the printed press in its diverse shapes and forms. We acknowledge that the media that we analyze did not exist in a vacuum, but rather in specific national and regional contexts. They reflect power relations and cast light on the politics of representation surrounding the Armenian Genocide. Cottle, for instance, suggests that "[t]he media occupy a key site and perform a crucial role in the public representation of unequal social relations and the play of cultural power." (Cottle, 2000: 2). In this sense, we analyze

the media in relation to surrounding political and social conditions. This is not to argue that the media necessarily reflect a consensus of the masses, but our position serves to clarify the extent to which the media are shaped by powerful political actors and deploy the power of knowledge-dissemination. Foucault suggests that "[i]t is not possible for power to be exercised without knowledge, it is impossible for knowledge not to engender power" (Foucault, 1980: 52). The knowledge that mass media disseminate about any genocide can be said to have an impact on both social relations and political action (cf. Fairclough, 1989).

Power relations also translate into the ways in which genocide is commemorated in society. Media discourses create a particular narrative of what happened and how it should be interpreted, which Boyarin (1994: x) refers to as the "rhetorics of memory" as outlined above. Our memories are based on representations, that is, how facts are "re-presented" to us through the narratives we know in any given socio-political context. Referring to monuments as objects of memory, Young suggests that "[b]oth a monument and its significance are constructed in particular times and places, contingent on the political, historical, and aesthetic realities of the moment" (Young, 1999: 3). In this sense, memory as constituted through representations not only tells us about how we relate to particular groups in the past, but also mirrors current political imaginations and thus social relations. Therefore, representations of the Armenian Genocide explain the ways in which the Armenians and the Turkish state related to one another during that genocide, and how other states and their media related to them *after* the genocide.

From this perspective, the genocide of the Armenians, the first of its kind in the modern era, continues to raise many questions. What impact did mass media have on related events as they occurred? Similarly, what direct and indirect impact did media coverage have on the international public space? What importance should be attributed to mass media iconography in the representation of mass violence? How was the media discourse expressed semantically? How does that lead to conflicts over the ways in which historical events are commemorated and remembered?

Representation of the Armenian Genocide in Mass Media

There are few scholarly analyses of the link between the Armenian Genocide and its representation in mass media. The academic literature is divided into four areas: 1) the history of the Armenian Genocide; 2) comparative genocide studies; 3) testimonies and memory in cultural

studies; and, 4) international studies. While some academics have worked with media archives to seek evidence or testimonies, the concept of representation as such has not been mobilized by researchers.

Today, when we look at black and white snapshots (of dubious quality) of dead bodies as they are shown in newspapers of the period, it is difficult to experience shock: we see so many images of this kind on a daily basis that they have become usual, simple, and emotionless. Today, high-tech media give us very precise images, so that photographs taken in 1915 and 1916 seem unreal – they cannot show the ruthless pain of an expected death or of the dead themselves. This is also true when we read testimonies in the newspapers of the time. Although the language used is still the same today, the time distance through history has created a gap between the Armenian Genocide and our imagination of it. It remains the memory as a result of representation, an "archival memory" (Hoffman & Hoffman, 1994), of more than a century of representation in motion.

It is in this context that this volume addresses, over nine chapters, the various representations of the Armenian Genocide in the international media landscape. Our book includes a theoretical perspective on media representation of genocide; cinematographic, iconographic, and journalistic strategies; case studies in national press around the world; and, finally, comparative studies which relate treatment of the Armenian Genocide with other events. What ties these chapters together is their focus on the politics and rhetorics of representation and historical memory. While the chapters address the issue from different disciplinary perspectives, they share an interest in the *contested* nature of representation, that is, the politics and societal dynamics underlying the ways in which the genocide is and has been imagined and portrayed. The chapters in this volume account for the complexity of representation as a result of its need to embed a multiplicity of voices, while always running the risk of marginalizing others. Questions of *representability* and the limits as to what and how violence to such an extent *can* be represented at all are part of the interdisciplinary and international debate that this volume engages in.

In the first chapter Adam Muller highlights the limits of representation in terms of how mass violence such as genocide can be captured at all. His contribution investigates the phenomena of witnessing and blame from a theoretical perspective and highlights the cinematographic strategies of representing victims and perpetrators. He underlines the tension between aesthetics and violence, which mediated accounts of the Armenian Genocide are attempting to reconcile. This

theme is further problematized in Sévane Garibian's chapter, which calls into question the ability of films to represent genocidal events in general terms. Revisiting the 1919 Hollywood film *Ravished Armenia*, Garibian questions the role of the witness and his testimony taken between film fiction and historical reality. She particularly highlights the contested notion of "authenticity." Representations of the genocide can therefore be seen as being in tension between the dangers of misrepresenting an event in terms of the ever-present risk of being unable to do justice to the "authentic experience" and the need to represent in such a way as to give voice and agency to the subjects of representation. Representations are thus fraught with responsibility toward those being represented.

Benedetta Guerzoni picks up on this tension through her focus on *Ravished Armenia,* although she reads the film through a different lens than Garibian. Her focus is on the ways in which Armenian women are represented both in the film and more generally, namely primarily as victims. Highlighting rape as a particular form of violence that has been subject to representation, Guerzoni casts light on the extent to which representations can be not only acts of contestation, but also acts of violence in themselves. We can therefore consider representation as political and social battlefield, which are surrounded by political dynamics that empower some and disenfranchise others. In this case, the subject of disempowerment is the "Armenian woman."

The following chapter by Tessa Hofmann further grounds the representations of the Armenian Genocide in their political battlefield in Germany. Hofmann's chapter discusses the place of the Armenian Genocide in the German media. The author analyzes the processing of information on this issue after the massacres at Adana in 1909, through the events of 1915–1916, and the resurgence of the memory of the Armenian Genocide in Germany after the 1970s. From a chronological approach and in relation to German history, the author provides a contextualized analysis that covers more than a century of the evolution of public opinion on the genocide through various German media. Hofmann identifies as a field of contestation the debate between "Turkophiles" and "Armenophiles," which functions as the space where the German press positions itself vis-à-vis the genocide. Dynamics of contestation and even oppression are, according to Hofmann, inherent to media politics, as she clearly illustrates in her chapter.

Examining press coverage in the Russian context, Louisine Abrahamyan analyses representations of the genocide in the *Armenian Weekly Herald*, which, as the author suggests, gives a clear insight into the wider politics

of humanitarian aid and instability in the Caucasus between 1916 and 1918. The chapter demonstrates the extent to which the press can act both as a mobilization tool for nationalistic sentiments and as an important information tool. In that sense, we can argue that while media representations can fuel contestation in terms of cementing positions, they can also help eliminate politicized myths through the provision of "brute facts."

Yet, beyond such facts, the media can also provide hints of relationality. This is particularly evident in Dominika Maria Macios' chapter, which provides a detailed analysis of the Armenian Genocide as represented in the Polish press. Macios discusses representations of the genocide within a particular political and cultural setting in Poland and highlights the extent to which solidarity with the Armenians could be created through an empathetic representation of the genocide in the media at the time. Macios identifies acts of solidarity and identification with the victims on the part of the Polish media in the period between 1895 and 1939. The chapter thus extends its analysis beyond the 1915 genocide, accounting for a wider historical perspective from the Hamidian Massacres of 1895–1896 through the genocide of 1915 until 1939 when the Second World War began with the invasion of Poland.

Sait Cetinoglu and Suzan Meryem Rosita AlJadeeah investigate representations of the genocide in the Ottoman context and, like Macios, provide a historical context to situate the politics of memory. The primary sources presented in this chapter, namely the Istanbul press and Ottoman Parliamentary Proceedings for the months following the armistice and occupation of Istanbul by the Allies, are important documents. Focusing on a time and place where the strategy of denial emerged, this article allows us to understand the processes of this event as it was presented and represented in the press and in Turkish official documents. The authors raise the important question of responsibility and complicity in the massacres and the political implications these questions bring with them. The authors acknowledge the importance of recognizing the contested nature of history, which makes it almost impossible to provide definite questions of responsibility, but does not negate the need to address them.

It is in this context that we also need to situate the question of "framing" and "labelling," which Joceline Chabot, Richard Godin, and Sylvia Kasparian address in their chapter. Using multidisciplinary and comparative methods, they analyze the media presentation of two simultaneous events affecting civilians during the First World War: the "German Atrocities" on the Western Front and the Armenian Massacre of the Ottoman Empire. The authors discuss the historical and semantic conditions of information processing in the Canadian press (1914–1919) in order to

understand the meaning that contemporary events have given to the violence against civilians in the context of the war. This comparative study casts light on the political and potentially contested effects of semantically framing violence in particular ways as well as the political implications of the ways in which public memory is framed.

The book concludes with Claire Mouradian's analysis of the work of Rabbi Stephen S. Wise through his personal letters and media appearances. The author suggests certain parallels between his work and later efforts to mobilize public opinion in favor of Jews persecuted by the Nazis. In a similar vein to Macios's chapter, the question of solidarity is evoked here in terms of how political memory and commemoration can be considered internationally.

All these chapters illustrate the complexities of representation, as illustrated by a contested subject like the Armenian Genocide. The different ways in which mass media have framed the subject to convey a particular political message is thus the central thread running through these themes, which illustrate the significance of representation in the politics of violence and their public framing. Moreover, the politics of memory are by no means restricted to a particular narrow political community, but have trans- and international effects with respect to solidarity, framing, blaming and victimizing. The Armenian Genocide is thus a highly topical issue, which casts light not only on the violent nature of European history, but also on the politics surrounding its commemoration to the current day. Even 100 years after the genocide, the public memory of the Armenian Genocide remains contested and controversial, reflecting the history of political communities in Europe and beyond, as this volume aims to show.

Notes

1. "Les représentations nous guident dans la façon de nommer de définir ensemble les différents aspects de notre réalité de tous les jours, dans la façon de les interpréter, de statuer sur eux et le cas échéant prendre une position à leur égard et les défendre" (Jodelet, 1989: 47).
2. "Elles circulent dans les discours, sont portées par les mots, véhiculées dans les messages et images médiatiques, cristallisées dans les conduites et les agencements matériels et spatiaux" (Jodelet, 1989: 48).

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1

Genocide and the Arts: Creativity, Morality and the Representation of Traumatic Experience

Adam Muller

Introduction

In their introduction to this timely volume of essays, the editors usefully foreground the ways in which representations contribute to shaping social reality, and by extension our understanding of and commitment to the moral norms and political practices animating, as well as sustaining, our sense of the way things are now and have been in the past. It is, in other words, via our representational languages and practices that we derive the crucial information needed to make sense of ourselves, others, and the world. This was the intuition underpinning philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein's intuition in his *Tractatus* that "The limits of my language mean the limits of my world" (Wittgenstein, 1961). It is also an idea implicit in the comparison provided here by Joceline Chabot, Richard Godin, and Sylvia Kasparian of Canadian media coverage of the Armenian Genocide and atrocities committed by German troops in Belgium and France during the First World War. While these authors show how successful the press was at conveying useful information about the Armenian Genocide to the Canadian public, like me they remain finally doubtful of the efficacy of words when tasked with describing an attempted human annihilation. Notwithstanding the importance of documenting and explaining atrocious human experiences, we need to be constantly aware of what the Holocaust historian Saul Friedlander once termed the "limits of representation" (Friedlander, 1992). Such awareness obliges us to acknowledge the deep contingency of our languages, genres, and media: their tendency to alter and adapt over time in response to a wide variety of concerns often extrinsic to the circumstances under description.

This contingency is addressed by nearly all of the contributors to this volume. Tessa Hoffman, for example, shows how German press coverage of Ottoman Turkish atrocities was muted as a consequence of what were broadly acknowledged at the time to be supervening national military and economic imperatives. Benedetta Guerzoni explains the media's construction of a feminized "ravished" Armenia, both during and after the genocide, as a primary consequence of the need to channel the American public's moral outrage into a willingness to provide substantial humanitarian assistance. Mobilizing this support in Russia was likewise the purpose of the weekly periodical *Armyansky Vestnik* discussed by Louisine Abrahamyan in her chapter. Abrahamyan shows how the periodical worked to construct an idea of Western Armenian refugees as deserving of assistance given both their barbaric treatment by the Ottoman Turks and the precariousness of their subsequent displacement and relocation. She explains the particular care taken by *Armyansky Vestnik*'s editors and contributors to provide empirical support for claims about suffering, creating solid rationalizations (and thus a logic) for the distribution of humanitarian resources. Refugees also figured prominently in the Polish press outlets analyzed by Dominika Maria Macios. However, unlike the fact-heavy representational strategy evident in *Armyansky Vestnik*, the Poles typically opted for more overtly sentimental readings of the Armenians' plight, viewing them as likewise historically citizens of a "nation without territory" and, particularly after the treaties at Versailles and Sèvres, geopolitical fellow travelers.

What these accounts rightly speak to is the profoundly complicated and evolving relationship between representations of mass violence and the individuals and experiences they depict. My own primarily theoretical work is centrally concerned with these complications, though in a somewhat different way. I have a particular interest in the aesthetic modes and strategies through which the creative imagination achieves interpretive purchase on experiences of mass violence, especially genocide. My research strives to make sense of the way artists – primarily visual artists but also writers, poets, and the like – work to imagine and in some way breathe life into events the intensity and horror of which quite literally beggar reason. I wish to use this chapter to spell out some of the main difficulties my work confronts. I will take particular care to explain what it is about genocide and its attendant miseries that makes representational praxis so hard, and at the same time also vitally necessary. Central to my discussion will be consideration of the overwhelming character of experiences of extreme violence, their tendency to overload the cognitive and affective resources through which human

beings – victims, survivors, and secondary witnesses alike – confront traumatic adversity and struggle in various ways to work through it.

There are two aspects of this overloading that interest me. The first is epistemological, namely the difficulty of conceiving of the intense brutality and force of the events experienced by victims of mass violence and atrocity. This is actually a difficulty faced first by victims and then by those trying subsequently to represent victims' personal and collective experiences. The second aspect is moral, and concerns the need we have, notwithstanding their inaccessibility, to find some way to render key features of atrocious experiences and make them knowable, however imperfectly. This rendering is required in order for secondary witnesses to empathize with victims of mass violence, and via this empathetic identification to orient and ground moral judgments and related retributive and reconciliatory acts. Drawing on David Hume, Martin Hoffman rightly notes that "moral judgment is based on feelings of satisfaction, pain, uneasiness, or disgust that result from the observer's empathy with the feelings of the person whose action is being appraised and with the feelings of those who are affected by this action. […] Empathy may thus guide the moral judgments we make about others" (Hoffman, 1994). Both the epistemological and moral aspects of the experience of mass violence have generated a considerable secondary literature, the bulk of it devoted to reflection on the Holocaust and its legacies. I will survey some of this literature in what follows, trying in the process to isolate its significance for our understanding of representations of the Armenian Genocide.

Contending with "Difficult" Knowledge

What does it mean to "work through" the experience of genocidal violence? There seem at least two distinct sets of processes encompassed by this idea, one psychological the other aesthetic, though these remain related in virtue of the dependence of both on representation. As Holocaust survivor Jean Améry knew all too well, experiences of extreme suffering place extraordinary demands on the languages available to victims forced to contend with them, mentally as well as discursively. Writing of his torture at the hands of the Gestapo, Améry observes that "It would be totally senseless to try and describe here the pain that was inflicted on me. […] One comparison would only stand for the other, and in the end we would be hoaxed by turn on the hopeless merry-go-round of figurative speech. The pain was what it was. Beyond that there is nothing to say" (Améry, 1986: 33). For Améry, the

wartime suffering he endured resists representation, by language or anything else. His pain quite literally cannot be expressed, only felt in the moment of its experience. It therefore remains in some important sense mnemonically inaccessible, to him as well as to his audience.

The image of the merry-go-round is significant here. It signals Améry's sense that the extreme effects of violent torture are knowable by victims only indirectly, via loose representations of felt pain and anguish that remain irreducibly approximate – gestures toward other gestures toward a suffering that can be shared only through metaphors the meaning of which must be anything but stable. The looseness of these metaphors is in part a function of their circularity, which arises from their lack of any real purchase on the events they are intended to depict. What figurative language of this kind points to is not so much the *Ding an sich* of its referent, in this case traumatic experience, rather it gestures toward ideas and sense data evoked by experiences which are likewise comprehensible only through the use of more figurative language. Améry's insight is Nietzschean. In his essay "On Truth and Lying in a Non-Moral Sense," Nietzsche argues more broadly that all truth claims are distorted by language, and that truth itself is no more than "A mobile army of metaphors, metonymies, [and] anthropomorphisms" (Nietzsche, 2001: 878). For Nietzsche, feelings are all that can be trusted since they arise from our interactions with the (real) world. Words do nothing but mislead since they do nothing but point to other words (and thus language and its man-made conventions). This idea that representation serves to obscure rather than to reveal things as they really are is expressed somewhat more poetically (and neatly) by Martin Heidegger, who observes that "The calling here calls into a nearness. But even so the call does not wrest what it calls away from the remoteness, in which it is kept by the calling there" (Heidegger, 2001: 196).

In part it is this alienated condition – the remoteness of traumatic events from the preconditions for their shared understanding, most especially representational language, broadly conceived – that marks Améry's experience as traumatic. This follows if we share some version of Cathy Caruth's influential understanding of trauma, which she defines as "unclaimed experience." For Caruth, "Traumatic experience, beyond the psychological dimensions of suffering it involves, suggests a certain paradox: that the most direct seeing of a violent event may occur as an absolute inability to know it, that immediacy, paradoxically, may take the form of belatedness" (Caruth, 1997: 208). Trauma on this view is characterized by latency and delayed uptake, both of which severely complicate its representation. The memory of traumatic experience lies

beneath the membrane separating consciousness from the unconscious, and so remains difficult to acknowledge explicitly: to probe, specify, and share. It becomes available to the victim only through symptoms (sleeplessness, angry outbursts, depression, etc.) that themselves are or over time become traumatic. This "secondary" traumatization creates a kind of circle, what Patrick Duggan and Mick Wallis call a "*mise-en-abyme* in which the symptom is a representation or rehearsal of the original event but at the same time itself a traumatic event" (Duggan & Wallis, 2011: 5). This circle links an originary trauma and its surface hints and traces, conflating both, creating a single though highly volatile experience of distress. In Duggan and Wallis' words, "Trauma-event and trauma-symptom constitute a single entity, internally structured by an economy of mutual presence and absence" (Duggan & Wallis, 2011: 9). The flickering and elusive character of this entity make it exceptionally difficult to render, both for victims, who are denied the means for directly confronting the causes of their suffering and working through them, and for artist-witnesses seeking later to aestheticize the specific attributes of victims' pain.

Reflections of this difficulty abound in the work of writers and other artists contending with what Deborah Britzman has influentially termed "difficult knowledge." Such knowledge is difficult in virtue of its resistance to explanation and attempts to assign it meaning. Difficult knowledge thwarts conceptualization and is very hard to share; it can be felt but never really fully comprehended. Traumatic experience is paradigmatically "difficult" in this sense. As Britzman along with Alice Pitt explains, the "event of trauma is characterized by a quality of significance that resists meaning even as the affective force of the event can be felt" (Pitt & Britzman, 2003: 158). It is possible to feel trauma's effects, in other words, without ever knowing exactly why or what to make of them.

Traumatizing Culture Loss

The only possible understanding of such events is available to the insider, the victim himself, and even then only *post hoc* and in fragments, as a series of loosely conjoined feelings. For the outsider, meaning and understanding remain elusive. This is roughly the position of the celebrated Armenian poet Vahan Derian,[1] who lays out his view on the impenetrability of traumatic experience in his short poem "Foreign." There he writes that:

> Even if you decipher our alphabet
> and read our lettered stones,

our labor and ancient pain
would stay unexplained.

The towers that mourn
my dying country do not tell
all, nor move you with their toll.
To you they are bells. (Derian, 8)

Derian here and elsewhere in his corpus seems to assume that Armenians have privileged access to the specifics of their own traumatic history. His worry appears to be rather that non-Armenians will be unable to understand that history in ways that permit its proper recognition, which for him is at once moral and political. And yet in his poem "We Are Orphans Everyone," he writes:

We are orphans, everyone,
children of the lost,
ground down, motherless, alone
under blackened suns.

We are shoved against our will
onto foreign soils,
calling without voices,
or hope of being heard.

We are praying, but to whom?
Who will hear us, who will come?
Who will take us home?" (Derian, 14)

Here Derian suggests that the experience of genocide and forced deportation has profoundly diminished and disoriented the Armenians themselves, leaving them orphaned, lost, powerless, and alone. Importantly, Derian's reference to Armenians "calling without voices" (Derian, 14) points to the inability of survivors and their descendants to express what it is that they have endured. Even the hope that any such expression might matter, should it finally prove possible, has been lost. Robbed by their traumatic history both of the power of self-representation as well as of the capacity for belonging (and therefore of the ability to remain a community), not even an all-seeing and compassionate God is able to acknowledge the Armenians' suffering. Accordingly, for Derian, the diasporic remnants of the population will

remain uncomprehending and uncomprehended, abandoned to their miserable, isolating fate.

What Derian is acknowledging in his poem is in effect the destruction of Armenian culture and the trauma that goes along with it. As Peter Balakian has argued, cultural destruction is one of the three primary domains encompassed by the term genocide as conceived of by its originator, the Polish-Jewish jurist Raphael Lemkin (1900–1959). Along with its interruption of physical existence (i.e., life) and biological continuity (i.e., procreative processes and the rearing of children), genocide for Lemkin also targets a group's means of spiritual or cultural expression and renewal. Hence his distinction between physical, biological, and cultural genocide, none of which Lemkin privileged above the others in terms of its importance since all three similarly result in the destruction of a group's life (the defining characteristic of any genocide). Lemkin termed physical and biological genocide "barbarism"; and cultural genocide he referred to as "vandalism." Balakian argues that in addition to mass murder and forced deportation – indeed in many ways as a result or extension of these violent and coercive processes – "what one sees in the eradication of the Armenians is a calculated, but sometimes spontaneous, evolving process of destroying Armenian culture" (Balakian, 2013: 62). With reference to newly-available primary sources, he proceeds to document the many ways in which the Ottoman Turks set about making it impossible for Armenian group life to persist culturally, including their destruction of Armenian churches, artworks, artists, intellectuals, and so on. He also shows how these culturally genocidal practices are in various ways being replicated and sustained through ongoing Turkish state denialism, as well as the neglect and misuse of Armenian heritage sites. In this he echoes Anush Hovanissian, who concludes with respect to modern Turkish attempts to eradicate any trace of the country's Armenian history that "[t]hese developments are part of a systematic policy of denial of the Genocide and testify to the fact that what is occurring in modern Turkey is cultural vandalism" (Hovanissian, 1999: 152). It should be remembered (and in a way this is Derian's point), that vital to any culture is the capacity of its members to express themselves in ways that are shared, and recognized as shared. Balakian agrees with Clifford Geertz and Robert J. Lifton that the "essential dimensions of human experience and psychological development are inextricable from group cultural life, and that a collectivity's life is deeply shaped by [...] the 'symbolizing process' that is essential to the basis of any group's identity" (Balakian, 2013: 63). In other words, it is through symbolic activities and rituals, through (self-) representational acts and manifestations of its expressive power, that a community

consolidates its culture and becomes imagined, in Benedict Anderson's influential sense of this word (Anderson, 1991). And it is through this imagining that group life comes to be sustained and renewed.

Impossible Witnessing

In "We Are Orphans Everyone" Derian seems to share Britzman's and Pitt's view that the traumatic experience at the heart of a genocide produces "a problem of symbolization" (Pitt & Britzmann, 2003: 759), that in effect genocidal trauma reveals itself in a representational or expressive crisis, or what Balakian calls a "gap, a perpetual eroding loss" (Balakian, 2013: 85). I have been trying to suggest that this symbolization problem is a significant one for anyone attempting to grapple with experience of the horrors associated with genocide, perhaps most especially the survivors themselves. As Améry aptly observes, "acts of extreme violence mark the limit of the capacity of language to communicate" (Améry, 1986: 33). This is one of the senses in which they are "beyond the pale," the term "pale" traditionally designating a fence or boundary separating the village from the wilderness, and thus the known from the unknown, the familiar from the uncanny, the morally acceptable from the barbaric. However, I have also been suggesting that representation is also a problem for secondary witnesses struggling to enter into the lives of a genocide's victims. So, for example, we find the acclaimed Yiddish poet, partisan, and Holocaust survivor Abraham Sutzkever wrestling with this difficulty in his "Poem about a Herring." In this work Sutzkever's speaker tries to imagine a murder scene earlier taking place somewhere in Nazi-occupied Eastern Europe. A mother and her son stand by the edge of a lime pit awaiting execution, presumably by *Einsatzgruppen* or mobile killing squads, the very young child more or less oblivious of what is to come. The boy asks his mother for something to eat and she takes some herring from her purse for him to chew on. He puts the fish in his mouth just as the bullets strike his body.

Trying to wrap his mind around this awful moment, the poem's speaker acknowledges that:

> this picture holds like a frieze:
> a child with a bloody herring in his mouth
> on a certain summer's morning.
> And I search for that herring's salt
> and still can not
> find its taste on my lips. (Sutkzever, 1995: 581)

Several aspects of this moment are worth reflecting on. The first concerns the nature of the speaker's failure to take in the scene, which in a sense is only partial since there is much about what he witnesses that he does absorb, admittedly most of it contextual. But obviously he cannot enter into the life of the child at the moment of its cessation. It lies beyond the pale of his interpretive and expressive powers; all he can testify to for certain is its ineffability. More than this, time itself ceases to operate for the speaker during the child's final agony. The reference to a "frieze" in the poem suggests both the freezing of time and the decorative building feature that typically consists of one or more panels containing figures or parts of a story. Often friezes are carved, though they may be painted as well, and when linked to a myth or other story they are usually episodic. That is, they present discrete moments in time to their viewer, but not the means for stitching them together into a coherent narrative. Friezes can never depict whole stories since they remain discontinuous and marked by diegetic gaps. Discontinuity likewise marks the relation of the poem's speaker to the event he struggles to comprehend. The child's death inaugurates a kind of rupture; up until that point the speaker has some definite hold on what it is he is witnessing. After it he has none; he ceases to be able to testify, to stitch what he has seen together into a meaningful story. He has, in short, succumbed to what Hannah Arendt once called the "speechless horror of what man may do and the world may become" (Arendt, 1994: 445).

In announcing his limitations, Sutzkever's speaker echoes Auschwitz survivor Primo Levi, who in *The Drowned and the Saved* acknowledges that the only "true witnesses" of genocidal atrocity are not its bystanders or direct survivors but rather those who have been completely undone by the violence done to them and rendered speechless by it. Levi writes that:

> one can today definitely affirm that the history of the Lagers [concentration camps][2] has been written almost exclusively by those who, like myself, never fathomed them to the bottom. Those who did so did not return, or their capacity for observation was paralyzed by suffering and incomprehension. (Levi, 1989: 17)

For Levi, first amongst these lost souls are the *Muselmänner*, the "Muslims" of the concentration camps, so-called for their inability (due to prolonged maltreatment) to rise off their knees, existing in a state of permanent and oblivious abjection suspended in-between life and death. Like Levi, Giorgio Agamben sees the Muselmann as a "complete

witness" whose testimony "at its center […] contains something that cannot be borne witness to and that discharges the survivors of authority" (Agamben, 2002: 34). On their overlapping view, a genocide's "perfect" witness is someone who has experienced the full weight of the atrocity's horrors but, precisely because of their intensity and severity, has become unable to represent what it is he or she has undergone. Levi likens this kind of limit experience to that of someone who has looked upon the face of Medusa, the Gorgon of Ancient Greek myth, and been turned to stone. The trace of this act of witnessing lies in the body of the victim, which for the secondary witness is no more penetrable, and thus explicable, than the contours of its hardened outer form. Medusa's victims, like the Muselmänner, signify the impossibility of either primary or secondary witnessing, unless of a thoroughly disabling kind. Accordingly, Agamben concludes that "we will not understand what Auschwitz [and by extension genocide more generally] is if we do not first understand who or what the *Muselmann* is – if we do not learn to gaze with him upon the Gorgon" (Agamben, 2002: 52).

It is exactly this gaze that the speaker of Sutzkever's poem is attempting to cultivate. He is haunted by the child's death and so cannot escape it, even as its meaning and particulars continue to elude him. And yet he persists in attempting to make sense of the scene and give voice to the child – to taste the bloody herring and share the experience with his audience. But this attempted identification overmasters him, leaving him (not unlike the Muselmann) with nothing to say except that he continues not to know. The more closely the speaker considers it, the ineffable horror of the child's execution stops time, creating a perpetual present that prevents him from accessing both past and future, denying him the ability to "work through" the traumatic moment he can't forget. The child's murder remains for him an open wound, "wound" here evoking the Ancient Greek roots of the idea of trauma itself as at once an injury and a defeat. The scene the speaker tries to witness refuses to be sutured, and so defeats the attempted conceptual reconstruction his understanding (and representational practice) requires. Nevertheless, he doggedly continues to work for it. His quest to know, and through knowing to understand, is unceasing notwithstanding the manifest failure of his attempt. His effort is in itself profoundly significant. For according to Theodor Adorno, this particular dynamic – attempting to find meaning where there is none to be had; working to understand what it is impossible to know – characterizes the central task, at once moral and aesthetic, of anyone willing to confront (work *at*, rather than work *through*) the immense difficulty of attempting a genocide representation.

Adorno's Aporia

Adorno is more usually understood to have rejected outright the possibility of representing genocide, having famously written of the barbarity of writing poetry after Auschwitz in response to the 1948 appearance of Paul Celan's landmark Holocaust poem "Todesfuge." Indeed, read selectively, it is possible to find several places in Adorno's corpus where he seems to give up entirely on the possibility that genocide can be represented, mentally or otherwise, such as in his *Negative Dialectics* where he refers to the Holocaust as "the extremity that eludes the concept" (Adorno, 1973: 365). Adorno seems at first blush to possess three distinct concerns about genocide representations. The first of these, as the preceding quote suggests, is that the events of a genocide are so extreme – so immense, varied, and violent – that there is no possibility of adequately conceptualizing them, holding them in one's mind in a way that permits them to take a form suitable for their recognition, creative expression, and sharing. His second worry, though, is a more narrowly moral one. He is particularly concerned that artists' attempts to aestheticize genocide will, if successful, allow pleasure to be derived from victims' suffering. So, for example, in an essay on political commitment in art he writes that "the so-called artistic representation of the naked physical pain of those who were beaten down with rifle butts contains, however distantly, the possibility that pleasure can be squeezed from it" (Adorno, 2005: 312), and not unreasonably he finds this prospect morally troubling. In part this is because such pleasure serves to align the perspectives of the audiences of such artworks with those of the perpetrators whose crimes are being depicted, individuals and groups who presumably took some degree of pleasure or satisfaction in what they did. He also worries that representing a genocide's horrors will in some sense domesticate them, preventing audiences from truly appreciating their awful annihilatory force. He writes that when genocide has been artistically rendered, "an unthinkable fate appears to have had some meaning; it becomes transfigured, something of its horror is removed" (Adorno, 2005: 312).

It is the full enormity of this horror that morality must contend with, and weigh, and art's inherent distortions serve to undermine the functioning of this highly complex reckoning. These distortions constitute Adorno's third concern with genocide representations. Specifically, he worries that the German language and other vehicles for artistic expression were themselves complicit in the violence of the Holocaust (where they served via euphemism and propagandistic exaggeration to

both mobilize support for and conceal Nazi crimes), and that as a result they remain tainted following the genocide in ways that preclude them making adequate sense of what happened. He is also unsettled by the possible reductions inherent in attempts to impose some kind of an expressive form (and therefore order and meaning) on experiences that were often arbitrary and so extreme as to lack any possible justification at all.[3] As Elaine Martin argues:

> Aesthetic order cannot be imposed on the chance and randomness that characterised death in the camps. How, for example, can one render in artistic form [...] the guilt felt by the survivor for having usurped a fellow inmate's place and lived in his stead? Any attempt to impose some kind of higher meaning on the arbitrariness and elusiveness of the death camp experience would be a violation of the deference owed to the victims. (Martin, 2011: 65)

Minimally, for Adorno these victims should not have their agony redeemed, however partially, by being shown to have served a purpose, to have been of some higher or secondary use.[4] Debates on the morality of usefulness of this kind have erupted from time to time in a variety of genocide-related contexts, but perhaps nowhere more prominently than in discussion of the rights and wrongs of using Nazi research data such as hypothermia studies derived without proper consent from the maltreatment of Jewish prisoners.

However, even as he expresses his unease with attempts to aestheticize genocidal traumas, Adorno also stresses the vital need for artists and others to continue attempting to do so. This is what Martin refers to as the central "aporetic tension" (Martin, 2011: 63) in Adorno's thoughts on genocide art. An "aporia" is a moment of undecidability, a crux, an irresolvable tension. Martin explains Adorno's aporia as follows: "we cannot truly reflect upon our incapacity, we must reflect upon it; the horror cannot be reflected upon to any meaningful degree, it must be reflected upon; the horror cannot be represented, it must be represented" (Martin, 2006). Adorno himself writes that notwithstanding the difficulties of doing so, "[t]he abundance of real suffering tolerates no forgetting [...] Yet this suffering – what Hegel called consciousness of adversity – also demands the continued existence of art while it prohibits it" (Adorno, 2005: 312). What he understands is that art is not unique in its distortion of the horrible truths of genocide. All forms of discourse struggle to maintain a connection to events of such violent intensity and horror. He thus points out in his commitment

essay that "hardly anywhere else does suffering find its own voice, a consolation that does not immediately betray it" (Adorno, 2005: 313). In fact on his view, artworks remain comparatively well suited to the job of representing genocidal violence, so long as artists (and audiences) understand the terms and limits of that job properly. But what does this really mean? Or rather, as Howard Caygill puts the question, how should an artist (or, for that matter, a journalist or historian) go about selecting "the appropriate form of impossibility to give expression to suffering"? (Caygill, 2006: 81). Adorno's answer reflects and concedes the intractability of the aporia he himself has articulated. It obliges the art of atrocity to assume a stance of radical openness vis-à-vis its object, not only by refusing to foreclose on the meaning of the experiences it depicts but also by admitting, explicitly as well as implicitly via various permutations in perspective, tone, and form, that its reach has exceeded its grasp. Martin provides perhaps the clearest and most succinct account of Adorno's view of the purpose and scope of genocide representations. She sees Adorno calling

> for a form of negative representation that presents the existence of the "extremity" that defies representation; he calls for evocation through absence. Representation must be austere; it must avoid the possibility that pleasure or positive meaning can be "squeezed" from it. He warns against self-complacent, untroubled narrative that avoids dealing self-reflectively with the problematics of representing the ineffable. It must be anti-redemptory in nature to avoid a repetition of the violation of the victims. It must avoid "making sense" of the event through the imposition of coherent formal structure or by incorporating it into any positive fable of progress. […] He calls for art to be self-referentially wary of itself, of its form and of its means of representation. (Martin, 2006: 65)

"Negative"; non-hedonic; self-reflexive; semantically unstable; inchoate; suspicious: these are the hallmarks of a successful genocide representation. Such representations are, in Antony Rowland's words, "necessarily awkward" (Rowland, 1997: 67). Conversely, unsuccessful representations will exhibit a marked absence of awkwardness. They will tend towards realism, formal transparency, meaningfulness, coherence, fluidity, directness, and beauty. They will be clearly about something that is other than themselves. And for that reason they will fail to grasp an essential fact of the traumatic character of genocidal experiences: they can only be known indirectly, via their symptoms which, to return

once more to Duggan and Wallace, are themselves trauma-inducing (Duggan & Wallis, 2011: 9). A genocide's expressive traces, in other words, do not merely gesture towards trauma. In their way they are also traumatizing: unsettling, disorienting, painful, and uncertain.

Piety and Denial

Note that there is an enormous difference between a representation's being uncertain and its being not worth undertaking at all. What Adorno calls for is not the non-representation of genocidal trauma (indeed he urges the opposite and justifies the demand on moral grounds) but rather the foregrounding of its non-representability as part of dialectical attempts to work through it. It has sometimes proven tempting over the years for scholars to see in the difficulties adumbrated above reasons to abandon hope entirely of offering any kind of genocide representation. Writing of the Holocaust, for example, Jean-François Lyotard famously argues in *Le Différend* that the genocide's vastness and intensity not only destroyed lives but also the means for documenting and describing them, along with the events leading up to and including their annihilation. According to Lyotard, "The result is that one cannot adduce the numerical proof of the massacre," (Lyotard, 1989: 56) and knowledge of its particulars resides solely within the individual memories of survivors, which cannot be shared since it never transcends the status of disparate feelings. He writes that

> [t]he scholar claims to know nothing about it, but the common person has a complex feeling, the one aroused by the negative presentation of the indeterminate. *Mutatis mutandis*, the silence that the crime of Auschwitz imposes on the historian is a sign for the common person. (Lyotard, 1989: 56)

As a result of this imposition, for Lyotard the name "Auschwitz," or more generally "the Holocaust," "marks the confines within which historical knowledge sees its competence impugned" (Lyotard, 1989: 93). Such nihilistic thinking, such a vast concession to the mysterious ineffability of genocidal events, is an instance of what Gillian Rose with justifiable contempt calls "Holocaust piety" (Rose, 1996: 43). Any such genocidal piety proves highly dangerous, since it leaves the door open to crass forms of denialism of the sort we currently witness in official Turkish responses to worldwide demands that the country acknowledge and begin to atone for the harms done to its Armenian population.[5]

What is worth observing about Turkish denial in this context, however, is that it rests on insincere attempts to grapple with the specifics of Armenian trauma, rather than earnest and morally attentive efforts to work through it. As Vahakn Dadrian and others have argued, Turkish denialism is less rooted in a refusal of the facts of mass destruction, which are demonstrable and abundantly documented within Turkish archives and other sites of official memory, than it is a function of attempts by the government in Ankara, along with its proxies elsewhere, to reinterpret these facts in ways that confuse matters and deflect the force of demands for official acknowledgment of Ottoman crimes. Dadrian writes that:

> in order to deal with [these demands], a repertoire of rationalizations, distortions and falsehoods has been created and made an integral part of the prevailing denial syndrome. As a result, one is confronted today with the remarkable spectacle of a political end-game bent on reducing the Armenian genocide to a "debatable" issue, thereby artfully creating the expedient of a "controversy." (Dadian, 2003: 270)

The amenability of facts to this kind of misuse highlights how representers of all kinds don't copy reality, they interpret it, sometimes too conveniently and always in light of some supervening set of interests, desires, and concerns.

Such pernicious denialism is in no way an inevitable consequence of the position I've been attributing to Theodor Adorno. The claim that the Armenian Genocide did not take place, or rather that the treatment of Armenians was either an outcome of Ottoman attempts to defend the integrity of their dissolving state[6] or else a *force majeure* response to a real security threat during wartime,[7] is, after all, an example of exactly the sort of reification of history and experience that Adorno is anxious to reject. By their very nature denialist claims proffer a kind of singular certainty that Adorno thinks is thoroughly misplaced (and harmful) in representations of genocide. They are insufficiently fallibilist, self-critical, fragmentary, and incoherent. Again, what Adorno insists on is that such representations manifest a knowing humility when treating violence that lies beyond the pale. Lawrence Langer, referring to Holocaust literature in a way that I propose extending to encompass all forms of creative production, writes that art

> plays a vital role in raising questions about the integrity of language and identity and the dominion of history itself that if left unchallenged

> would plunge us back into the moral innocence that legend ascribes to the Garden of Eden. Its unsettling contours help us to face the estrangement of the world we live in from the one we long to inhabit – or the one we nostalgically yearn to regain. (Langer, 1995b: 7)

In short, in the wake of atrocity art helps us to adjust to a broken and disorienting world within which suffering is ubiquitous and daily struggles for acknowledgment and relief are ignored. I agree with Langer when he advises that the way out from under this mess, a way of defending against what borrowing from Terrence Des Pres he calls an "excremental assault," (Langer, 1995b: 7) is "not to try to jostle the confusion back into an unwarranted clarity, but to find our bearing by using landmarks native to this uncertain terrain" (Langer, 1995b: 6).

A Success(-ful) Story

In so far as the Armenian Genocide is concerned, it is worth mentioning one representation of the Ottoman atrocities that on my view aptly refuses unwarranted clarity and uses the hallmarks of atrocity in ways that I believe would satisfy both Langer and Adorno. I mention it here only in passing, since its comprehensive analysis exceeds the brief and constraints of this writing, which instead is concerned primarily with mapping relevant conceptual terrain. I am identifying this work as a paradigmatic token of a special and relatively rare type – the class of successful genocide representations – and I leave it to others to provide a more thoroughgoing and nuanced analysis of it in light of what might be found useful in my remarks. In various but always strategic ways this representation reveals the impossibility of depicting the trauma of the Armenian genocidal experience, even as it sets about doing so, and it treats the related trauma of Turkish denialism in very much the same way. I am referring to the feature film *Ararat* (2002) by the Armenian-Canadian director Atom Egoyan.

Ararat purports to tell the story of the events surrounding the defense of Van, a city and administrative district in Eastern Turkey where Armenians offered rare armed resistance to Ottoman military and paramilitary forces, but where from 1915 onwards massacres claimed the lives of thousands of Armenian civilians. The film, however, does not tell this story straightforwardly (its attempt to do so would constitute a kind of failure), and it constantly alerts viewers to its own contingent status as an incomplete and deeply provisional *reconstruction* of genocidal events. Even as characters in the film regularly insist that the events it

shows have taken place in Van and actually occurred, and though much is made of the film's use of diaries and eyewitness memoirs such as that of the American missionary and physician Clarence Ussher, Egoyan also explicitly acknowledges the fabricated and distorted character of his presentation of events. So, for example, characters discuss the fact that even though it appears in scenes of Van, Mt. Ararat is not visible from the city. Likewise events depicted from the childhood of Arshile Gorky are wholly fabricated, most notably one that shows his encounter with (and menacing by) Cevdet Bey, the Ottoman governor of the Van *vilayet* (region) and person held most directly responsible for the atrocities committed there. Throughout the film characters ask one another whether or not events make sense, usually with no reply being offered.

Egoyan signals the artificiality of his narrative by having it made up of many interweaving but only loosely braided story strands, several of which knit together around the making of a film about Van's defense and subsequent Ottoman atrocities. This film is shown in production, but even so the depiction of its production process is sometimes presented to *Ararat*'s viewers as indistinguishable from the historical events being reimagined through its fabrication. That is, there is no stability to the temporal present of the diegesis, and no temporally linear unfolding of events. The viewer is denied an Archimedean point from which to begin the work of coherently arranging various narrative episodes. It is in no way clear which character's perspective serves to anchor cinematic time. Non-fictional video footage of Armenian ruins are inserted into fictional scenes in a customs office at Toronto's Pearson airport, where they serve as a backdrop to the many unanswered questions posed by Raffi (David Alpay), a young production assistant on the film and son of an Armenian militant, who is being asked to provide a coherent account of his actions in Turkey by customs agent David (Christopher Plummer). No such account emerges.

The historical past is sometimes located in the narrative present, and the narrative present also sometimes intrudes on the historical past, as for example when Raffi's mother Ani (Arsinée Khanjian), an art historian and expert on Arshile Gorky, attempts to interrupt the filming of a scene being directed by Edward Saroyan (Charles Aznavour) only to have actor Martin Harcourt (Bruce Greenwood), who plays Clarence Ussher, stay in character and berate Ani for putting her own needs above those of the child whose wounds he is tending. The result is disorienting and confusing (Ani is reduced to stunned silence), effects that caused reviewers such as Stephen Holden to complain that the film possesses too many "layers" (Holden, 2002). And yet Egoyan's film self-consciously refuses to be neat and tidy, it won't settle down and focus

on a single subject, stabilize its narrative arc, or say simply and exactly what it means. As Elke Heckner puts it, "*Ararat* playfully, but deliberately, denies the satisfaction of suture" (Heckner, 2010: 135).

Conclusion: Unreconciled

In a profoundly moving way *Ararat* challenges and undermines viewers' expectations, unsettling them through its own unsettledness. As I have been arguing throughout this chapter, such formal unease is the inevitable consequence of art's exposure to genocidal violence. Far from being a problem, it speaks for the extent to which artists such as Egoyan properly acknowledge the traumatic character of the events they depict without assuming they can explain it. Trauma cannot be explained like this, since it is comprised of *unprocessed* experience. It can be felt but not seen or heard. It can be known only through its symptoms, which a filmmaker like Egoyan builds into the structure of his film. We sense trauma in representations of genocide that exhibit formlessness, indeterminacy, anxiety, and need. Lawrence Langer refers to such representations as "lingering art," and rightly observes that this kind of art "leads only to an unreconciled understanding" (Langer, 1995a: 237). And to me this is just as it should be. For what might it really mean to become reconciled to the murder of more than one-and-a-half million Armenian men, women, and children, and the brutalization of so many more? How can one reconcile oneself to the non-recognition of these horrors by the modern Turkish state, which continues to pretend that no genocide happened? Langer asks: "What then are we left with?" In reply he answers: "We now live alongside the inhuman, and this promotes two adjacent worlds that embrace a life after death, called survival, and a life within death, for which we have no name, only the assurance, through testimony and art, that it happened" (Langer, 1995a: 238–239).

Notes

1. Note that my spelling of the poet's last name follows Der-Hovanessian, though "Terian" is also common. The poems are reproduced here with Der-Hovanessian's permission.
2. For Levi, not unproblematically, concentration camps were sites of the paradigmatic experiences of the Holocaust.
3. For more on the deliberate use of arbitrary violence in the Holocaust's carceral spaces, see Wolfgang Sofsky (1997).
4. Objections have been raised to the word "Holocaust" on similar grounds. The term has Greek roots meaning "burnt offering," or "sacrifice," and such

offerings are always made for some higher purpose. Hence many scholars prefer to use the Hebrew term "Shoah" when accounting for the events in Europe between 1933 and 1945. It more straightforwardly means "catastrophe."

5. See, for example, Guenter Lewy's controversially denialist *The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey: A Disputed Genocide* (2007) and Taner Akçam's response in his "Review Essay: Guenter Lewy's *The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey*" (2008).
6. The so-called "nationalist thesis" advanced by Kemal Karpat, Hikmat Özdemir, and others.
7. The so called "national security thesis" advanced by Justin McCarthy, Stanford Shaw, Edward J. Ericson, Guenter Lewy, Bernard Lewis, and others. For more on both these theses see Mehran Mazinani (2013). For a considerably more substantial and nuanced treatment of these issues, see Taner Akçam (2012; 2006; 2004).

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Ravished Armenia (1919): Bearing Witness in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction

Some Thoughts on a Film-Ordeal

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Introduction

The challenges raised by genocides and by the multiple forms of testimony which narrate, translate, process, represent, and bring them, so to speak, *into the present*, are considerable.[2] Given these difficulties, a return to the writings of Walter Benjamin proves useful insofar as these contain tools vital for the construction of a nonlinear thought-process, one which is awake and aware of its own fragmented, de-systematized reflection.[3] In this article we set out to establish a dialogue between two of his most important works – "The work of art in the age of mechanical reproduction" (1939) (Benjamin, 1973/1939: 211–244) and "Theses on the philosophy of history" (1940) (Benjamin, 1973/1940: 245–255) – by considering a truly extraordinary film. Although barely known, if not entirely forgotten, this film nevertheless carries within it the seeds – *avant la lettre* – of the Benjaminian concept of a "cinematic history," of the cinema as a potential mode of "historical awakening".[4] A film which can be seen as both a simulacrum and a revelation.

Ravished Armenia, first shown in 1919 in the immediate aftermath of the Armenian genocide of 1915 which it portrays, would undertake its own cross-border odyssey.[5] This American film, which by the 1920s was already lost, would re-emerge in France in the possession of Yervant Setian, an exiled survivor of the genocide living in Marseille. Having been inspired, it appears, to become a projectionist and documentary-maker following the immense impact the film made on him when he saw it in a Marseillais cinema in 1925, he would, 13 years later, stumble across a print of the film minus its title sequence. It was by then in the possession of a distributor by the name of George Miller, lying

forgotten at the bottom of a box marked *Martyrdom of a People*, along with the explanation that the film was based on the testimony of a woman named either Elisa Greyterian or Elsa Kederian.

Although neither the name of the film nor that of the witness upon whose testimony the script was meant to be based correspond to *Ravished Armenia*, Setian was absolutely positive: when he sat down and watched the images in the company of Miller at number 5, rue des Petites Écuries, he declared that he was able to recognize and identify them as belonging to the film he had seen in 1925 in Marseille. After probably paying somewhat over the odds to purchase the print, he subsequently took it with him when he was repatriated to Armenia in 1947.[6] On his arrival, only one reel remained (equating to fifteen minutes out of a total of, more or less, eighty-five minutes), as the others had mysteriously disappeared en route between the port of Batum (Georgia) and Yerevan (Armenia). This short extract, miraculously saved by Setian at the end of the 1930s would be rediscovered in 1994 in Yerevan by Eduardo Kozanlian, an Armenian living in Argentina. It was in this same year that Kozanlian, who had been searching for the film for many years, discovered the existence not only of the extract from *Ravished Armenia* (in the National Archives) but also of Yervant Setian, whom he met around the same time and whose story, briefly reproduced here, he heard.[7] Setian, nicknamed Cine Seto, died in Yerevan on 26 January 1997, having lived there continuously since his repatriation in 1947.[8]

The short extract is now available on DVD through a network of cinema enthusiasts, and may also be seen in the Armenian capital in the Museum of the Genocide.[9] Two other DVDs using the same footage with different editing and audio techniques are in circulation.[10] To this day, no trace has been found of the rest of the film.[11]

The few remaining images/traces of what was the first cinematic reconstitution of a genocide narrated by a female survivor testify in themselves to two things: both to the Catastrophe, through their screening of the body as witness in the form of Aurora Mardiganian, a survivor of the massacres here playing herself, and to the value of the Benjaminian approach to history in the age of mechanical reproduction.

The "message in a bottle"[12]

Ravished Armenia, also entitled *Auction of Souls*, is the only film of its kind, being based on the testimony of the young Aurora Mardiganian (real name Archaluys Mardigian),[13] who escaped to exile in the United States on November 5, 1917, aged sixteen.[14] The script for this (silent)

film was written by Nora Waln[15] and Harvey Gates,[16] the editors of Aurora's memoirs, which were published at Gates's insistence. The translation and transcription of her testimony – told in Armenian and simultaneously translated by an anonymous interpreter before being retranscribed by Gates – were the result of a remarkable series of coincidences. While looking for her brother, from whom she had become separated during their escape, Aurora was initially taken in by an Armenian family who put out a series of ads in the press to help her in her search. As a result of these ads, Aurora was interviewed by the *Sun* and the *Tribune* in New York. It was through reading these interviews that husband and wife Harvey and Eleanor Gates became aware of this survivor's story and, realizing the potential draw of her gripping tale, they decided to publish her account, which would form the basis of the film script. It was at this point that the couple decided to rename her Aurora Mardiganian so as to Americanize her first name and change her family name – the young woman had flatly refused to *occidentalize* the latter. Her memoir was first published in 1918 with the title *Ravished Armenia* by Kingfield Press in New York and subsequently, in 1919, with the title *Auction of Souls* by Odhams Press in London. It was reprinted in 1934, and sold a total of 360,000 copies. The memoir was also translated all over the world.

The film was produced by a pioneer of American cinema, William N. Selig,[17] on behalf of the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief (a charitable organization which would become the Near East Foundation in 1930).[18] The charity was formed in 1915, in large part due to the calls for action from Henry Morgenthau (the serving American ambassador to the Ottoman Empire since 1913 and eyewitness to the genocide), and aimed to raise the funds necessary to help Armenian refugees and orphans from Turkey.[19] The film was shot in record time (less than a month) and featured a star cast, Hollywood sets and hundreds of extras. Almost all of them were members of the Armenian community in the United States, and among them were 200 orphans from the genocide who had sought refuge in America. Last, but not least, at the top of the bill was Aurora herself who, for the derisory sum of fifteen dollars a week,[20] played herself[21] fleeing from a desert specially constructed for this purpose in the Selig Studios in Edendale, Los Angeles, the cradle of the silent cinema.

The film premiered at the Los Angeles Alexandria Hotel on January 15, 1919.[22] Initially presented as a cinematic work with a charitable objective, namely to inform and to raise public awareness, and bring in funds needed to help refugees, *Ravished Armenia* was above all a blockbuster.

It was designed to create a commercial sensation amidst which the original witness, dispossessed of her own story, would be entirely lost. The publicity organized before each screening focused on three clear thematic axes, carefully selected to whet audiences' appetites to the film's sensationalist aspects, namely sex, religion, and truth. Much was made of the remarkable nature of this epoch-making film.[23] And it was indeed remarkable, in terms not only of its contents (its subject, in particular sexual violence, with the abuse and trafficking of Christian women forming the film's principal *leitmotiv*, as suggested by its lurid title) but also of its form (a script based on the testimony of an eyewitness who is actually seen acting out her own experiences not long after the events in question).

Its tagline "the Christian girl who survived the great massacres" promised not only thrilling sensation but also authenticity ("a sensational story of Turkish depravity," "every word is truth!").[24] Nothing in this publicity campaign was left to chance. No opportunity was missed to underline the fact that the heroine is reliving, on screen, the atrocities that she had already had to go through again in producing the oral narrative of her testimony ("every stirring scene through which Aurora lives in the book, is lived again on the motion picture screen"), nor to insist upon the "seal of truth" provided by the parallel testimony of American and British diplomats serving in the Ottoman Empire at the time of these events which corroborates Aurora's story (it was even claimed that the US ambassador Henry Morgenthau appeared on screen).[25] Particular attention was drawn to the physical presence of the protagonist herself in theaters during the film's promotional tour, as demanded by the producers – an element considered so important that when, having become seriously depressed, she was no longer able to appear herself, seven doubles were hired to stand in for her and *be there in her place*, without audiences' knowledge (Slide, 1997: 16). Everything was staged down to the last detail.

SEE AURORA, HERSELF, IN HER STORY trumpeted, in bold capitals, one publicity poster. And it worked. The screenings were successful, and a stream of articles and reviews appeared. From this point of view, it was a success: the testimony of the young woman who was now known as "the Joan of Arc of Armenia" was widely circulated thanks to its reconstitution in images, which had the unique ability to make the original trauma *present* (both visually and temporally) through the directing skills of Oscar Apfel.[26]

The operation was effective, but left no space for Aurora. She became lost in the process. The sea into which her bottle had been thrown was

a public, cinematographic space, in the age of mechanical reproduction, as Benjamin would say. A space that would crush her. This experience serves to illustrate all of the risks involved in the telling, processing, and representation of the Catastrophe. The truth told by the witness, once it is handed over, is changed in order to be made visible, *showable*, credible – when, that is, it is not censored.[27] This may be seen in the final sequence of the film which, although it was considered shocking at the time (it was cut entirely in England) and was certainly successful in its aim of achieving a sensational effect, was nevertheless a significantly altered version of a far crueller reality. The scene showing crucified women, whose nakedness is partially concealed by their long black hair, is the result of a compromise later denounced by Aurora as an inauthentic and watered-down version of the systematic infliction of rape and impalement.[28] It is interesting to note though that, at the time of the film's release, sexual abuse and systematic rape was just beginning to be taken into consideration as a distinct form of mass crime in the context of the post-war Paris Peace Conference.[29]

Instrumentalized, reified, terrified by a cathartic filming process that left her scarred both physically (she was made to carry on filming despite having broken her ankle in an on-set accident) and psychologically (in particular through the damaging effect of the hyperreality of certain traumatizing reconstructions) (Avagyan, 2012), Aurora withdrew permanently from the public scene and exchanged her involuntary stardom for a long period of silence. This was probably a way of "working on" her (second?) survival[30] as others work on their wellbeing. She married in 1929 and gave birth to a son named after her husband, Martin. She died, alone, in a Los Angeles hospital on February 6, 1994 – the year of the discovery of *Ravished Armenia*'s remaining images in Yerevan. Her unclaimed body was cremated. According to Californian law, her ashes were buried four years later in an unmarked grave. On December 17, 1988, she had ended one of her (very rare) interviews given to the cinema historian Anthony Slide with the words "I hope (…) you will be the one who will bring out the real truth of my life" (Slide, 1997: 18).

The Grain of Sand that Explains the Desert

What remains after deliverance? By bringing it so close, the film killed the Aur(or)a,[31] to cite the Benjaminian idea that mechanical reproduction destroys the authenticity of what it transmits, owing to "the desire of contemporary masses to bring things 'closer' spatially and humanly, which is just as ardent as their bent toward overcoming the uniqueness

of every reality by accepting its reproduction" (Benjamin, 1973/1939: 217). It matters little, philosopher Marc Nichanian would say, as the witness was already dead. For is the very essence of any genocidal process not the death of the witness through annihilation? A witness who speaks is never a witness in the full sense,[32] as s/he can in reality speak only of the impossibilty of bearing witness (Agamben, 1999) and of the impossibility of speaking about the Catastrophe as a *fact*.[33]

To her personal cost, Aurora, by "represent[ing her]self to the public before the camera" (Benjamin, 1973/1939: 222), became an infinitely reproducible accessory: "she was actually to copy a copy of herself, giving birth to an extraordinary icon" (Avagyan, 2012). Benjamin would refer to this very process: "for the first time – and this is the effect of the film – man has to operate with his whole living person, yet forgoing its aura," the latter being impossible to reproduce (Benjamin, 1973/1939: 223).[34] Through her image, and also through the bodies of other women (the seven look-alikes) brought on to take her place, Aurora became multiple, a commercial product. It was this extreme, abusive *ordeal*, involving a brutal translation of her memory and testimony, that the Canadian filmmaker of Armenian origin Atom Egoyan and the Turkish video artist Kutlug Ataman brought into focus when they were inspired by her story to collaborate in the joint creation of the video installation entitled *Auroras/Testimony*, shown in 2007 in Toronto and then Istanbul. The first piece stages seven Auroras, actresses appearing on seven screens arranged in a circle around the audience, reciting seven extracts from Aurora Mardiganian's memoirs. Their monologues alternatively follow on from or overlap one another, complementing or competing with each other. A second piece consisted of the projection of an interview conducted by Ataman with a centenarian lady who had been the nursemaid both to him and to his father and who, as he would only discover much later, was a survivor of the genocide of 1915. Confronted with the photographs and questions relating to her past presented to her by the artist, she can remember nothing; her memory has gone (Avagyan, 2012).

Yet despite all this, Aurora did address her story to a worlwide audience, this "absent-minded (…) examiner" who nevertheless remains the receiver who guarantees the "testimonial pact of reception"[35] without which the testimony cannot be delivered. The specific historical period in question, quite apart from the issue of reproductibility, is far from incidental in this respect: the context of the (more or less favorable) reception of her testimony and its temporal aspects are important in a number of different ways.

First of all, it is important to emphasize that the national context within which Aurora's testimony was given, that of the United States, was initially receptive to the denunciation of the policy of extermination carried out by the Ottoman Empire against its Armenian minority. Although the United States refused to sign the joint allied declaration of 24 May 1915 by France, Great Britain and Russia which solemnly condemned the "new crimes of Turkey against humanity and civilisation,"[36] this event nonetheless made the front page of that day's *New York Times* under the headline "Allies to Punish Turks Who Murder."[37] The media had got hold of the genocide, which was immediately brought into the American public sphere, greatly assisting the subsequent reception of testimony – the *New York Times* alone would publish 145 articles on the subject in the course of 1915 (Power, 2003: 5). In late 1918, the filming of *Ravished Armenia*, soon after the publication of Aurora's memoirs in New York, coincided with a presidential proclamation (on November 29, 1918) which asked American citizens to contribute to a 30-million-dollar fund to support homeless Armenian refugees. However, as Shushan Avagyan has pointed out, it is also important to recognize that the "domesticated" translation of this testimony, whether in textual form or on screen, along with its wide dissemination, bears the mark of the American evangelical movement and of a genre inherited from the Christian anti-slavery crusade.[38] It "was not unusual for Hollywood in its formative years to produce films on 'distant places and eras (…) as part of a broader attempt to elevate the cultural legitimacy of the motion picture industry'" (Frieze, 2014: 42).[39] Finally, Benedetta Guerzoni shows how Aurora Mardiganian's case illustrates more generally the ideological representation of Armenian women in the international media, in particular in the United States, immediately after the end of the Great War as part of the war mood, following Orientalist stereotypes (Guerzoni, in this volume, Chapter 3).

Added to this, Aurora's story was being told at the same time as, on the other side of the world, the victors were writing the official history. The first screening of *Ravished Armenia* took place in America on January 15, 1919, three days before the start of the Paris Peace Conference, which would lead to the drawing up of the Treaty of Sèvres in 1920, where the terms of peace between Turkey and the Allies would be decided. This treaty envisaged the setting-up of an international court to judge those responsible for the "massacres" of the Armenians. This would have been a first for international law, but the plan never came to fruition.[40] Yet, what it had set in motion was truly groundbreaking: the work done at this time laid the foundations for what would become, a quarter of a

century later, the new law relating to crimes against humanity by which the Nazi war criminals would be judged at Nuremberg. The intervening period, however, would see the rapid removal of the Armenian question from the international spotlight from the early 1920s onwards, coinciding both with the mysterious disappearance of the film and, let us not forget, the beginning of the Turkish government's policy of denial (Garibian, 2009: 95).

Lastly, *Ravished Armenia* was shot and then screened at the very same time that two parallel processes were under way in Turkey. On the one hand were the appeals that were published in Armenian newspapers asking for any documents, evidence and eyewitness testimony that could be used to help reconstruct "our History," following the surrender of the Ottoman Empire in 1918.[41] On the other was the destruction in parallel of a large part of the archives of the *Ittihad ve Tiraki* (Union and Progress) party, the liberal nationalist Young-Turk movement that had perpetrated the genocide, just as preparations were being made for the Constantinople trials of 1919–1920[42] – a prelude to the policy of systematic denial that was put in place by Kemalist Turkey in 1920 and to which subsequent governments have adhered to this day with unflinching loyalty.

From this point onwards, "testimony (*vgayoutioun*) was destined to become evidence (*pasd*)" (Beledian, 2009: 111).[43] Aurora's testimony, like that of so many others, obeys the imperative that marks the inevitable transition from living memory to archived memory decried with such feeling by Nichanian:[44] "for the last 90 years, by proving, by making testimony work as evidence, I have been obeying the will of the perpetrator. He holds me in his grasp" (Nichanian, 2006: 211–212).[45] This is the catastrophe of the survivor, who becomes "living proof of his own death" and for whom "testimony is shame."[46]

In this context, Aurora does offer, in spite of everything, another voice. A voice which would allow us to "brush history against the grain" (Benjamin: 1973/1940: 248), to apprehend it from the point of view of the vanquished, to escape, if only in the smallest measure, from the historical powerlessness of which Nichanian speaks (Nichanian, 2003). The young woman's narrative represents a history fragment constructed by the oppressed (Benjamin, 1973/1940: 248), picked up in this case by the cinema, a medium that presupposes the absolute necessity of reproducibility: "Mechanical reproduction is inherent in the very technique of film production. This technique not only permits in the most direct way but virtually causes mass distribution" (Benjamin, 1973/1939: 237). This becomes all the more interesting when one considers that, for

Benjamin, the cinema is useful for history as a tool of transformation. Indeed, it is precisely with reproductibility, and the corresponding loss of aura, that the work of art acquires a *political function*, an exhibition-value: "the instant the criterion of authenticity ceases to be applicable to artistic production, the total function of art is reversed. Instead of being based on ritual, it begins to be based on another practice – politics" (Benjamin, 1973/1939: 218).[47]

The cinema and the film-ordeal *Ravished Armenia* might be of use to history insofar as they are tools of awakening in the struggle against passivity. By widening the world of the visible, they provide a "deepening of apperception," that is to say of perception accompanied by reflection and awareness:[48] "The camera introduces us to unconscious optics as does psychoanalysis to unconscious impulses" (Benjamin, 1973/1939: 230). Indeed, according to the Benjaminian ideal, there would no longer be any need to tell, merely to *show*, for the image is absolutely central to his concept of history: "The true picture of the past flits by. The past can be seized only as an image which flashes up at the instant when it can be recognized and is never seen again" (Benjamin, 1973/1940: 247).

An angel whose wings were caught in the storm, Aurora, like the famous *Angelus Novus* by Paul Klee, also referred to by Benjamin, was the definitive embodiment of the link between progress and catastrophe.[49] Her story allows us to understand the profound intertwining of modernity with barbarism that lay at the heart of Benjamin's thought.[50] A body of thought which can not only, perhaps, go some way to saving the witness, but also help us to break free from *acedia*, that "indolence of the heart" which "despairs of grasping and holding the genuine historical image as it flares up briefly" (Benjamin, 1973/1940: 248).

Notes

1. I wish to express my warm thanks to Eduardo Kozanlian for the interview he kindly agreed to give me, as well as for the trust and great generosity he has shown me. My thanks also go to Hayk Demoyan (Director of the Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute in Yerevan) for the on-going discussions shared with him. I am grateful to Vincent Fontana for his careful re-reading of my text, and to Jonathan Hensher for his translation of this paper initially written in French.
2. The academic literature on this topic is very rich. See for example, recently: Rollet (2011); Becker & Debary (2012); Alloa & Kristensen (2014).
3. Michael Löwy argues that, in this sense, "Benjamin has no philosophical system: his thinking only ever takes the form of the essay or the fragment – when, that is, it does not consist simply of quotations, passages torn out of their original context to be pressed into service within his own practice"

(*il n'y a pas, chez Benjamin, de système philosophique: toute sa réflexion prend la forme de l'essai ou du fragment – quand ce n'est pas de la citation pure et simple, les passages arrachés à leur contexte étant mis au service de sa démarche propre*). (Lowy, 2003–4: 199)

4. These expressions are borrowed from Vanessa Ruth Schwartz (2001).
5. The film was shown principally in the United States, Great Britain, and France, but also in Latin America, in Cuba and Mexico, as well as Argentina (the first screening in Buenos Aires took place at the Callao Cinema, September 1, 1920).
6. In 1947, a number of Armenians from the diaspora of genocide survivors were repatriated to Soviet Armenia following an appeal made by Stalin immediately after the defeat of Nazi Germany. In total, more than 5,000 French Armenians set off for this homeland (see Arnoux, 2004).
7. The events described in the paragraphs above were related to us by Eduardo Kozanlian during an interview conducted in Buenos Aires on November 8, 2010. They have also featured in several press articles in Argentina which reproduce his account: Sanchez (1996: 10–11); Kozanlian (1999: 7); *Armenia* (2009); *Sardarabad* (2009).
8. He worked as a projectionist for the Armenian Hayfilm studios and is said to have made a number of documentary films: see the tribute written by Eduardo Kozanlian published following Yervant Setian's death entitled 'Los ojos de *Cine Seto*' (Cine Seto's eyes), in the newspaper *Armenia*, October 14, 1998, p. 5.
9. See http://www.genocide-museum.am. It is important to note that the 20-minute film on show at the museum alongside a selection of documentation relating to the film, press cuttings, and personal documents belonging to Eduardo Kozanlian, is a montage produced by Setian in Armenia and entitled *Der Zor* (in which he added archive footage from the First World War, seen in the opening minutes of the extract). The fate of the original film and its trajectory remain a mystery and are subject to various interpretations. For a synthesis, see Matiossian (2014).
10. For developments, see Frieze (2014: 38–53).
11. The Selig collection in the Margaret Herrick Library of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences includes some documentary material relating to the filming, script, and subtitles. The archives of the Near East Foundation (see below) were almost entirely destroyed by fire in 1964.
12. Janine Altounian uses these words (*la bouteille à la mer*) to describe the deportation diary kept by her father, Vahram Altounian, which retraces the ordeal of the Armenian Catastrophe (Altounian, 2009: 114).
13. *Archaluys*, in Armenian, means *aurora* (in the sense of dawn).
14. These biographical details, as well as the information regarding the making of the film and the publicity campaign, are taken from the only book devoted solely to *Ravished Armenia*, written by the British cinema historian Anthony Slide (a silent cinema specialist, author of, notably, *The Silent Feminists: America's First Women Directors* published in 1996), who was fortunate enough to meet Aurora Mardiganian and her son. The book contains an introduction written by the author, followed by the text of Aurora's memoirs, along with photographs and documentary material. See Slide (1997).
15. As secretary of the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief, Nora Waln took care of Aurora when she first arrived in the United States.

16. Harvey Gates had been working in the American cinema industry since 1912 as a scriptwriter. His last script was for *Flashing Guns* in 1947.
17. In 1896, Selig set up one of the first cinema production companies, the Selig Polyscope Company, in Chicago. *Ravished Armenia* would be its last production.
18. See notably *Near-East relief activities regarding the Armenian refugees* (1981/1922). See also Rodogno (2014).
19. For details of the numerous strongly-worded memoranda sent by Morgenthau to President Wilson, and his description at the time of these mass killings as "race murder," see Power (2003: 5). See also Adalian (2004: 425–435).
20. By way of comparison, two Hollywood stars of the time, Helene Chadwick and Mary Pickford, were earning 2,000 and 10,000 dollars per week respectively. The average wage of a manual worker was between 15 and 20 dollars per week.
21. In the 20-minute extract currently available, Aurora appears at 05:54 minutes.
22. Slide (1997: 12), where the author lists all the initial society screenings of the film.
23. "I hope that five million people may see this picture and that every one of those five million people may go away stirred by this tremendous tragedy. They must see it as a thing of magnitude. We have a chance here to make a picture that will be epoch-making. We want to have in it an appeal to the mass, as well as to presidents and kings" (statement by Harvey Gates, reproduced in Slide, 1997: 10).
24. These phrases, collected in Anthony Slide's book, are all taken from trailers shown before screenings.
25. See in particular the famous accounts given by Morgenthau (2010/1918) and Bryce (2005/1916).
26. An American actor and director, Apfel is famous for having co-directed *The Squaw Man*, the first feature film shot in Hollywood, with Cecil B. DeMille in 1914.
27. The remarks made by the judge in Philadelphia who overturned the decision to censor the film by the Pennsylvania Censorship Board are most interesting in this context, as they emphasize the educational nature of the images in question: "There is nothing in the scenes which makes them sacrilegious, obscene, indecent or immoral, or of such nature as to tend to debase or corrupt morals. Viewing the picture as a whole, the court finds as a fact that it is *educational in character*" (reproduced in Slide (1997: 11); emphasis added).
28. Slide reproduces her account: "The Turks didn't make their crosses like that. The Turks made little pointed crosses. They took the clothes off the girls. They made them bend down. And after raping them, they made them sit on the pointed wood, through the vagina. That's the way they killed – the Turks" (Slide, 1997: 6).
29. "Abuses against the honour of women" featured on the list of acts constituting crimes against the laws of humanity drawn up in the report of March 5, 1919, as part of the Paris Peace Conference (see Garibian, 2009: 88 and 2010: 90). Today, the Statute of the International Criminal Court expressly includes sexual crimes within its definition of a crime against humanity (article 7 of the Statute of 1998).
30. "[T]ravailler à sa survie" (Beledian, 2009: 108).
31. On Benjamin's concept of *aura*, see Benjamin (1973/1939: 214).

32. "We know that there is no such thing as complete testimony, and that no account can fully convey the 'demolition of a man,' to use Primo Levi's famous expression" (*Nous savons qu'il n'y a pas de témoignage intégral, et qu'aucun récit ne peut totalement rendre compte de la "démolition d'un homme", selon l'expression célèbre de Primo Lévi*) (Waintrater, 2009: 160-161).
33. Marc Nichanian writes that genocide is not a fact, but rather the destruction (or retention) of fact; and the destruction of the fact is the death of the witness. (See in particular Nichanian, 2006).
34. Here Benjamin refers to Luigi Pirandello, who spoke of the actor being "in exile" and of how "his body loses its corporeality, it evaporates, it is deprived of reality, life, voice, and the noises caused by his moving about, in order to be changed into a mute image, flickering an instant on the screen, then vanishing into silence" (Benjamin, 1973/1939: 222–223).
35. "[P]acte testimonial de réception" (Waintrater, 2009: 154).
36. For a discussion of this declaration, which marked the first official appearance of the concept of crime against humanity in the context of international law, and an examination of the American attitude towards this issue, see Garibian (2009: 82 and 2010).
37. *New York Times*, May 24, 1915, p.1.
38. See the analysis of this point in Avagyan (2012).
39. Quoting Bregent-Heald (2010: 146). See also Frieze (2014: 44) on the emphasis on the sexual violence on women in the film, as well as Torchin (2006: 214–220), Mclagan (2006: 191–195) and Guerzoni's contribution in this volume (Chapter 3).
40. For an examination of this question and an analysis of the American position during the debates regarding the Armenian question at the Paris Peace Conference, see Garibian (2009: 87 and 2010).
41. "The Armenian martyrdom must be proved" (*Il faut prouver le martyre arménien*) was the headline in one Constantinople-based Armenian newspaper on November 22, 1918 (this request, sent out by the Relief Committee for Deportees, was addressed directly to survivors and included a detailed questionnaire which laid out the template for the majority of testimony from this period). Krikor Beledian has pointed out that "at the end of the request one encounters a short phrase slipped into the text without any further explanation: 'Replies must be written in an incisive (*gdroug*) manner and without unnecessary ornamentation (*ansetheveth*)'" (*à la fin de l'appel, on peut lire une petite phrase glissée dans le texte sans aucune explication: "Les réponses doivent être écrites d'une manière incisive* (gdroug) *et sans fioritures* (ansetheveth)") (Beledian, 2009: 111).
42. For a discussion of these trials, see Dadrian (1995) and Kevorkian (2003: 166–205) (in this article the author shows the extent to which these trials, although undeniably important from a historical point of view, essentially sought to "avoid either bringing the mass murders too overtly into the public arena or making any reference to the victim group by name, and to carry out all debate on ground that had been thoroughly prepared by the perpetrators in order to justify their acts" (*d'éviter à la fois de mettre trop directement sur la place publique les meurtres de masse, de mentionner nommément le groupe victime et de placer les débats sur un terrain préalablement préparé par les bourreaux pour justifier leurs actes*). See also Dadrian & Akcam (2011).

43. "*[L]e témoignage* (vgayoutioun) *est destiné à devenir une preuve* (pasd)." In parallel, on the use of photographies of the genocide immediatly after the 1918 armistice, see Kévonian (2005: 129).
44. Nichanian talks of the "absolutely catastrophic effects" (*effets proprement catastrophiques*) of this transformation, effects which are discussed and analysed in the pages he devotes to Zabel Essayan, who in February 1917 published the first eye-witness account of the Armenian genocide (Nichanian, 2006: 215–274).
45. "*[D]epuis 90 ans, en prouvant, en faisant fonctionner le témoignage comme preuve, je réponds à l'injonction du bourreau. Il me tient.*"
46. "*[P]reuve vivante de sa propre mort; le témoignage, c'est la honte*". See the wonderful article by Nichanian (2003: 103–122).
47. On the shift from cultural value to exhibition value, see Benjamin (1973/1939: 219). Moreover, let us recall that the immediate media coverage of the Armenian genocide has been, in general, a paradigmatic example of the public use of history (Guerzoni, 2013).
48. "The film has enriched our field of perception with methods which can be illustrated by those of Freudian theory. (…) Since the *Psychopathology of Everyday Life* things have changed. This book isolated and made analyzable things which had heretofore floated along unnoticed in the broad stream of perception. For the entire spectrum of optical, and now also acoustical, perception the film has brought about a similar deepening of apperception" (Benjamin, 1973/1939: 228–229).
49. "A Klee painting named 'Angelus Novus' shows an angel looking as though he is about move away from something he is fixedly contemplating. His eyes are staring, his mouth is open, his wings are spread. This is how one pictures the angel of history. His face is turned towards the past. Where *we perceive a chain of events*, he sees one single catastrophe which keeps piling wreckage upon wreckage and hurls it in front of his feet. The angel would like to stay, awaken the dead, and make whole what has been smashed. But a storm is blowing from Paradise; it has got caught in his wings with such violence that the angel can no longer close them. The storm irresistibly propels him into the future to which his back is turned, while the pile of debris before him grows skyward. This storm is what we call progress". (Benjamin, 1973/1940: 249).
50. Benjamin's grave is inscribed with the following epitaph, taken from "Theses on the philosophy of history" (1973/1940: 248): "There is no document of civilization which is not at the same time a document of barbarism."

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3

A Christian Harem: *Ravished Armenia* and the Representation of the Armenian Woman in the International Press

Benedetta Guerzoni

Introduction

As is now well known, the Armenian genocide was largely denounced to the Western public through the media, from different points of view and for different reasons – war propaganda, diplomatic and pacifist actions – but in any case it was widely known (Kloian, 2000).[1] In this context, the representation of the genocide followed the communication lines already in use in this period of modern warfare: the victims of enemy atrocities; orphans and children as undefended subjects; women as powerful religious symbols, associated with the Christian Virgin Mary and Mother; and, at the same time, women as object of the most depraved projections of sexual violence: a symptomatic dichotomy of the typical polarization in the atmosphere of war.

This representation was based on the terrible reality of deportees and refugees, mostly consisting of women, old people and children, because of the usual, rapid massacre of the men of the villages before deportation was begun. (Kévorkian, 1998):

> During this darkest period of Armenian history, Armenian women were victimized by a prolonged agony. … they had to take charge of the remnants of the family and face particularly tragic choices … decisions to live or die, none of which offered true salvation, yet all of which demanded heavy compromises or extraordinary courage. (Peroomian, 2011: 7)][2]

But the distance between the tragic reality of genocide and the media representation of it as an exotic drama, during and after its happening,

is still an interesting example of the extent to which the media are the mirror of the public which they address in a particular time and space, and how much they participate in the construction of reality. The media coverage of the Armenian genocide is an example of the public use of history (Guerzoni, 2013: 7–16).

This analysis of the representation of the genocide in a selection of the Western media underlines the role of women as fundamental symbols in understanding the feelings, fears and beliefs of men and women looking at a distant event, which appears familiar to many as a result of its religious dimension. As stated by Rubina Peroomian:

> [gender analysis] has yet to find acceptance and recognition of its importance among genocide scholars, such that they come to understand that one need not be a feminist or a woman scholar to focus on the experiences of women victims in genocidal situations. (Peroomian, 2011: 14)][3]

As has been remarked:

> The story of those who didn't die, the story of young women who survived and stayed behind has never been told. Men write down history. So it is for genocide: there is no room for women. They were impure, tainted, and despised. Yet they were the ones who suffered most, they were the ones who paid a terrible price ... They had to regenerate life. (Khardalian, 2011)

And: "Sexual violence during the Armenian genocide was probably primarily a gender-specific way of degrading and killing" (Bjørnlund, 2009: 29).

If it is true that the representation of women is always functional in propaganda against the enemy, more generally it responds to the public need to find safe references in a time of war, chaos, death and poverty. In the United States, for example, the representation of violence against women was often a manifestation of the fears of white society:

> White society, both North and South, constructed the idea of the savage rapist in books, magazines, and the popular press beginning of the 1880s and the idea gained force in the early decades of the twentieth century. The myth of the savage rapist actually reflected cultural concerns over the changing nature of society and the desire of some groups to maintain white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant dominance of the United States. (Shrock, 1997: 71)

Western racism about savage foreigners from the Middle East, Southern Europe and black people shows up in numerous media discourses in those years, often presented as a direct connection between sexualized costumes and fear of immigrants.

Even in an era of women's more central role in the labor market due to a lack of men therein, and acceptance into civil society with the right to vote in many countries,[4] their representation was more often based on the traditional role of women as submissive, fragile objects and victims.[5] During the First World War, the renewed frontline male idealization of women as home angels was a reaction to fears of losing everything that had been left at home, even when the reality at home had changed radically, albeit merely in passing (Thébaud, 2011: 25–90). This male crisis was also the result of extreme violence experienced in the trenches, where men had to endure a static war that undermined the grounds of virility, pushing them to search for old and reassuring symbols. The intensive use of propaganda generated a paradoxical mixture of old, mythical images and technological violence, with the idealization of the friend and the demonization of the enemy, guilty of the most horrible sexual acts (Fussell, 2014).

The intention of this article is to illustrate the ways in which Armenian women were represented in the international media immediately after the end of the First World War, in the period 1918–20, when memories were still fresh, but humanitarian associations were operating effectively, and many refugees began to arrive in Western countries, in particular in the United States. The representation of Armenian women in the Western media is an example of the more general representation of women during the World War and immediately afterwards, in a war mood that did not end with the war itself (Mosse, 1990). The historical moment is crucial: the Russian revolution, postwar international reorganization, new social and civil demands regarding the role of women in Western public life were key characteristics of the global scenario. One legacy of the violence of war was a habituation towards, and an undervaluation of, violence itself, including that perpetrated against civilians, and so there was a trend toward increasingly harder tones in the media.

We will see how much the Armenian question was a coherent part of the war mood and representation, and so functional to it (Bloxham, 2005) in terms of iconography, ideology in the use of the enemy's atrocities and of the role of humanitarian associations. Furthermore, the years under consideration are when international decisions about postwar Armenia were being taken and, particularly in the United States, there was considerable concern about the mandate question.

But, before that, it is important to understand what the image of the Armenian victims already present in the Western unconscious was, after decades of violence against the Armenian community in the Ottoman Empire.

The Creation of an Iconography of the Armenian Victims in the Western Press

During the World War, the ferocity and mood of total mobilization created in civilians an acceptance of violence, even in its more radical forms against non-belligerent subjects such as women and children (Audoin-Rouzeau & Becker, 2002: 59). Indeed, this point of view was very much present in European culture of the 19th century:

> If in the Twenties of the Nineteenth century many rape evocative images were accessible to the large public, they were mere allusions if compared to the enormous quantity of morbid details circulating during the Eastern Crisis of 1875–1878. (Rodogno, 2012: 205)

Furthermore, this kind of representation had been present in the wider European idea of Ottoman culture, and in European racism towards "inferior" civilizations, for many years:

> Turkey incarnated barbarity … From the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Europeans viewed the character, manners and social habits of the Ottomans and of their sultans as evidence of the moral decline of the empire … of its barbarity. …The contrast … seemed to be most marked in sexual matters. Some Europeans were convinced that most Muslim men were pederasts and sodomites. The Turks were held to be devotees of impalement, one of the few forms of cruel punishment not practiced in the west. …
>
> In those societies … women were viewed as corrupted beings, and love was pure sensuality without any friendship or esteem. … Europeans alternatively viewed ottoman women as slaves, which proved that the Ottoman Empire was uncivilized … Furthermore, Europeans commonly believed that abortion was regularly performed on women. Abortion and sodomy were key factors in European observers' explanation for the decline in the Muslim population of the Ottoman Empire… (Rodogno, 2012: 41)

Therefore, European racism condemned any social rule in the fields of sexuality and gender relations in the Ottoman Empire. As a

consequence, Christian women had to be protected from the practices as outlined above, calling upon the fundamental rights of humanity. Canon MacColl, an English activist:

> particularly insisted on the "insecurity of honor" as being a very serious violation of the rights of humanity … In an article published in *The Times* on September 8, 1876, Edward A. Freeman wrote that the Turk was "capable of worse things than even African or the red Indian … a good many millions are cowed and kept (in) bondage […] not to soldiers, or even to citizens, but to women and children. The Turkish rule is to regard the wife and the daughter as hostages for the obedience of the husband and the father"… the dishonoring of chastity, the debauching of the conjugal union, and prostitution figured quite prominently and undoubtedly touched the most sensitive Victorian nerves. (Rodogno, 2012: 157–8)

With this kind of representation, and with the movie *Ravished Armenia,* as we will see, the high point of Armenia as a victim community is reached: a country symbolized by a woman, whose – not only sexual – submission strengthens this basic idea. But the same notion had been present in previous Western representations of the Armenian victims, such as during the Hamidian massacres: the Armenian woman is always present in the European illustrated press as the leading – or only – victim. She is associated with other symbols, above all religious ones, to which she is devoted and which she has to guard. The Turks, with their moral baseness, attack, violate and kill undefended and weaker subjects. Women are the "natural" subjects for religious martyrdom,[6] immolated while protecting their honor and their children.

As we can see from the Western illustrated press accounts of the Hamidian massacres, precise iconographic models were born during that time. The many supporters of the Armenian cause in Europe founded associations and magazines to denounce the violence perpetrated in the Ottoman Empire. These associations were seen as sources of political consensus by Western governments, and consequently endorsed. It is important to understand what the cultural, political and historical context was, and the role of Western public opinion on the Eastern Question. The associations' magazines were widely distributed, and contributed to the popularization of the Armenian question. As a consequence, the commercial press also began publishing illustrations along the same lines: a confirmation that a large public was interested in knowing more about the Eastern Question and the Christian subjects

of the Ottoman Empire. Illustrated magazines were very popular in the second half of the 19th century, and had a relatively large circulation. European public opinion about those faraway areas was shaped by this kind of media, particularly in Great Britain and France, where Armenian communities and political refugees were well integrated into local intellectual circles.[7]

Examples of Armenian Victim Iconography in the International Press

A quick analysis of some of the numerous examples of images of Armenian victims gives a confirmation of the idea of the creation of an iconographic model: in a French card of the last decade of the 19th century,[8] men with turban and dagger are killers, while women are victims: one of these is trying to protect a book, as perhaps a religious symbol, while the others seem to ask for mercy. The scene is a "typical marketplace," with baskets of fruit. The caption, "Armenia massacres: slaughtered Armenians in Ak-Hissar,"[9] speaks of slaughtered women; the text underlines the sacrificial aspect and the brutality of the weapons. This image evokes the mercilessness of the Turk, who kills innocent and Christian women, heroines of martyrdom protecting religious symbols. So the attack is much more cruel and despicable, as are the brutal weapons that make physical contact. The illustrated marketplace actually was a place where slaughters took place.

Figure 3.1, published in the French journal *Le Petit Parisien* on 17 November 1895, shows a woman trying to protect her child from Turkish violence, as depicted in the Christian tradition of the Mother. The scene is full of violence of different kinds: corpses on the ground, a fire, the violence against the old man on the right, and the fight on the balcony. In the background the crowd running towards the village, the mountains and the palms: everything corresponds to witnesses' stories.[10]

Again, during the massacres of 1909, the Italian *La Domenica del Corriere* published on its cover the illustration of old people, women and children during the fire in the Catholic church of Adana, where the Armenian population had found refuge (Figure 3.2).

In the same period of May 1909, the French *L'Illustration* published the photographs of Armenians in the church, with captions saying "In Alexandrette: Armenian refugees in the parish church," and "Armenian refugees in the French mission chapel of Alexandrette," underlining the traditional French role of protection of Catholic communities in the Middle East. Armenians are depicted as new innocent Christian

Figure 3.1 An illustration from the French *Le Petit Parisien* of November 17, 1895

martyrs, a perfect subject for the European diplomatic interest of intervention in the Empire.[11] We can see this logic in the caption "Massacre of Christians in Turkey," in the French *Le Petit Journal* cover (Figure 3.3), where a woman, a child and an old man are presented as victims in the foreground.

Illustrations repeat the same iconographic model again and again, creating a form of "manifesto," a visual slogan about the transmitted message: denunciation is not enough, intervention is necessary.[12] These images, constantly representing Armenians as victims, allow the West to justify involvement in the life of the Empire, thus creating more and more antagonism against the Ottoman Armenian community. This attitude contributed to a victimization process that translated images

Figure 3.2 An illustration of the Adana massacres of 1909 from the cover of the Italian weekly magazine *La Domenica del Corriere*, May 16–23, 1909. The caption says: "The massacres in the Asian side of Turkey: Thousands of Armenians were burnt alive in a Catholic church in Adana"

into iconographic stereotypes: the men are absent from this kind of illustration, and the Armenian community is represented as unable to talk about itself as an autonomous political subject. Ironically, the same kind of stereotype was created in these same years, constructing an image of Armenian men as terrorists, in the Western press manipulated by the Sultan (Bérard, 1897 in Jeanneny, 1996: 105).

Starting from this brief analysis we can see that, at the time of genocide, the image of the Armenian victim is already well defined. It will last until the end of the Armenian Question: the Armenians, an undefended

Figure 3.3 Another illustration of the Adana massacres of 1909 from the cover page of the French magazine *Le Petit Journal*, May 2, 1909. The caption says "Massacre of Christians in Turkey"

and weak people, under the domination of Turkish violence, are not able to defend themselves and, as they cannot defend their women, these last are left to the merciless barbarity of the infidel.

Ravished Armenia and the First World War Legacy in the Representation of Women[13]

The post-1918 period was a time of cessation of censorship and of subsequent increase in the sensationalization of the dramatic consequences

of the war. One of the most interesting examples of news turned into spectacle is the movie *Ravished Armenia*, shot in Hollywood in 1918, with the support of the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief (ACASR, later Near East Relief). The humanitarian association was not directly involved:

> Film rights to *Ravished Armenia* were acquired by Col. William N. Selig, a pioneering producer... *Ravished Armenia* was Selig's last production. The film was promoted as "Produced for the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief." But, as far as can be ascertained, the rights were controlled by Selig, who paid a percentage of the profits to the committee. Certainly, when Selig signed a distribution agreement on March 22, 1919, with First National Exhibitors Circuit, Inc., for *Ravished Armenia*, he declared that the producer "owns, controls, and has the sole and exclusive rights to manufacture, exhibit, exploit, and display and authorize and license others to do so throughout the world." (Slide, 2014: 7–8)

But obviously the film was made to promote the Armenian cause and to raise funds for humanitarian activities, so the name of the association was constantly promoted in every commercial and promotional operation of the movie.[14] The story was taken from the book of the same name, which told the true tragedy of a young Armenian girl, Aurora Mardiganian, a refugee of the genocide, who arrived in the United States through the ACASR in November 1917. (*Ravished Armenia*, 1918[15]) When she arrived in America, the 16-year-old girl began searching for her brother through the press; in this way, her story came to the attention of the screenwriter Harvey Gates. Mr. and Mrs. Gates told her:

> You don't need to work, we're going to take care of everything, for you, for your nation, for your people." Mardiganian was currently in the charge of Nora Waln, publicity secretary of the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief (later Near East Relief). Harvey and Eleanor Gates became her legal guardians, translating her … name … . Setting up headquarters at New York's Latham Hotel, Harvey and Eleanor Gates had the non-English-speaking Mardiganian recount her story to them, with the family with whom she was staying acting as interpreter. *Ravished Armenia* was completed, and Harvey Gates and Near East Relief sent Aurora Mardiganian off to Connecticut for three weeks, so that she might learn some rudimentary English.

> On her return, Mardiganian was asked to sign some papers. Mrs. Gates told her that these would permit her to come to Los Angeles, where she should have her picture taken. … She was to receive 15 dollars a week to star in a film version of *Ravished Armenia*. … "They said 15 dollars was a lot of money. I was naive. I didn't know nothing." (Slide, 2014: 7)

The book was published in 1918, after previous publication of extracts in the Hearst group of magazines;[16] Aurora played the role of herself in the movie, living again what she would had preferred to forget forever:

> For the teenager, with little knowledge of English and no understanding of the filmmaking process, the production was a horrifying experience: "… The first time I came out of my dressing room, I saw all the people with the red fezzes and tassels. I got a shock. I thought, they fooled me. I thought they were going to give me to these Turks to finish my life. So I cry very bitterly." (Slide, 2014: 9)

The movie production imposed on her the obligation to participate in every movie presentation, when her name and presence were exploited to promote the story without any scruple and in order to sensationalize the event:

> Despite the high moral tone surrounding the production – that its purpose was to document Turkish atrocities and raise public awareness of the need for funds for Armenian refugees – it is obvious that *Ravished Armenia* was really nothing more than a carefully orchestrated commercial production. Its making coincided with the November 29, 1918, presidential proclamation, urging Americans to come to the assistance of the stricken Armenians by contributing to a fund of 30 million dollars to rehabilitate the homeless Armenia. (Slide, 2014: 9)

The premiere of the movie was in Los Angeles on January 15, 1919, after a party where Aurora was introduced to the American public. The promotion of the movie also saw the production of a popular song, *Armenian Maid*, whose title was also used for future advertisements and appeals. On the cover of the record it is possible to note many interesting details: a beautiful girl dressed like an odalisque on the foreground, while in the background a landscape of palms, sand and sea with a little village and a dancing group of other "odalisques." Furthermore,

under the title *Armenian Maid* may be read "Oriental Song and Fox trot." On a less entertaining tone, another document bearing the same title underlines the destiny of the Armenian girl, "taken by the Turks … Now appearing in the great photo play of her people's tragedy."

Another picture relates to the New York premiere on 16 February: as told by the caption, we can see Aurora with Mrs. Oliver Harrison in New York, at the Plaza Hotel for the *Ravished Armenia* showing: the picture confirms the testimonial role of Aurora on these occasions.[17] The caption mentions the role of the ACASR and describes the film as an "official" one of the association. The following spring the movie was released in every state of the country; Aurora continued her "promotional" role until May, 1920:

> …it became very obvious that not only was the girl having difficulty meeting the social responsibilities forced upon her by public appearances, but also that there were too many presentations for one individual to handle. … Mrs. Gates sent the girl off to a convent school, and hired seven Aurora Mardiganian look-alikes to appear with the film in the future. (Slide, 2014: 16)

The movie presentations were given intense coverage in the media and were widely advertised. The press of the time helped in following the evolution of the images used for this purpose: at the beginning, for the official presentation, the *Ravished Armenia* title was used in a poster (Figure 3.4) where the white girl taken by the bloody Turk is the symbol of the raped and hurt Armenia, but without explicit sexual references in slogans or images. The author of the poster's image is Dan Stone, as we can read on the left, "After E. Fremiet": Emmanuel Fremiet was a French sculptor of the 19th century, a contemporary of Auguste Rodin, who specialized in the representation of animals. Actually, the reference in the poster is to a sculpture of an ape kidnapping a woman (Taylor & Krikorian, 2010), another example of how much the "bloody Turk" was represented as a beast. We will see how much this representation chimed with the general cultural attitude at the time.

From spring onwards, when the film distribution began, the title was changed to *Auction of Souls*, with posters and advertisements in the American press illustrating women victims, with the slogan "unimaginable experiences during two years of slavery in the hands of the Kurds and in the Harems of the Turkish Pasha," and a picture of a woman being dragged by a skittish horse, with the text "AUCTION OF SOULS Depicting the TRAIL of the TERRIBLE TURK in RAVISHED ARMENIA …

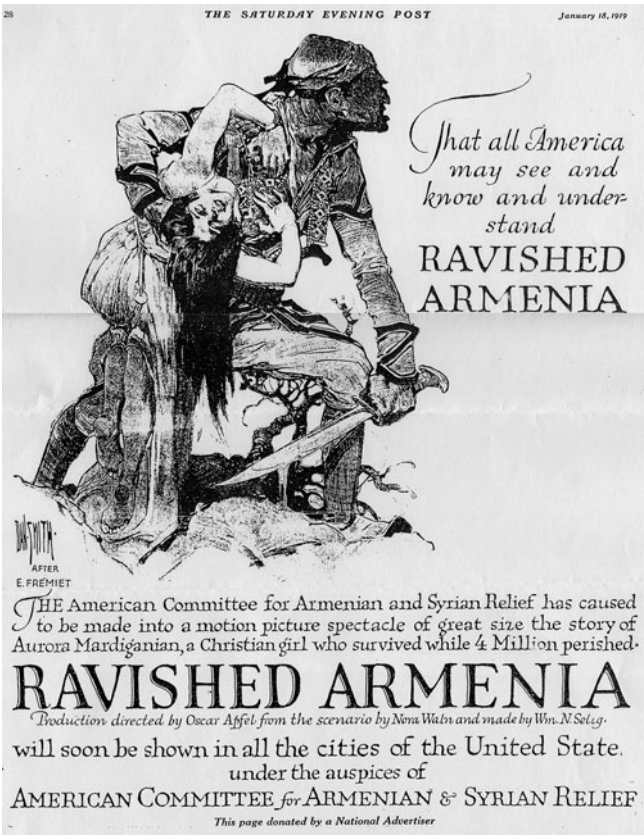

Figure 3.4 An advertisement page on the *Saturday Evening Post* after the premiere in Los Angeles

It is the most Vital and Thrilling Picture Ever Made in the History of the Silent Drama."[18] The change of title was perhaps due to the desire not to use the word "Armenia" and so to have a more "neutral" presence. Indeed, in the United States, this was the time of the political dispute about the American mandate for Armenia, and in the UK the British government did not want to jeopardize the results of the Arab Revolt.[19]

These pictorial materials are a confirmation of an older unconscious, born with the Hamidian massacres at the end of the 19th century, as we have seen. If possible, they accentuate even more the dramatization and scandalous characteristics of the sexual element: the woman, the primary symbol among others (like orphans etc.) of an undefended nation,

is here the sole exponent of a people's tragedy, usually as the one and only victim subject of the picture, prey of the rapist. The sexual connotations are underlined again and again, in the movie as in the press, in a general context of rising exploitation of these themes:

> As in previous accounts of Armenian suffering, the emphasis in *Ravished Armenia* had been on the rape and murder of women and young girls; nudity played a prominent part in the narrative. Sexual violence is the underlying theme throughout the book; … Despite the professed altruism of those involved in the production, the press book for the film suggested such headline stories as: "*Ravished Armenia* to Show Real Harems," "Girls impaled on Soldiers' Swords," "With Other Naked Girls, Pretty Aurora Mardiganian Was Sold For Eighty-Five Cents." The trade press urged that the film be promoted as a "Sensational Story of Turkish Depravity." In an advertisement in *Motion Picture News* (July 26, 1919), it was announced that the film was based on "The most sensational book in the English language" – and for fear there might be any doubt – "and every word is truth!" (Slide, 2014: 9–10)

The fraction of the movie still available today[20] illustrates this, see Figures 3.5–3.7 (Slide, 2014: 9–10).

Four frames of the movie were published in the *Illustrated London News*:[21] they all deal with the idea of sexual violence against Armenian women by the Turks, from rape to the slave market and the harem. One of the captions says: "Victim of a Turkish Soldier's Passion: An Armenian Girl."

The slave market represented a well-known reality to survivors:

> A survivor described how female deportees … were examined before rape and abduction… . Harput and nearby Mezreh were among the several towns and cities along the deportation routes that became centers for the systematic distribution of Armenian girls among the local population. … This camp turned into a well-organized slave market. (Bjørnlund, 2009: 23)

And: "The gendarmes had separated about 50–60 young girls from their parents in order to sell them" (Kaiser, 2002: 160). Also, after the World War: "slave trade of Armenian women, young girls, and children had become a lucrative business for Bedouin and Kurdish tribes in the Arab regions of the empire" (Bjørnlund 2009: 32).

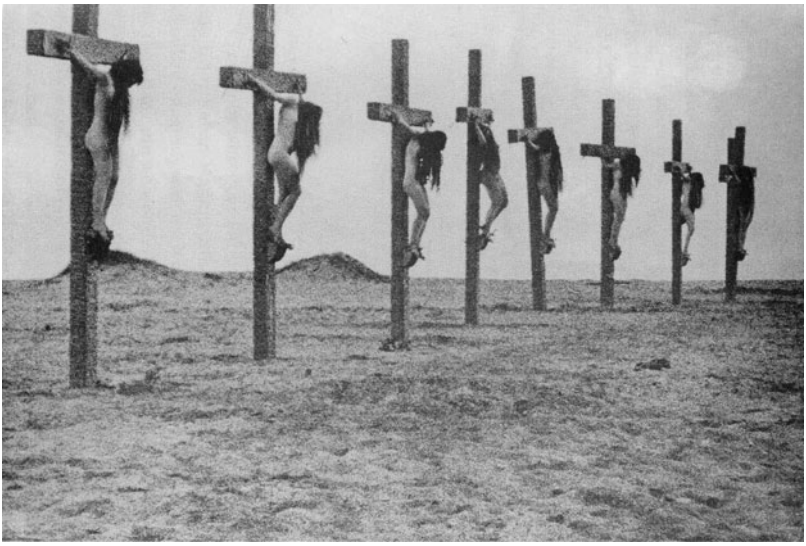

Figure 3.5 *Ravished Armenia*. The crucifixion as a form of violence against women was a popular subject during the First World War

Figure 3.6 *Ravished Armenia*. As in previous accounts of Armenian suffering, the emphasis in *Ravished Armenia* had been on the rape and murder of women and young girls; nudity played a prominent part in the narrative. Sexual violence is the underlying theme throughout the movie

Figure 3.7 *Ravished Armenia*. An example of the sexual representation in the movie

The frame with the crucifixion of the women is still on the web today, as a document of the genocide; however, the reality was much worse:

> In reality, both the book and the film are relatively sanitized versions of what Aurora Mardiganian actually suffered and witnessed. … as Aurora Mardiganian recalled:
>
> The Turks didn't make their crosses like that. The Turks made little pointed crosses. They took the clothes off the girls. They made them bend down. And after raping them, they made them sit on the pointed wood, through the vagina. That's the way they killed – the Turks. The Americans have made it a more civilized way. They can't show such terrible things. (Slide, 2014: 5–6)

It is interesting to see how this kind of image was easy to find in the Western unconscious, not only as part of Christian culture, but also as a depiction of monstrous popular fantasies, present during the recently ended First World War.

> In 1916, the picking up of the women in the Lille area brought back the terror and neurotic mood typical of the first moments of the

> war: again some rumors are diffused about horrific facts and images of women with breasts cut off or crucified … become more and more usual. (Audoin-Rouzeau & Becker, 2002: 88–89)

Many atrocities of this kind were perpetrated during the Armenian genocide:

> both males and females were from early on often subjected to sexually charged mutilations as part of what seems to be humiliating or dehumanizing rituals connected to the actual killings (Bjørnlund, 2009: 18)

According to a German source, "[t]he male corpses are in many cases hideously mutilated (sexual organs cut off, and so on), the female corpses are ripped open (Bjørnlund, 2009: 18), while others reported that "they cut off noses, cheeks, and lips with scissors. They burned those parts of the body which are more sensitive … skewers were run through genitals" (Bjørnlund, 2009: 19); and

> other brutal means of annihilating Armenians were also cited by survivors: for example, cutting off women's breasts and nipples, opening the stomachs of pregnant women, and decapitating people with pruning instruments (Miller and Miller 1993: 85)

These accounts testify how much *Ravished Armenia* is based on what was reported by witnesses (see Figures 3.5–3.7). Another recurring theme in witnesses' accounts was the (often collective) suicide of women to avoid sexual violence: again, we can see a link to Western popular culture. Actually, it was a common theme in many American movies of the time: for example in *Birth of a Nation* (1915), a female protagonist commits suicide by jumping off a cliff to escape a wild black rapist (Shrock 1997: 83).

Actually, during the war:

> In every warring country, reports about atrocities of the enemy are published by specific commissions… these texts will be… widely diffused… the French one is an exemplary case … the first [report] is dated December 17, 1914, and it had an immense resonance … the introductory text was entirely published, mostly on the front page, by nearly all the French newspapers… sack, rape, fire and killing are current practices of our enemies (Audoin-Rouzeau & Becker, 2002: 42).

Even if it is true that the European public was already familiar with reports of special commissions about the massacres of the Armenians, dating from the time of the Hamidian era, in the First World War, the atrocities were widely used for the first time as tools of national mobilization, to raise a feeling of indignation (Ambroise-Rendu & Delporte, 2008), as a way of justifying the "right" position against the "wrong" one of the enemy. The reports would be one of the more evident results of the war culture and mood, equally diffused in every European country: the tragic reality of the violence undergone and witnessed is mixed with its use as propaganda in a way that accentuates the morbid side to delegitimize the enemy.

As happened for previous massacres, this is again a confirmation of the importance of political conditions and the context of war in the evolution of the iconography of the Armenian victims.[22] From this point of view, the manipulation of the Armenian question is in keeping with a more general war mood: it is "absorbed" into the actual media system of the time, as functional to it.

Ravished Armenia was, then, congruent with representation of victims, more generally speaking, and particularly of women, in the war period. It is possible to identify very clear and codified symbolic references – like crucifixion or suicide to escape rape – that seem to create a *fil rouge* in the representation of the woman as victim, and not only Armenian, as a sexual object on which the mood of violence projects its entire strength. This is not new to war propaganda, but the pervading characteristic of the representation of violence against women, during and after the First World War, is a reason for reflection about how much violence was present in the civil society of the time. Furthermore, it is perhaps useful to underline that this violence was most probably also the reaction to the many changing realities during the time of war, the greater presence of women in the public scene and the sense of frustration of men at war.

As Françoise Thébaud has noted, sometimes working women were attacked by the families of the men on the battlefield, because they were seen as a menace within the workplace abandoned to go to war. (Thébaud, 2011: 42) More generally, in the United States, where *Ravished Armenia* was produced and released, the end of the war saw the beginning of a new era for many women: working became more common, the number of children per family diminished, the urban population increased, and technical progress left much more time free from domestic duties. Women's relationship with men seemed to lose the characteristics of subordination and dependence; even if this freedom was just a way to create a new "modern" consumer (Cott, 2011: 91–110)

promoted by the media, without deeply changing the *status quo*, it remains the case that the perception of the role of woman was changing, as was the relationship between men and women: "The question of women power, independence, and especially sexuality had become divisive topics" (Shrock, 1997: 74). However, the epitome of the "New Woman" of the 1920s, Mayo, the female protagonist of *The Sheik* (1921), is lost when she is not under the protection of a respectable white man (Shrock, 1997: 76).

The Sheik is one of many films of the time to stand as a confirmation of the new turmoil: *Ravished Armenia* is also closely coherent with its cultural climate, as examination of American movie production of 1915–1927 shows (Shrock 1997). Attempted rape was a popular subject in many blockbuster movies of the time, such as *Birth of a Nation* (1915), *The Sheik* (1921), *Orphans of the Storm* (1921), *Thief of Bagdad* (1924), *The Black Pirate* (1927). As Shrock explains:

> The images of rape in these films idealized the power of respectable white men over the men and women of other classes and races and subordinated the women from their own social station… white women as frail but morally superior figures, and… immigrant men and women as uncontrollable sexual deviants who threatened civilization. … rape also acted as a metaphor for larger cultural concerns. (Shrock 1997: 69)

And:

> The popular films that showed attempted rape were in fact vicarious stories that reassured white middle- and upper-class men that their power was, and deserved to remain, intact. Men were still needed to save women and the better orders from the agents of chaos. (Shrock 1997: 85)

Ravished Armenia is one of many movies in which sexual violence is portrayed as an attractive subject, and the fear of the beastly foreigner is played on in representations of the "Turkish man."[23]

> Films generally portrayed women as weak and passive victims, and rape was the symbolic act that represented their powerlessness… women were unable to defend themselves against the brutal power of the male rapist (Shrock, 1997: 75–76)].

This holds true for Armenia during the genocide.

Quite paradoxically, in the decades after the genocide, the Armenian communities of the survivors instead created a "counter-metaphor," celebrating and commemorating acts of resistance and defiance (Bjørnlund, 1997: 28), to go beyond the sense of powerlessness and elaborate the trauma.

Armenian Women Refugees in the International Press

The woman as a weak subject, a sexual object on which enemy violence is practiced "as mandate": this is the underlying logic of the film *Ravished Armenia*, as it is of the promotional campaign. This is interesting if we turn to the representation of Armenian refugees who arrived in the United States. Their arrival had a wide coverage, especially in the domestic press, and followed old, trite "Orientalist" stereotypes: women as passive subjects, objects of pleasure and lust, living in harems. The rescue of the girls and women from harems was a popular theme both in some Near East Relief publications[24] and generally in the press, not only in the United States.

In 1920, the international press dedicated many articles to "stories as exciting as Arabian nights" about Armenian women arriving in the United States after years of "unspeakable brutality" under the Turkish yoke. With the same morbid tones and insistence already seen in *Ravished Armenia*, the American, British and French press showed images and told stories of tattooed girls who had escaped from Muslim families that had kidnapped and marked them, an act of violence in itself. In Figure 3.8 we can see the first former "Arabian" slave to arrive in the United States, a nice girl in Western garments, and then the sign of her experience on her hand; the Near East Relief role in her rescue is emphasized in the text.

Figure 3.9, on the other hand, shows a girl dressed like a young Oriental woman, an image used in fundraising to rescue the girls and women held in slavery in Middle Eastern harems. The pose and the accessories, such as the jar on the shoulder, are as "Orientalist" as the illustrations of the Hamidian massacres, although here the sexual element is more explicit.

We can see more images of facial tattoos in Figures 3.10–3.12.

The titles and captions underline the tragedy of these women: "Girl Refugee Tattooed on Face By Turk She Was Forced to Wed" (Figure 3.10); "Tattooed Woman. This Woman Was Not Only Defaced By Wretched Marks, But Her Hands And Arms Are Covered By Horrible Tattoos … Ignominious Signs." (Figure 3.11).

Another leaflet[25] published by "The Slave Market News," England, and titled *20th Century Slavery, Christian Girl Aged 18* underlines that the girl

Figure 3.8 From the *Pittsburgh Sun* of January 15, 1920, right in the period of *Ravished Armenia* promotion. Aurora Mardiganian provided testimonials for the movie until May 1920. Dossier de presse sur le génocide, Bibliothèque Nubar de l'UGAB, Paris

was "Taken captive when a child of 7. Rescued recently after 11 YEARS' CAPTIVITY," and "Note the Moslem owner's brand, i.e., tattoo marks on the face. It means that the shame of her experience will be never erased and will be with her forever as are the shame and the anger: every day of her life she will be forced to remember what she underwent." The picture of the girl is the same that we see at the foot of Figure 3.12 – the same picture was published in the French and English press.

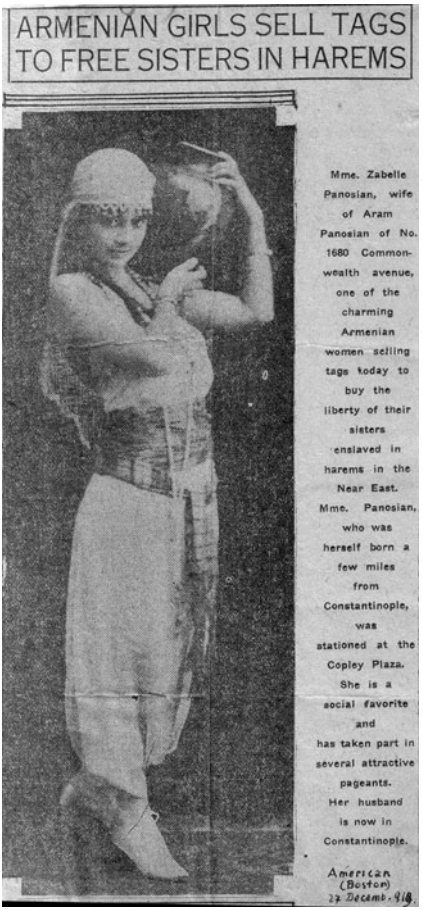

Figure 3.9 The *American*, Boston, January 27, 1919. Dossier de presse sur le génocide, Bibliothèque Nubar de l'UGAB, Paris

And again: "The hand of a young Armenian girl of 18 years old, forced to prostitution from the age of fourteen," "Another innocent victim of the human flesh traffickers. Her sad eyes, the suffering look in her injured face make us think about the awful physical and moral pains she had to endure" (Figure 3.12). In this last example, the text talks about "Syria, where in the 20th century, thousands of young women are condemned to slavery and to the most humiliating prostitution by hideous traffickers, traffickers who 'mark' with infamous stigmata this pitiable human cattle."

Figure 3.10 "Girl Refugee Tattooed on Face by Turk She Was Forced to Wed." News about the girl in the picture, Nargis Avakian, was published in the USA in April 1920: in the *New York Times* of April 4, and by other local newspapers: like the *Lexington Herald, Coshocton Tribune* (April 7), *The Hutchinson News* (April 19). Dossier de presse sur le génocide, Bibliothèque Nubar de l'UGAB, Paris

Another theme, still dealing with "the traffickers in human flesh," is the one of Armenian women sold "to the highest bidder"; it means rich Armenians living in California: the text underlines that the case became known after the denunciation of a purchaser cheated by traffickers and left without the woman he was waiting for.[26]

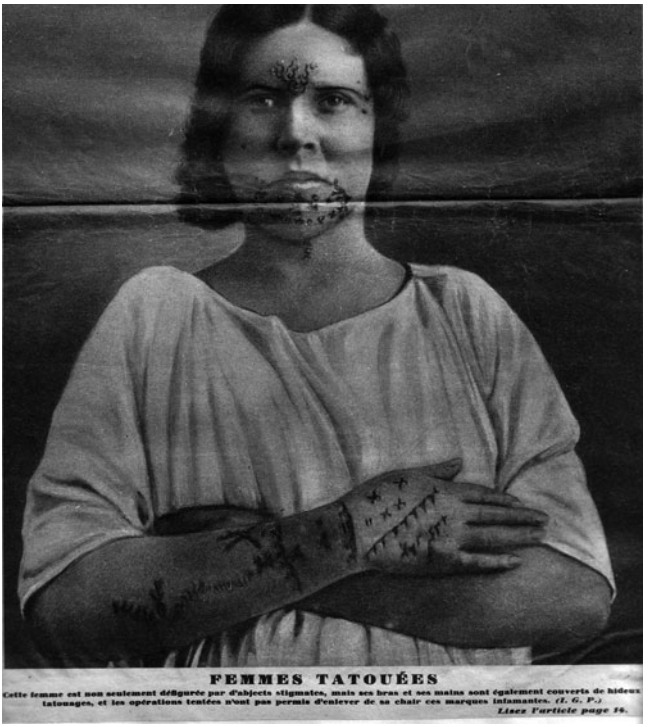

Figure 3.11 Note how the woman crosses her arms to show the tattoos but also to protect the breast. Unknown newspaper, Dossier de presse sur le génocide, Bibliothèque Nubar de l'UGAB, Paris

In another case, we can read the family tragedy of two females, lone survivors, perhaps because of their youth and beauty:

> Heroines of the Armenian massacres – The two girls in the photograph are heroines of one of the saddest of the thousands of sad stories of the Armenian massacre. There were three sisters, mother, father and brother when the deportations began. Father, mother and brother were killed and the girls deported. The eldest sister was seized by an Arab and forced to become his wife. Dreading the horrors of the march into the desert for her younger sisters, she prevailed upon her husband to take them into his home. For four years they were there, getting food, but forced to heavy labor and punishments because they refused to become Moslems. Finally rescued, they are in a Near East Relief orphanage in Tiflis, where the workers are trying hard to get some

Figure 3.12 Unknown French magazine, Dossier de presse sur le génocide, Bibliothèque Nubar de l'UGAB, Paris

> of the sadness from their faces. These are some of the thousands of rescued girls whose care and future is one of the big problems of Near East Relief, and for whom it is now making its nation-wide appeal.[27]

Even when refugees, even on the far side of an ocean, many miles from the places where they underwent traumatic experiences of violence and

loss, these Armenian females are still objects, to be sold to the highest bidder or just to tell their story as a scandal, to sell more copies of a newspaper or magazine.

Nowadays we know much more about the practice of tattooing abducted and enslaved girls and women. Suzanne Khardalian directed *Grandma's Tattoos* (2011), a documentary about her grandmother Khanoum and her tattoos, but also about the violence committed on women during the Armenian genocide. The documentary takes the viewer into the physical, temporal and emotional journey she undertakes to discover the story of her grandmother and of the many other women who endured violence during the genocide. As she says: "The crime was on their faces, every day, and you could see it."[28] Actually the embarrassment of talking about it kept the secret hidden for decades; furthermore, the kidnapping and sexual violence caused a trauma that shaped Khanoum into a distant and cold grandmother. The same shame was shared by the whole family and no one wanted to talk about it.

Khardalian involves the viewer in her upsetting discovery, after having interviewed her aunt, sisters and mother, opening a whole chapter of violence in her family history. But this story also led her to unveil the systematic practice of sexual violence on women during the genocide, and its consequent use to mark Armenian females, forcefully converted, married and abused. She explains:

> The discovery of the story has shaken me. I share the shame, the guilt, and anger that infected my grandma's life. Grandma Khanoum's fate was not an aberration. On the contrary, tens of thousands of Armenian children and teenagers were raped and abducted, kept in slavery (Khardalian, 2011).

The images of the women rescued by Near East Relief flow on the screen, creating a sense of anguish and enabling the viewer to "touch" the trauma: as a Khardalian's sister says, "I had always read books about the killing … Yet it was all intellectual, in the mind. … But this is about a real person, someone we all knew well." The movie shows that there is a whole community of sons and daughters of these tattooed women, and all share the same trauma, as the shame passes from one generation to the other:

> We also meet the children of other tattooed Armenian women and understand that their trauma was common, that the rape and sexual violence was a "typical" fate for all those women who survived the ordeal (Khardalian 2011).

As is well known by now, rape was not just an occasional form of violence during the Armenian genocide but a systematic instrument of an annihilation politics: "Armenian survivors at the Yozgat Tribunal in 1919 testified that "with very few exceptions, young Armenian females were… the victims of rape, often serial rape" (Bjørnlund 2009: 48, n.52).

The link between rape on a massive scale, abduction, forcible conversion and looting, already present in the Ottoman Empire on a smaller scale, became stronger as the government developed a total war policy (Reid, 1992).

Many Westerners witnessed this strategy: Heinrich Bergfeld, the German Consul at Trabzon stated that the rapes of Armenian females were part of a plan to exterminate the Armenian people (Bjørnlund 2009: 28), and another German diplomat, Hoffmann-Foelkersamb[29], the Vice Consul at Aleppo, concluded that rape had become official policy (Bjørnlund 2009: 33).

Furthermore

> The Danish relief worker and League of Nations Commissioner Karen Jeppe, who was working from her base in Aleppo to secure the release of the tens of thousands of Armenian women and children from Muslim households who had been forcibly abducted during the genocide, stated in 1926 that out of the thousands of Armenian females she had come into contact with, all but one had been sexually abused. It is clear that in addition to starvation, diseases, beatings, and general exhaustion, Armenian females were subjected to a deliberate pattern of constant, systematic sexual abuse and humiliations for weeks, sometimes for months. (Bjørnlund 2009: 24)

The story of Khanoum, Khardalian's grandmother, is actually the story of Armenian women during the genocide, and the tattoo practice was the legacy of that traumatic experience. Reflecting on the images of Armenian refugees in the Western press, it is impossible to avoid a sense of unease: impossible not to note the difference between the pictures of these women, their appearance that recalls so much the many Near East Relief pictures as shown in the Khardalian's documentary, and the text, that sometimes seems to speak of something else, so great is the distance between the victims, alone and isolated, and the morbid stories told about them.

Conclusions

The rescue of orphans and women forced to convert and live with Muslim families to escape deportation and genocide was not a

propaganda theme, exaggerated by the press; rather, it was an extremely serious problem, managed for years by the humanitarian associations that tried to track the scattered survivors.[30] However, this does not seem to be the point of view taken by the press at the time. The conclusion that the documents suggest is in fact that woman is at the center of this campaign, both as victim and symbol of her victimized country, Armenia. But, as a woman, this victim is the object of the most stereotyped sexual fantasies about harem and sensuality, typical of the Orientalist idea. These women, whose sufferings, along with the violence which they have undergone, are denounced with text befitting yellow journalism, are in fact the objects of the fantasies of the same public which the newspapers address:

> When… the feminine representations are used by propaganda to raise hate against the enemy, they have a more violent and stronger erotic function… "These stories cause violent reactions of loathing against the evil rapists. A young woman, raped by the enemy, raises a secret satisfaction in a mass of mandate rapists on the other side of the frontline. (Lasswell, 1927: 42)

The hypocrisy of Western middle-class mentality actually created a paradox, where

> The sexual desires of middle-class men and women and the growing emphasis on female sexuality were projected onto African-Americans and immigrant men and women in silent movies and served to help normalize greater sexual expression and to titillate the audience (Shrock, 1997: 80).

The audience plays the part of the voyeur, but in *Ravished Armenia* it also can be portrayed as the hero that saves the women from the harems and helps the many refugee women who are coming to the United States.

The beginning of the war had created enormous expectations among civilians and the millions of men who volunteered for the front; clashing with the reality of the war, these expectations created a mythical universe where the enemy was demonized: in this sense, the enemy was guilty of every atrocity and wicked deed. This attitude was particularly evidenced towards weak subjects, perfect symbols of enemy cruelty. The psychological and anthropological implications of the atrocities, above all when damaging the face, as with the tattoo marks that we have seen, and the reproductive organs – to annihilate the enemy's identity, and

its relations with past and future generations[31] – are directly linked to the logic of invasion and desecration. Reflect on sexual violence against women: rape is connected to the violation of graves and, more metaphorically, with the ground invasion of the homeland:

> It is clear that the issue of violence in the political arena is linked to the cultural creation of the enemy … atrocity doesn't leave any possibility to the basic understanding of what is absurd and insulting, barbarian – the impact cancels the historical sense… . The description (of the atrocities and mutilations), with its abominable and senseless excess, undermines the possibility of understanding. … for the same reason, deposition of cruelty can be used to… create an "easy to hate" enemy. The story of the enemy's cruel acts is then the ritual complement of every war propaganda, … no matter if the atrocities are true or not. (Nahoum-Grappe, 2002: 554)

In this sense, propaganda publications about enemy atrocities are more explicit representations of the context in which the news about deportations, massacres and violence against the Armenians were received. Women are thus perfect symbols to illustrate this attitude. Again, during the First World War:

> Beyond the reality of violence… the myth of the rape of women that is present in the witnesses' tales, and is clear in the iconography or in the press, expresses the stress of a manhood unable to defend the sacred feminine body, symbol of the Nation and of the domestic home (Thebaud, 2004: 43).

The study of the Armenian Genocide, and of its representation, is coherently part of the First World War's history, in terms of iconography, ideology in the use of the atrocities committed by the enemy, and propaganda in the manipulation of the Eastern Question.[32] This was also the time of the Versailles conference and of public discussions about the American mandate for Armenia, in the context of political decisions regarding the new international situation. The representation of the Armenian woman in the American and international media in the first years after the war (1918–1920) are consistent with all the fantasies that were born, or revived, during the war. At the same time, far from a humanitarian point of view, this representation used the Orientalist stereotypes already present in Western media from the time of the Hamidian massacres. *Ravished Armenia* is a good example of all these

symbols and cultural references: the radicalization of tones, typical of the wartime, is here also accentuated by the end of censorship, leaving space for an explicit sexual theme. Popular European culture emerging from the analysis of the images of Armenian victims, from the late nineteenth century to the end of the Armenian question in 1923, stimulates a reflection about the degree of the exposed violence that also deeply characterized the tones of war propaganda. As we have seen, violence against women and sexual violence more broadly, were a characteristic theme in many countries during the war. The Armenian question, in this sense, became a coherent theme of propaganda by the Western media, because undefended Armenia, represented by a woman-martyr, was already part of a well-defined iconography. The film *Ravished Armenia* was thus one of the more effective examples of exploitation of this stereotype, together with the stories of the Armenian refugees in the USA: all-pervading war violence changed the image of the female body in a battlefield.

Notes

1. See also the collection *Dossier de presse internationale sur le génocide*, Bibliothèque Nubar de l'UGAB, Paris.
2. "impossible choices" as defined by Bjørnlund, 2009: 27.
3. This concept was developed first by Miller & Miller 1992: 152–172, then more largely illustrated in Miller & Miller 1993: 94–117; see also Bjørnlund, 2009 for a very documented discussion, with comparative references.
4. New Zealand, Australia, Finland, Norway already before the war; United Kingdom, United States, Russia, Germany, Ireland, Austria, Canada – among others – immediately after.
5. About women's emancipation as a nightmare for the American middle-class, see Shrock 1997: 74–76. The author underlines how rape was an important theme in many movies of the period 1915–1927, as a metaphor of the American middle-class fear of changes effected by modernization.
6. During the First World War this attitude towards the Armenian victims of genocide would again be present. See the titles of articles and publications in the international press: "Le Martyre de l'Arménie," *L'Humanité*, November 27, 1915; "Le Martyre des Arméniens et leurs espérances," *L'Eclair*, August 3, 1916; Gabrielian (1918) *Armenia: A Martyr Nation*; Ghusayn (1917), *La domination ottomane; l'Arménie martyre. Dossier de presse internationale sur le genocide*.
7. See the works by the Duke of Argyll, Viscount Bryce, and Reverend MacColl in Great Britain; and of Jean Jaurès, Anatole France, Victor Bérard, Georges Clemenceau in France. See Rodogno (2012: 269–277) and Duclert & Pécout (1999: 323–444).
8. The card bears this printed text: 'TAPIOCA DE L'ETOILE – Médaille d'Or à l'exposition Universelle de 1889'. So it is possible to argue that the image refers to the massacres of 1895–96. The card is now at the Comité de Defense de la Cause Arménienne – CDCA (Paris).

9. "Massacres d'Arménie: Arméniens égorgés à Ak-Hissar." Note that the text does not underline a gender victim, while in the image there are no Armenian men.
10. See the witness statements of people of the American community in the Ottoman Empire: Near East, Unit 5, American Board of Commissioners, 16.5, Mission to the Armenians 16.7.1, Lamont Library, Microfilm Collection Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.
11. On racism in the European law thought about intervention in the Ottoman Empire during the 19th century, see Rodogno (2013: 3–70).
12. This repetitiveness is confirmed also by other images of the time: see for example *Le Soleil du dimanche illustré* of December 1, 1895, 6–7, with soldiers slaughtering in the streets of Constantinople; and the *Petit Parisien*, of September 13, 1896 with the image titled "Removal of corpses in the streets of Galata."
13. This paragraph is a further update and elaboration of a previous text published in Guerzoni, 2013: 314–331.
14. NER also produced other movies like *Alice in Hungerland, Seen is Believing, One of These Little Ones, Stand By Them a Little Longer, A Great Achievement or Uncle America's Golden Rule, What the Flag Saw* (Barton, 1930: 391).
15. The British edition was titled *Auction of Souls*, (1919).
16. In 'Ravished Armenia Has Its Premiere', *Motion Picture News*, January 25, 1919, in Library of Congress, Motion Picture and Broadcasting Division, File: *Auction of Souls*. Washington DC. The very first reference of the movie is in the *News Bulletin* of the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief in its November 1918 issue (volume 2 no. 6), according to Taylor & Krikorian (2010).
17. US NARA, College Park, MD. Still Picture Unit, Microfiche publications M1338, War Dept., General Staff 1917–19, War Relief Societies, American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief, RG 165 – WW – 559C. The picture is present on a card that is part of the Near East Relief Archive and it indicates Underwood & Underwood as the original agency of the picture. In this kind of cards, NER usually indicated the reception date (February 21, 1919).
18. Library of Congress, Motion Picture and Broadcasting Division, File: *Auction of Souls*, Washington DC. The file also collects a press review of the published articles about the movie presentations, between January 1919, and January 1920.
19. Bloxham (2005), *The Great Game of Genocide*, pp. 189–239. Note that the association for humanitarian action for the Armenians also changed its name more than once: from *Armenian Relief Committee* in 1915, to *American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief* and *American Committee for Relief in the Near East*, during the war, to *Near East Relief* from December 1918, always for political and diplomatic reasons, see Barton (1930).
20. A 20-minute version of the movie is still existent today. For a detailed reconstruction of the fragment's turbulent history from the 1920s–1930s on, its disappearance and new discovery from the 1990s, see Sévane Garibian, Chapter 2 in this book.
21. The movie was first screened privately in Great Britain on October 29, 1919, with Viscount Bryce invited among others, as the magazine says. It had to be released in the UK from January 26, 1920, but it soon was stopped by censorship because of ongoing diplomatic negotiation with Turkey and fear about anti-British feelings in the Muslim areas of the Empire. Many scenes

with references to the Christian culture were cut, as were the related captions (Slide (2014: 11–12)).

22. During the Hamidian massacres, the Armenian victims were represented as the symbol of the Ottoman Empire's decline, and the Sultan was pointed at as responsible; investigation commissions were created and reports published. In 1909, with the new regime of the Young Turks, European diplomacy chose to wait and see. About the different attitude of European diplomacy and public opinion towards the Hamidian massacres and the ones of 1909, because of the different regime, see Duclert (2009) and Rodogno (2012).
23. In this sense see earlier remarks in this text about European racism against the sexual costumes of the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century.
24. See the NER News Bulletin *New Near East*, in Guerzoni (2013: 277–331).
25. *Dossier de presse sur le génocide*.
26. Unknown newspaper dated January 31, 1921, *Dossier de presse sur le génocide*.
27. Buffalo newspaper of February 21, 1920. See also "Travelers' Aid Society Brings Cheer to Woman Who Comes to US After Terrible Experience with Turkish Brutality," *Evening Journal*, (NY), January 14, 1920; "Armenian Girl Slaves Tell Thrilling Stories," *News* (Baltimore), January 18, 1920; "Armenia Looks to America Victim of Turk Horror," *Telegram* (New York), January 26, 1920; "Tortured by Turks, Two Sisters Reach Cambridge," *Traveler* (Boston), January 27, 1920 (*Dossier de presse sur le génocide*).
28. "Grandma's Tattoos Screened at Cineculture," by Tatevik Hovhannisyan, http://agcfresno.org/news/grandmas-tattoos/; see also "Taboos, Tattoos, and Trauma: Making Grandma's Tattoos", by Suzanne Khardalian in *Armenian Weekly*, May 10, 2012.
29. Vice Consul Hoffmann was an important witness of genocide, taking pictures of the deportees near the German High School of Aleppo. Auswartiges Amt – Abteilung A – Politisches archiv d. Auswart. Amts – Akten –Betreffend: Armenien – vom 1. Januar 1916 bis 31 Maerz 1916 – Politisches Archiv des Auswartigen Amts r14090 – Turkei n. 183 – Armenien. See Guerzoni, 2013: 155–161.
30. As told by Stanley Kerr (1973: 44–47), the humanitarian operator of NER. See also Sarafian (2001) on forced conversion as a tool of a systematic genocide politics.
31. "Root-and-branch extermination" as defined by Jones (2000).
32. The Entente published books about the Armenian genocide to denounce the situation but also for propaganda against the enemy. In this way they were considered for a long time to be false testimonies and propaganda books. Later they were published again, and the editors were concerned about that aspect too. See for example: Viscount J. Bryce, A. Toynbee (1916), later published by Sarafian (ed.) (2005) as an "Uncensored edition."

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4

From Silence to Re-remembrance: The Response of German Media to Massacres and Genocide against the Ottoman Armenians

Tessa Hofmann

ANOTHER CITIZEN: On Sundays, holidays, there's naught
I take delight in,
Like gossiping of war, and war's array,
When down in Turkey, far away,
The foreign people are a-fighting.
One at the window sits, with glass and friends,
And sees all sorts of ships go down the river gliding:
And blesses then, as home he wends
At night, our times of peace abiding.

THIRD CITIZEN: Yes, Neighbor! That's my notion, too:
Why, let them break their heads, let loose their passions,
And mix things madly through and through,
So, here, we keep our good old fashions!

(Johann Wolfgang Goethe:
Faust; completed 1788)

Introduction

In the introductory quotation from a classic of modern German literature, J.W. Goethe conveyed the average worldview of the complacent German middle class of the late 18th century. It viewed Armenia, partitioned and ruled since the 17th century by Iran and the Ottoman Empire, as an irrelevant, remote country in a region of the Near East

where Germany did not pursue any economic or political interests. For most of the 19th century this situation remained unchanged, even after the emergence in 1871 of a unified German Empire, the Deutsches Reich. Alluding to Germany's impartiality, Otto von Bismarck, who became the first Chancellor or head of government of the Reich, offered his services at the peace negotiations in Berlin of 1878 as an impartial "honest mediator" (*ehrlicher Makler*), after Great Britain had succeeded in internationalizing the Oriental Question, challenging Russia's earlier victory over the Ottoman Empire. The conflicting self-interests of France, Austria, Britain and Russia in the Near East did not concern Germany. For Wilhelm van Kampen,

> More important than the unlimited rule of the Sultan over the Bosporus was… [the desire] to divert Russian interests away from Austria and to preserve the English–Russian conflict, which should neither be obscured nor forgotten by any German or Austrian intervention at the Straits. Germany did not pursue any interest in the Orient. Its interest was the maintenance of peace (Kampen, 1968: 17).

From the late 1880s, Bismarck's cautious, but pro-Turkey, diplomacy was gradually put into place. In the summer of 1888, Georg Siemens, the director of the Deutsche Bank, eventually gave in to attempts to convince him of the benefits of investing in the construction of railways in Asia Minor. A year later the German Emperor Wilhelm II visited Constantinople for the first time when he became a personal friend of the reactionary Sultan Abdul Hamid II. The Sultan obviously deeply impressed the young European monarch with his "absolute way of ruling, which, as the Emperor believed, was seen by all as successful, with the possible exception of a handful of Armenians and international conspirators."[1] Together with Ambassador Marschall, the Kaiser was the key supporter of a new proactive German policy towards a Turkish nation which was now perceived as a potentially important military ally against Russia as well as a supplier of raw materials and a market for German goods.

The massive persecutions and slaughters of Ottoman Armenian Christians throughout 1895 and 1896[2] that prompted the abortive 1894 uprising of Armenian peasants protesting against their dual taxation by state officials and by local Kurdish landlords in Sasun caused a profound ethical and political dilemma among German statesmen. It was a dilemma that was soon resolved by the political decision not to risk their good relations with Turkey. Although the Emperor, in his initial

indignation, had even considered a demand for the deposition of the Sultan, he soon reconciled himself with *realpolitik*. Typically, Chancellor Prince Chlodwig zu Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst wrote to his sister: "Should we wage war with the Sultan because of the Armenian atrocities? I would not like to look into the face of the Reichstag, if I would declare that we should mobilize against Turkey" (Kampen, 1968: 117). But if war was not intended, Hohenlohe argues, it was otherwise pointless to risk the Germans' influence in the Ottoman Empire.

Although public and media awareness of the Ottoman massacres and atrocities remained, in October 1898, Emperor Wilhelm II undertook a second journey to Constantinople,[3] Jerusalem and Damascus, where he declared himself a protector of 300 million Muslims during a dinner speech,[4] after Wilhelm II had previously appointed himself as the protector of the holy sites of Jerusalem (Meißner, 2010: 139). Officially the journey was considered the pious Emperor's pilgrimage to Jerusalem, on the occasion of the opening of the newly built Church of the Savior. The Ottoman government had agreed, as in 1889, to cover the Emperor's travel expenses of 300,000 *lire* which made it apparently impossible to reprimand the Ottoman hosts on behalf of their Oriental Christian subjects. What made Wilhelm's Oriental journey even more politically complicated was the fact that in reality his expenses were financed not by the Ottomans, but by the Greeks, through bonds that had to be ensured by Germany's competitors in the Near East – Russia, Britain and France (Meißner, 2010: 141). However, after his return to Berlin the Emperor cited mainly German economic interests for his Oriental journey: "I hope… that my journey contributed to opening up new markets for German energy and German vigor, and that I succeeded in fostering better relations between our two peoples, both Turkish and German"[5] (Mirbach, 1899: 403).

Media Response (1890–1914)

No other event in Armenian history has ever captured the attention of the German media so intensely as the massacres of the years 1895 and 1896, for these events coincided with Germany's self-perception as a major player in world politics. In the Near East economically, politically and culturally, Germany competed with Britain, France and Russia. In general, the media coverage started a few months after the autumn massacres of 1895 and peaked after the incidents in Constantinople (August 1896).

Throughout the pre-war period, the perception of the Armenian Question and of Ottoman Armenians by German journalists and

political authors reflected Germany's new ambitions in the Near East. Anglophobia and anti-Russian orientation shaped a general cultural and economic imperialism expressed in the conservative militarist Pan-Germans' (*Alldeutsche*) claim to inherit the bankrupt Turkish-Ottoman estate. Alternatively, the concept of stabilizing and preserving the Turkish state in the face of Russian influence became a guiding idea of German Oriental policies.

How did the German press frame the deliberate slaughters of up to 300,000 Armenian Christians in Ottoman Turkey in 1894–1896? According to Richard Schäfer, who was a long-standing collaborator of the Armenophile theologian Johannes Lepsius, it was only the Christian Sunday papers that supported the persecuted Armenians during and after the massacres of 1895–1896 (Feigel, 1989: 43). In retrospect, the Armenophile publicist Paul Rohrbach severely criticized the "semi-official press and the journals that, in the absence of a good sense of judgment, simply parroted the official line in matters of foreign policy" and commented on the "Armenian atrocities in such a repugnant, false, repulsively crude manner"[6] (Feigel, 1989: 42).

However, such contemporary criticism can be misleading. As Uwe Feigel has convincingly shown in his doctoral thesis, the coverage of the German conservative, liberal or socialist press was less consistent than the above quotations seem to indicate (Feigel, 1989: 42–65). To start with, the daily of the German Conservative Party *Reichsbote* published a series of articles written by Lepsius from August 12 to 27, 1896. Soon after they appeared in book form under the telling title *Armenia and Europe: An Indictment of the Christian Powers and an Appeal to Christian Germany* (Lepsius, 1896); these publications by Lepsius became the most startling and, at the same time, influential source of information on the atrocities.

Most commentators interpreted the events in Turkey as the beginning of the end of the Ottoman Empire and saw them as indicative of Turkey's transformation into an element of uncertainty that severely destabilized the international balance of power. This was reflected in the disagreements among commentators concerning the question of how Germany should react to the situation.

Contemporaries for whom the preservation of international peace was of the highest importance, found themselves siding with avowed friends of Turkey, and they tried hard to justify the measures taken by the Turks. Christians, who were outraged at the cruelty of the actions taken against their co-religionists and were concerned about their future, had, on the other hand, as little interest in the continuation of the Ottoman Empire's existence as had those dreamers and armchair

strategists who wanted to dissolve Turkey and to secure the largest possible inheritance for Germany (Feigel, 1989: 64).

As a rule, the clerical, predominantly Protestant, press heavily criticized the German government for its inactivity. The exception was the missionary papers, for foreign missions depended on Ottoman state tolerance of their activities. Generally, the press was torn between incredulity at the actions of the Turks and the desire to maintain continued friendship with the Ottoman Empire despite the massacres. This was particularly true for the respectable liberal paper *Christliche Welt*, which at the same time emphasized that it did not want to increase any anti-Turkish sentiment and that the Turkish people were not responsible for the massacres, only a few individuals (Feigel, 1989: 55).

Some contributors in the Protestant media showed open Islamophobia and anti-Turkish resentment (Feigel, 1989: 65). Protestants had a bias towards the Armenians and the Armenian Apostolic Church. It originated in a more general Western European feeling of superiority towards the allegedly backward and primitive Oriental churches. Typically for the general denominational resentment of conservative Western Christians against Oriental churches, the conservative Protestant paper *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* described the Armenian Apostolic Church as inferior, although it admitted a potential usefulness of Armenian Christians as mediators or propagators of Western culture, civilization and religiosity in the Near East (Feigel, 1989: 53). The equally conservative Protestant paper *Allgemeine Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchenzeitung* combined denominational and ethnic bias, while reminding its readers that Armenians had a low moral level and were known as shylocks[7] (Feigel, 1989: 50).

Oppressive Media Politics and Censorship

During the regime of Abdul Hamid II, German print media and publishers were confronted with attempts by the Imperial government to control and suppress the coverage of events in Turkey and in particular that of the Armenian atrocities. The German Jewish historian, writer and correspondent[8] of the national paper *Frankfurter Zeitung*, Dr. Bernhard Guttmann (1869–1959), remarked that the Imperial government would interpret any criticism of the Sublime Porte and Abdul Hamid's Pan-Islamist regime as hostility to the German Reich and as Anglophilia. But self-censorship was at least present in German media coverage. With the exception of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* and the *Historisch-Politische Blätter*, which were affiliated with the Catholic Church, and the media

of the Protestant missions, mainstream German pre-First World War mass media supported the political, economic and cultural ambitions of German foreign policies in the Near East, tacitly accepting that the Armenian Question was completely subordinated to such goals.

In addition to the pre-existing media self-censorship, Germany and Austria, Turkey's military allies during the First World War, continued to be very wary of the question of the Armenian massacres. When the war broke out they had immediately introduced military censorship on the coverage of Turkey. From the beginning of hostilities, the press and print media were under the control of the War Press Office, headed by the ultra-conservative intelligence officer Lieutenant Colonel Walter Nicolai (1873–1947), whom journalists soon nicknamed the "father of lies." The German censorship orders of 1917 indicate under the key words Armenia and Turkey that "papers on the Armenian Question are subject to prior censorship" (Fischer, 1973: 199, 266). In his criticism of the governmental "betrayal of the German people" Heinrich Vierbücher, who spent the war years as a translator in the Ottoman Empire, quotes the guidelines for censorship given out during two press conferences, the first on October 7, 1915:

> About the Armenian atrocities we have to state the following: This internal Turkish administrative issue (i.e. the deportation of the Armenians) must not only threaten our friendly relations with Turkey, but is currently not even to be discussed.
>
> In the meantime it is therefore mandatory to keep silence. Later, if direct accusations of German complicity are articulated from abroad, the matter needs to be treated with the utmost caution and restraint, by pretending that the Turks had been severely provoked by the Armenians.

and the second on December 23, 1915:

> It is best to keep silence on the Armenian Question. The behavior of Turkish rulers in this matter is however not particularly praiseworthy[9] (Vierbücher, 1987: 76).

News on this question that reached the German press from overseas was not to be published. Instead, official German press offices repeated the Turkish denials "in which the Turks lied with an audaciousness that led even the heads of the German War Press Office to blush" (Vierbücher, 1987: 77).

In anticipation of foreign criticism and war propaganda, the German Foreign Office prepared a counter-strategy that aimed to justify Germany's position by putting the blame on the Ottoman Armenians' alleged disloyalty. It emphasized at the same time that Germany nevertheless had done its best to reprimand its Turkish ally and to alleviate the situation of the Armenian deportees.[10] In his address of September 29 (1916) to the Budget Committee of the German Parliament (Reichstag), Secretary of State to the Foreign Office, A. Zimmermann, also blamed the Entente and the Armenians for their own destruction. He made the remark in reply to a British media comment on the Armenians as allies of the Entente, a comment that revived the Germans' suspicion of the Armenians as insurgent and treacherous:

> At this point I remember an article in the *Daily Chronicle* in September 1915,[11] that was full of praise and recognition of the fact that the Armenian people, from the beginning of the war onwards, had accepted the matter of the Entente as their own, from the very beginning had fought on the side of the Entente uncompromisingly and had a right to be considered as the seventh ally of the Entente. The article is signed: The seventh Ally!
>
> I can only say that we have done everything we could. The only other extreme thing left for us would be to terminate our alliance with Turkey. You will understand that under no circumstances can we reach such a decision. Higher than the Armenians in our list of priorities, no matter how much we regret their fate from a purely humane point of view, are our sons and brothers who must shed their precious blood in the most dreadful battles and who are also dependent on the support of Turkey. After all, the Turks are doing us significant and great services in covering the southeast flank. You will agree with me that we cannot go so far as to break off our alliance with the Turks, whom we have indeed upset with our continual protests about the Armenian question.[12]

In order to counter domestic and foreign criticism, in particular in neutral countries, Zimmermann had already commissioned the German Embassy, on August 4, 1915, to put together an apologetic "collection of materials":

> What will matter in particular is demonstrating that there actually was an Armenian movement in Turkey, with many branches which were hostile to the state, the suppression of which was a matter of

> self-preservation for the Sublime Porte, and that the Armenians were incited to their treasonable acts exactly by the Entente Powers, who have, thus, taken on the moral responsibility for the consequences. It would then have to be proved what was done on our part to prevent too harsh a treatment of the Armenians and to ease the suffering of those affected.[13]

More than a year later Ambassador Paul Count Wolff Metternich zur Gracht (1853–1934) delivered the requested response, albeit with the following limitations:

> As desired, in this recording a wider space is devoted to the guilt of the Armenian people against the Ottoman Empire and to the efforts of the Imperial Government and its representation in Turkey to improve the lot of the Armenians. Also the responsibility that our enemies bear against the Armenian people is noted with particular emphasis. An enumeration and description of single atrocities has been abstained from; on the other hand, no attempt has been made to sugarcoat anything of the sad total picture. Such an attempt would, moreover, be hopeless and harmful since too many Germans – officers, soldiers, doctors, hospital and mission sisters, as well as officials and employees – have themselves become witnesses to the suffering of the Armenian people in Turkey.[14]

For the most part, silence reigned in Germany after 1915. The previous public debate between Turkophiles and Armenophiles apparently ceased. As the Chargé d'affaires to Constantinople, Neurath noted on September 26, 1916:

> the [Foreign] O[ffice] is attempting to convince the German friends of the Armenians that they should refrain from further public propaganda during the war. They have agreed to do so, on condition that the opposite side also stops its anti-Armenian agitation in public, particularly in the press. Therefore, it seems to be desirable that the press be advised in confidence to leave the Armenian question alone in the future, as far as possible, and that any articles appearing despite this should be stopped by the censors, if this is feasible.[15]

There are very few exceptions of German publicists speaking out. Johannes Lepsius was, again, the most prominent. His attitude and activities during the First World War are the more remarkable since he came from a bourgeois Prussian family, and his patriotism and the war

enthusiasm that he displayed during the pre-war period temporarily outweighed his Protestant internationalism. According to H.-L. Kieser, Lepsius "published clichéd war propaganda in chorus with German spokesmen; he demanded the victory of the German world power and in the same breath the victory of the gospel of Jesus Christ in this world" (Kieser, 1915–1916). On October 5, 1915, at a time when the vast majority of Ottoman Armenians had already been deported, Lepsius gave a talk before the German Press Association (*Pressevereinigung*)[16] defending the official German policies in Turkey. He saw the stabilization of the Turkish state as a vital issue for Germany (Kieser, 1915–1916). Such a statement may have been made for tactical considerations, because in his otherwise "intelligent and also courageous speech," the then East German scholar Hermann Goltz added that Lepsius had accused the German government of being a "slave of the Porte." However, such candor only added to the determination of the representatives of the German military censorship, who were present in the audience. They decided that it was necessary henceforth to censor every word on the Armenian Question (Goltz, 1987: 38).

Unlike American missionaries working in the Near Eastern field before the USA entered the war in 1917, and who were alarmed by the actions of the Turks against the Armenians, Lepsius, in 1914, still naively believed in the Armenian reforms for regional administrative autonomy, which had been imposed on the chauvinist Turkish government a year before they could be implemented. He did not see the early warning signs of increasing persecution of Ottoman Christians in the second half of that year (Kieser, 1915–1916: 17). But when he learned in the early summer of 1915 of the intentional destruction of the Ottoman Armenians, he reacted promptly and:

> unlike nearly all other German spokesmen, not in an embarrassed, opportunistic or cynical way. He understood and publicly declared what was going on with the weakest of the weak, and he was again present as a person who had accused German world-power policies and its ideologists, in particular the theologian Friedrich Naumann, of ethical failure, fatal expediency, reputed *realpolitik* and the veneration of Wotan instead of the adoration of Christ (Kieser, 1915–1916: 18).

Inside Germany, anti-Armenian publications, unimpaired by censorship regulations, appeared throughout the war, often emanating from prominent publishing houses.[17]

The Aftermath in Two Sketches

Republican interlude: The trial of Soġomon T'ehlerean (Berlin 1921)

The early years of the German Republic saw the publication of the "Open Letter to US president Woodrow Wilson" in the *Berliner Tageblatt* of February 23, 1919, by the writer and eyewitness to the Armenian expulsion Armin T. Wegner; the press coverage of Wegner's tumultuous public lecture on the "Expulsion of the Armenian People into the Desert"; and the trial of Soġomon T'ehlerean (Soghomon Tehlirian; 1897–1960), the Armenian who was accused of assassinating the previous Ottoman Home Minister and Grand Vizier, Mehmet Talat. As noted by the *spiritus rector* of the clandestine Armenian Nemesis (Vengeance) network, the journalist Shahan Natali (i.e., Hakop Der Hakobean; 1884–1983), the paradox of an Armenian as a perpetrator of the assassination of a Turkish victim who had been one of the perpetrators of the Armenian Genocide captured the attention of the international and national press, which largely praised the acquittal of the Armenian on the basis of insanity. In a most effective way, the murder of the prominent political refugee, the former Grand Vizier Talat,[18] in the German capital city, inevitably compelled the authorities and the citizens of the German Republic not only to confront the crimes committed by Germany's recent war ally, but also to reflect on German complicity and co-responsibility. From the existing files on the question, it is clear that the German Foreign Office and the prosecution tried to prevent the court proceedings, which started on July 2, 1921, and which became a media event (Hofmann, 1989: 45). On May 25, 1921, the Chief Public Prosecutor, in a letter to the Prussian Justice Ministry, articulated his apprehensions:

> It is to be feared that the [coming] trial by jury of the Armenian who assassinated the former Turkish Grand Vizier, Talat Pasha, on 15 March of this year, in Berlin, will escalate into a mammoth political case. Not only will it cause a lot of public concern, once the numerous political questions unfold, but will also, in the course of assessment, raise much controversy about the motives behind the act. We are to fear a disturbance on the public front as well as in German–Turkish relations.
>
> … The eyes of the entire Islamic world will be focused on (this) trial. Public discussion of the trial would have multiple and significant political repercussions in Asia, (especially) on political relations between [Germany] and Ankara's newly-formed government.

> [As a result] of the [given] political reasons, the [Foreign Office] would greatly appreciate exclusion of the [public] in this matter. [As to] permission for press coverage, this will pose no problem due to the enforcement of the pledge of confidentiality as set down in the judicial constitution (Hofmann, 1989: 44).

However, the Foreign Office decision-makers deviated from earlier requests and announced that a request for public exclusion would be less than desirable as it could not only backfire, but could also make a bad impression on the public. The advocates of a flexible attitude that was intended to impress above all the Allied powers seemed to have convinced the conservative hardliners (Hofmann, 1989: 45).

Three days after the assassination of Talat, the *New York Times* reported that the German press was mourning the death of Talat "who has been a faithful friend of the German Reich until Turkey's complete collapse" (Hosfeld, 2005: 13). In reality, media opinions in Germany were far from uniform since the press had regained its freedom after the First World War. The Berlin court case of 1921 caused a feud between German social-democratic and bourgeois newspapers, namely between *Vorwärts* and *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* (*DAZ*), which had been a sort of semi-official government gazette during the war. Under the direction of the previous naval attaché to Constantinople, the Turkophile Hans Humann, *DAZ* started a "downright anti-Armenian campaign" after the assassination of Talat (Hosfeld, 2005: 13). The bourgeois press also adopted the criticism by the Young Turks of the Berlin trial, which the *DAZ* called a "judicial scandal" (*Justizskandal*). According to the conservative paper, the acquittal of the culprit inspired political extremists to repeated assassinations, on the one hand, and terrified, on the other hand, prominent political refugees living in Germany. In spite of all the controversial interpretations, the German papers jointly focused their criticism on the conspicuously apolitical nature of the trial:

> The judge and the prosecutor ardently tried to treat the case as an apolitical case. Their efforts were unilaterally focused upon the inner aspects of the crime. The fear of the murder gaining political attention rendered them relatively powerless in the face of the accordingly one-sided defense, which capitalized successfully both on itself and the assassin. Once the trial did gain political dimensions, both the judge and the district attorney could not afford to remain indifferent to the case's political foundation if the members of the jury were to be considered neutral and impartial, and capable of reaching an objective verdict.[19]

Comparing the Berlin trial with the earlier German war criminal trials of 1919 and 1920 in Leipzig, the social-democratic press called it the "first real war criminal case," even though questions of Talat's personal responsibility for the extermination of the Armenians, or of Germany's involvement, had not been sufficiently examined: "Of course, the trial never fully investigated this matter… The question was answered purely subjectively, although an objective research would have been of the highest priority."[20]

A few years later, the interest of the press in the Armenian Genocide had proved to be ephemeral, with the exception of a comment by the Nazi journalist Alfred Rosenberg in July 1926.[21] But the profound impact of the 1921 Berlin trial on international law was lasting, for it caught the attention of the young Polish-Jewish jurist and historian Dr. Raphael Lemkin (1900–1959) and Robert Max Wassili Kempner (1899–1993), the German-born Jewish lawyer and later assistant US chief counsel during the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg (Kempner, 1980: 167–168). As a young law student, Kempner had actually attended the proceedings of the T'ehlerean trial.

Lemkin, who followed the Berlin trial in the contemporary press while studying law at the University of Lwów (Ukrainian: Lviv; Russian: Lvov; German: Lemberg), described the trial in his autobiography as a key incentive for his lifelong fight for the penalization and prevention of the crime of genocide (Lemkin, 2013: 20–21). He also compared the Berlin trial to a similar case that was heard in Paris in 1926:

> In Paris, Shalom Schwarzbard, a Jewish tailor whose parents had perished in a pogrom in Ukraine in 1918, shot the Ukrainian minister of war, Symon Petljura, a man generally blamed for the massacres. Like Tehlirian before him, Schwarzbard was put on trial. … The Paris jury found itself in the same moral dilemma as the court in Berlin. They could neither acquit Schwarzbard nor condemn him. … The ingenious legal minds found a compromise similar to that in the trial of Tehlirian: "The perpetrator is insane and therefore must go free."[… Gradually, the decision was maturing in me that I had to act (Lemkin, 2013: 20–21).

Even before the Nazis came to power in 1933, the coverage of the Armenian Genocide and related issues had disappeared from German media and subsequently fell into complete oblivion. Oppressing and persecuting political dissenters or Jewish authors, journalists and artists as "degenerate," the Nazis and their followers burnt, among others,

Franz Werfel's novel *The 40 Days of Musa Dagh* and Armin T. Wegner's publications.

Rediscovery and re-remembrance since 1979

After the Second World War, the attention of the German public, including academia and media, was concentrated upon the destruction of European Jewry by the Nazis, whereas the First World War and the "Holocaust before the Holocaust" (Elie Wiesel) remained unmentioned and unremembered. Even today, the Holocaust is generally perceived in Germany as singular, a unique event that must not be compared with any other case of genocide.

In the late 1970s and 1980s, the genocide perpetrated against the Ottoman Armenians was reintroduced through a series of publications. First came the release of three issues of the journal *Pogrom* (1979, 1980, 1981),[22] followed by the re-publication of the stenographic protocol of the 1921 court proceedings of the Soġomon T'ehlerean trial (Hofmann, 1980). Then came the publication of the German edition of the proceedings of the 1984 Sorbonne session of the Permanent Peoples' Tribunal[23] by the Göttingen-based German minority and human rights non-government organization (NGO) *Gesellschaft für bedrohte Völker* (Society for Threatened Peoples). These publications reintroduced the genocide perpetrated against the Ottoman Armenians and brought the issue of its international recognition to the forefront in post-war German society. For many German residents of Turkish origin, these publications by the second largest German human rights NGO were real eye-openers, which resulted in the translation of the reports into Turkish.[24]

The rediscovery of the Armenian Genocide by the German public was accompanied by attempts of the Armenian Diaspora to gain "international affirmation" of the reality of the Armenian Genocide by international political and national legislative bodies, such as the United Nations and the European Parliament, and this led to the recognition of the Genocide by 24 national legislatures, as well as Turkey's fight to oppose such acknowledgment. In its early stages, during 1973–1985, this rediscovery had been closely linked with the activities of militant groups of the Armenian Diaspora in Lebanon and France, who carried out 185 commando campaigns directed against those who were behind the "international crime of silence" (Hofmann, 1986: 300–305). These commando attacks caused the death of 40 Turks as well as nine victims of other nationalities.[25]

The assassinations of Turkish diplomats by the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA) and by three minor clandestine

Armenian militant groups from 1975 to 1983 provided many journalists inside and outside Germany with the motive to recall the historic dimensions of Armenian–Turkish relations, including the Armenian Genocide and the refusal by Turkey to officially recognize the historic facts as intended genocide. As one representative of a leading German journal explained over the phone, "It takes fresh blood to look at old histories." The Armenian assassinations of Turkish diplomats provided such bloody occasions for a deeper exploration by the press and can therefore be dubbed as "journalistic terror," according to the French lawyer Jean-Marie Théorolleyre. For 40 years, Théorolleyre wrote a judicial chronicle in *Le Monde* accurately describing the character of the new Armenian militancy and contrasting it to the revenge assassinations of 1921–1922.[26]

Overall, in the German media, the repercussions of Armenian and Turkish militancy during 1981–1983 were ambivalent. On the one hand, the coverage of the history of Armenians and their present state in a worldwide diaspora clarified their situation, but the sharp reactions of Turkish media, official and semi-official institutions, simultaneously provoked a pre-existing German tendency to self-censorship. This was made clear in the only two extensive TV documentaries that ever broadcast on ARD (Germany's public service TV), the first on April 21, 1986 (55 minutes), and the second, on April 9, 2010 (90 minutes). Both documentaries were produced by German-Jewish TV journalists and book authors: Ralph Giordano (1923–2014) and Eric Fiedler (born 1971 in Australia). Both producers relied entirely on the assumed persuasiveness of lengthy citations from the German diplomatic correspondence of 1915–1916.

In the first film, the citations were read directly from the original documents – thus reducing much of the film to black and white pictures. In the second case the readings were done by professional actors. Both producers obviously believed that their main task was to inform their audience about certain "genocidal facts." Consequently, both "sinned" against the main convention of movies by avoiding motions (and emotions). In addition, Giordano's film title also avoided the term genocide (*The Armenian Question No Longer Exists: The Tragedy of a People*), whereas at least the subtitle of Fiedler's film contained the feared g-word: *Aghet – A Genocide*. But all precautions could not prevent massive Turkish protest inside and outside Germany, and this was particularly the case in 1986, when Giordano was personally targeted with threats. In his attempt to compromise, ARD director Friedrich Novotny pledged not to repeat the nationwide broadcast – a promise that was kept with only one exception in 2005. Fiedler's film of 2010, which was shown very late, at 11:30 p.m., caused significantly lesser protest.

After the breaking up of ASALA in 1985, the media coverage of the Armenian Genocide again became infrequent and sporadic.[27] However, two German petitions for the legislative recognition of the Armenian Genocide in 2000 and 2005 brought a more intense coverage. The first petition was introduced in the Petition Commission of the German Bundestag by a union of four NGOs, including the Central Council of Armenians in Germany. It received the attention of Turkish media only six months later, but was then handled as in similar previous cases. A smear campaign was started against the author and coordinator of the petition, and the largest daily newspaper in Turkey, *Hürriyet*, repeated the allegations of *Aydınlık*,[28] the journal of an obscure chauvinist leftist party. It falsely alleged that I, Tessa Hofmann, was the head of the "Turkey–Caucasus" branch of the German intelligence service, that I had the special task of destabilizing Turkey and the Caucasus by provoking inter-ethnic tensions and hate, and that I had freed from a Turkish jail and subsequently brainwashed the Turkish scholar Professor Taner Akçam until he became a propagator of the Armenian genocide allegations.[29] Obviously aiming to scare Turkish scholars and human rights colleagues from any personal contacts with me, such distortions were more libelous than ridiculous. Legal measures against such slanders were limited since I could only successfully file a court case against *Hürriyet*, which had a German branch near Frankfurt until 2013.

Other targets of smear campaigns were the Turkish sociologist Dr. Elcin Kürşat-Ahlers (Hannover),[30] who in 2001 had dared to lecture publicly on the Armenian Genocide; Dr. Jan-Philipp Reemtsma, a prominent German entrepreneur and sponsor of civic rights projects; and the German MP Cem Özdemir, who is of Turkish origin.[31] Such slander is in line with the activities and methods of the *Asılsız Soykırım İddiaları ile Mücadele Koordinasyon Kurulu* (ASIMKK – Coordinating Council against Baseless Genocide Allegations), founded in Turkey by its prime minister.[32] This body consists of representatives from the following key ministries, authorities and institutions: Defense, Justice, Home Ministry, Foreign Office, Ministries of Education, Culture and High Schools, the national intelligence service MIT, the undersecretary of the semi-official Turkish History Society, and the Directorate General of the State Archives. Starting with Abdullah Gül in 2002, Turkey's prime ministers chair the ASIMKK ex officio. At the time of the foundation of ASIMKK, Devlet Bahceli held the office. He had been chairman of the chauvinist party MHP since 1997. Although Prime Minister Tayyip Recep Erdoğan ordered in 2006 that

State officials had to replace the term "alleged" or so-called Armenian Genocide" (*sözde Ermeni soykırımı*) by the more neutral paraphrase, "events of 1915" (*1915 olayları*), to this day ASIMKK has not yet been dissolved (Dixon, 2010: 115). But, as the above examples demonstrate, even before the formation of ASIMKK, Turkish diplomatic representations not only in Germany, but also worldwide, carried out the task of protesting and, if possible, interfering in all public events, such as panel discussions, conferences, exhibitions or extensive media coverage relating to the Armenian Genocide. This task included letters of protests written by Turkish diplomats to editors, TV directors and organizers of all kinds.

A rare exception among contemporary German journalists and publicists is Wolfgang Gust (born 1935). Originally a scholar of French philology, he became interested in the Armenian Genocide after reading Jacques Der Alexanian's book *Le ciel était noir sur l'Euphrate* (1988; 1992; 2007) on the fate of the author's father and genocide survivor, Gazaros. Gust then discovered that there existed very little German research on the Armenian Genocide. This failure of German historians encouraged him to publish his own research on the question. Gust looks back on a remarkable career as a journalist for the leading German political journal *Der Spiegel*. For example, he was head of *Der Spiegel*'s Paris office (1970–77), deputy foreign editor (1977–1981) and head of its book review pages (1981–86). When in late 1991 Azerbaijan started an undeclared war against the previous Soviet Autonomous Region of Nagorno Karabakh, Gust published a series of three extensive articles in *Der Spiegel* on the Armenian Genocide and Azerbaijan's war under the title "We shall exterminate you!"[33] In these articles, he interpreted the events in Nagorno Karabakh and Azerbaijan in the context of a continuing Pan-Turkish genocidal threat against Armenians. Since his early retirement in 1993, Gust has published three books on the Armenian Genocide and Turkey. His magnum opus was a considerably enlarged edition of the 444 Foreign Office documents that Johannes Lepsius had edited in 1919. Unlike Lepsius, Gust presented the German archival correspondence in their original version, i.e., without the "manipulations" that Lepsius and the German Foreign Office had included at the time of the first edition. The online edition is available and researchable in German, English and Turkish on the site created by Gust: www.armenocide.de.[34] The print edition of the papers in 2005 led to the publication of an English translation financed by and released as a cooperative edition in 2014 between the Toronto- and Cambridge-based Zoryan Institute (Gust, 2014).

Conclusion

Media coverage of the Ottoman Genocide against Armenians and other indigenous Christian ethnicities in the Ottoman Empire can be considered part of the larger German public discourse on politics and morality. Specific speeches and publications on the question were and continue to be perceived as incompatible with the country's public position. In the first period that we have examined, the persecution and subsequent annihilation of Ottoman Armenians was extensively discussed, albeit without feasible practical results. Next to nothing was done to prevent or end the increasing destruction of Ottoman Christianity. Has this political and media bystander attitude profoundly changed in the course of a century? What is the current response of German mass media to the evasiveness of the German Federal Government and legislature? Did German media eventually distance themselves from the government?

As a result of traditional journalistic self-censorship, combined with ignorance, the general pattern of German media reporting on the Armenian Genocide avoided qualifying the crime as genocide, instead treating the "denialist" position of Turkey and the "Armenian Genocide claim" as equal positions. It has long been ignored that the vast majority of genocide scholars, and several international and national legislative bodies, had recognized the "expulsions" and "massacres" as genocide according to the UN Convention. Subsequently, the Armenian Genocide appeared as an unsolved open matter of debate between two remote countries, and was left to the personal judgment of newspaper readers and TV viewers which country they preferred to believe. This equidistant media approach fully coincided with the official opinion of German legislators and the government, which preferred to paraphrase the "events of 1915" as "expulsions and massacres," or less judicially as "tragic events," thus avoiding any judicial qualification.[35] The official reason given by German political decision-makers for their position was the assumption that an evasive German stand would better promote reconciliation between Armenians and Turks rather than an allegedly confrontational one insisting that Turkey and the Turks recognize the historic facts and accept that they had in fact carried out a genocide.[36] Just like Chancellor Bismarck, the political decision-makers of today, in particular the Foreign Office and the Chancellery, seem to perceive themselves more as self-appointed mediators than as one of the interested parties.

Post Scriptum: The international awareness raised by the 2015 Centenary will prove to have profoundly shaken the decades-old

persistence of German political and media indifference. The stubborn refusal of the Federal Government to paraphrase the Ottoman Genocide(s) other than "expulsion" and "massacres," even in the face of international and national awareness of the Armenian Genocide, has caused increasing criticism not only among scholars, human rights NGOs including Turkish or Turkey-born human rights advocates, but also among German journalists, who reacted with annoyance when a recent case of political censorship was revealed: in spring 2015, the Chancellery, the Foreign Office and heads of the ruling coalition parties cancelled the g-word in a motion that was planned for a parliamentary debate on April 24, 2015; however, voting on the question was postponed to an undefined date. Since then, the media coverage of the historic events has not only become more frequent and intense, but journalists have started to recognize the official German evasiveness as unhelpful, both with regards to genocide prevention and to the multiculturalism of current German society. On the eve of the 90th anniversary of the Armenian Genocide, the political commentator Mehmet Ali Birand (*Hürriyet*) warned his compatriots of the "Armenian Tsunami" at the time of the centenary.[37] Now we are beginning to see its effects on German media and politics.

Notes

1. Waldersee, Albert Graf von (1923) *Denkwürdigkeiten*, Bd I.
2. Contemporary and later estimates of victims vary between 100,000 (according to J. Lepsius, this estimate is too low) and 400,000 (including 100,000 Armenians who had been forced to convert to Islam). The Armenian-Apostolic Patriarchate of Constantinople mentioned 300,000 victims. This total also includes the victims of diseases and starvation which emerged as a result of the massacres and the subsequent flight into exile. For more on the discussion of the varying victim estimates, see Koutcharian (1989: 103–105).
3. Originally not intended and heavily criticized by Bismarck. The Emperor made a personal decision to begin his pilgrimage in Jerusalem with a visit to Constantinople (Meißner, 2010: 140).
4. The Kaiser's speech came as an enthusiastic response to the speech by the spiritual Muslim head (ulema), Sheikh Abdullah. W. van Kampen interprets it as something which was misunderstood by German Protestant critics as "noble gesture," which proved Wilhelm's tolerance and magnanimity towards Islam (Kampen, 1968: 143).
5. Translated by Tessa Hofmann.
6. Translated by Tessa Hofmann.
7. Synonyms for shylock: usurer, profiteer; a moneylender, taking extraordinary high interests. The anti-Armenian perception in the period under

scrutiny here strikingly resembles the anti-Jewish prejudices in German and other European public discourse.

8. Member of the editorial staff 1899–1930; correspondent to Hamburg, Constantinople, and London (1907–1930); then head of the Berlin office until he was refused work as a journalist for racial reasons.
9. Translated from the German original by Tessa Hofmann.
10. The October 26, 1915, report of Neurath, Chargé d'affaires in Constantinople to the Chancellor is a revealing example not only of the mode of justification, but also of typical stereotypes that determined the German position:

    > The Hülfsbund für christliches Liebeswerk im Orient (German Christian Charity-Organization for the Orient), the Deutsche Orientmission (German Mission for the Orient), the Deutsch-Armenische Gesellschaft (German-Armenian Society) and the deaconesses of Kaiserswerth have never misused their activities for political and commercial propaganda. They wanted to "serve the Armenian people," as the characteristic saying goes. To this end, they have spent many hundreds of thousands of marks and done a lot of selfless work, which could have been put to better use at home in Germany or for Germans residing abroad. They earned little thanks for this. At the beginning of the First World War, the Turkish Armenians immediately took a stand against Germany; long before the beginning of the persecution of the Armenians, they were the supporters of the enemy agitation against us.
    >
    > The terrible need, which arose from these persecutions could only by relieved through the expenditure of many millions. Until now, the Turkish government has refused any relief action. It cannot be foreseen whether it will accept this at a later stage. Probably the entire world will be called upon to give assistance, even if those rich Armenians living abroad will probably do very little. (From the Chargé d'affaires in Constantinople [Neurath] to the Reichskanzler [Bethmann Hollweg], Genocide 1915–1916)

11. *Daily Chronicle* of September 23, 1915
12. Notes by the Secretary of State of the Foreign Office (Zimmermann) for the Reichstag, Genocide 1915-1916. http://www.armenocide.net/armenocide/armgende.nsf/$$AllDocs-en/1917-05-09-DE-001?OpenDocument.
13. From the Undersecretary of State of the Foreign Office (Zimmermann) to the Ambassador in Constantinople (Wangenheim), Genocide 1915–1916. http://www.armenocide.net/armenocide/armgende.nsf/$$AllDocs-en/1915-08-04-DE-001?OpenDocument.
14. Translated by Tessa Hofmann. Der Botschafter in außerordentlicher Mission in Konstantinopel (Wolff-Metternich) an den Reichskanzler (Bethmann Hollweg), Genocide 1915–1916. http://www.armenocide.net/armenocide/armgende.nsf/$$AllDocs/1916-09-18-DE-001.
15. Notes by the Legation Councillor in the German Foreign Office Rosenberg, Genocide 1915–1916. http://www.armenocide.net/armenocide/armgende.nsf/$$AllDocs-en/1916-09-26-DE-001?OpenDocument.
16. A forum of the leading press journalists and publishers, which met weekly with representatives of the Foreign Office and the Navy Office.
17. An early example is the extremely hostile pamphlet by Carl Adolf Bratter, who alleged that the "Armenian atrocities" are the result of British politics in the Near East, at the same time accusing "Armenian conspirators" of purposely provoking massacres in order to gain foreign interventions (Bratter, 1915).

At the time, the prominent geographer, Oriental scholar and political author Ewald Banse mentioned explicitly in a book published in 1916 the "governmental policy of extermination" (*Ausrottungspolitik der Regierung*), but repeats the popular racist cliché of the Armenian as a "shrewd businessman whose professional ideal is to be a banker and a usurer" (Banse, 1916: 77).

18. Talat lived in Berlin with the knowledge and permission of German authorities, including the Foreign Office in Berlin, but under the code name Ali Saly Bey. He refused to hide in the countryside, leading instead a politically active life with many contacts, and he even travelled abroad for international conferences.
19. *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, July 9, 1921, quoted from the State Archives Merseburg, p. 66a.
20. *Vorwärts*, June 4, 1921, quoted from the State Archives Merseburg, pp. 69, 69a.
21. The occasion was the assassination of the Ukrainian national leader Symon Petlyura in Paris on July 25, 1926, by the Yiddish poet and anarchist Sholom Schwartzbard (1886–1938) for countless pogroms against Jews; a French court acquitted Schwartzbard. Rosenberg was one of the leading National Socialist (Nazi) ideologists in Germany and editor of the Nazi monthly *Der Weltkampf* (*The Fight for the World*; 1924–1944); Rosenberg compared the acquittal of Schwartzbard with that of S. T'ehlerean:

> Even during the War the Armenians have conducted espionage against the Turks, like the Jews against Germany. This forced Talaat Pasha, loyal to the German Empire, to sharp interventions, during which some hardships were inevitable. ... After the collapse of 1918, Talaat then lived in the capital of the country, to which he had faithfully kept, and was murdered here. The press of this country insulted him even after his death, stood protectively in front of his killer and demanded his acquittal. And actually, the Berlin court acquitted the Armenian Teilerian. The Jewish press of all colors cheered and described the acquittal as the "only possible" judgment. (Rosenberg, 1926: 289–300)]

22. *Pogrom: Zeitschrift für bedrohte Völker* [*Pogrom: Journal for Threatened Peoples*], 1979, No. 64; May 1980 No. 72/73; October/November 1981, No. 85. The headline of the first issue (1979) read: "Der verleugnete Völkermord an den Armeniern 1915–1918; Die deutsche Beteiligung" ["The Denied Genocide against the Armenians 1915–1918; The German Involvement"]; of the second issue (1980): "Armenier 1915: Verfolgung, Vertreibung, Vernichtung; Armenier 1980: Bedrohte Minderheit" ["Armenians 1915: Persecution, Expulsion, Extermination; Armenians 1980: A Threatened Minority"]. The issue of 1981 focused on the current situation of Armenians and other Near Eastern ethno-religious minorities (Assyrians, Greeks of Asia Minor and Circassians) in the Near East and in Germany. In 1987, the lasting interest of the public caused the re-edition of the three issues in one brochure (Hofmann & Koutcharian, 1987).
23. In 1983, the Society for Threatened Peoples was one of three European human rights NGOs that had appealed to the Permanent Peoples' Tribunal to hold a session on the Genocide against the Armenians. It took place on April 13–16, 1984 (Hofmann, 1985).

24. In 2003, a Turkish edition of the German re-edition (1985) of the 1921 stenographic protocol was released in Istanbul (Hofmann, 2003). A Turkish edition of *A Crime of Silence* was released in 2011: *Suskunluk Suçu* (2011), 1984 Paris Konferansı; Türklerin Ermenilere Uyguladığı Soykırımın Halkarın Daimi Mahkemesi'nde Görülen Davası. Çeviren Ismail Toksoy, Zekiye Hasançbi, Ülkü Sağır (Istanbul: Pencere Yayınları).
25. Atsiz, Yagmur; Janssen, Karl-Heinz; Kramer, Kathrin, "Terror gegen die Türken" ["Terror against the Turks"] *Die Zeit*, 7 December 1984: 17.
26. On November 17, 1981, in *Le Monde*; the previous phase of Armenian militancy during 1921–22, however, contained, as mentioned in the context of the staged by Sh. Natali Berlin assassination of 1921, strong journalistic motifs as well.
27. These empirical findings are based on the Armenian-related newspaper clipping archives of the Centre for Information and Documentation on Armenia.
28. Allman Istihbaratı Türkiye-Kafkaslar Şefi Tessa Hofmann'ın ikilisi ["The Two Heads of the Turkey-Caucasus branch of German intelligence"], *Aydınlık*, December 31, 2000, frontispiece; p. 4; the two people mentioned on the frontispiece together with their portrait photographs are Prof. Taner Akçam and the Turkish journalist Oral Çalişlar.
29. Tessa Hofmann ın ikilisi: Oral Çalişlar – Taner Akçam [The duo of Tessa Hofmann: Oral Çalişlar – Taner Akçam]. *Hürriyet*, 4 January 2001: 19.
30. Under the headline "The head of the snake must be smashed," Hürriyet presented E. Kürşat-Ahlers as a traitor, which was the general reproach against all Turkish citizens or Turkey-born Europeans who dared to mention the Armenian Genocide in public speech or writing. Until 2008, this "crime" was prosecuted under the Turkish penal code. – Cf. Maron, Thomas: "Der Kopf der Schlange soll zertreten werden!" *Frankfurter Rundschau*, August 4, 2001, No-179.
31. Perhaps under the impression of the slander campaign that was particularly intense during 2000 and 2001, C. Özdemir used the conservative daily *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* to fight the first recognition petition to the Bundestag. A few days before the decision by the parliament, Özdemir appealed to his colleagues not to vote for the petition and recognition of the Armenian Genocide, because this would harm democratization in Turkey and Turkey's chances of becoming a full member of the EU. – Cf. Özdemir, Cem "Langer Gang am Bosporus: Was gegen eine Armenien-Resolution spricht" ["Long road at the Bosporus: What speaks against an Armenia-Resolution"] *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, April 5, 2001, No. 81: 54.
32. With the circular directive No B.02.0.PPG.0.12.320-8312-2 of 29 May 2001.
33. Gust, Wolfgang "'Wir werden euch ausrotten!' Kampf um Berg-Karabach und der Völkermord an den Armeniern" ["'We shall exterminate you!' Fight for Nagorno-Karabakh and the genocide against the Armenians"]. *Der Spiegel* series, No. 13/46. Jahrgang, March 23, 1992 – No. 15 (pp. 138–148); March 30, 1992 (pp. 150–166); April 6, 1992 (pp. 158–170); http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-13687666.html; http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-13682673.html; http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-13687666.html .
34. At present, the site contains also Danish and British Foreign Office archival documents.

35. Cf. the text of the petition "Es ist Zeit: Völkermord verurteilen!" ["The time has come to condemn genocide!"] of 2000: http://www.aga-online.org/documents/attachments/aga_02.pdf; the "Information for the media," issued by the Bundestag on October 10, 2001, on its procedure with this petition; also the resolution "Remembering and commemorating the expulsions and massacres of the Armenians in 1915 – Germany must make a contribution to reconciliation between Turks and Armenians," as adopted on June 16, 2005: http://www.aga-online.org/documents/attachments/BundestagResolution_en.pdf.
    Critical comments from the Armenia-born journalist Aschot Manutscharjan were published on the occasions of the first petition (2001) and of the second petition (2005); cf. Jach, M.; Manutscharjan, A (5/2000), "Ein düsteres Kapitel: Berlin möchte der Türkei kein Bekenntnis zum Genozid an den Armeniern abverlangen" ["A bleak chapter: Berlin does not want to demand a profession of genocide from Turkey"], *Focus*, 74-78; Manutscharian, Aschot: Hoffen auf Versöhnung, "Heute stimmt der Bundestag über die Resolution zur Vertreibung von Millionen christlicher Armenier vor 90 Jahren aus dem damaligen Osmanischen Reich ab" ["Hoping for Reconciliation: Today the Bundestag votes on the resolution on the expulsion of millions of Christian Armenians from the then Ottoman Empire 90 years ago"]. *Rheinische Post*, June 16, 2005.
36. The most recent statement by the governmental conservative fraction (CDU/CSU, i.e., the Christian Democratic Party and the Christian Social Union) is from the pre-election campaign during the summer of 2013, when the German-based international NGO Working Group Recognition – Against Genocide, for International Understanding, requested the faction to answer four questions on memory and history politics, including the question of the recognition of the Armenian Genocide by the German Bundestag. In its answer, the faction cited individual party members, who publicly acknowledged the fact of genocide, but then continued:

    > However, it is questionable whether an official acknowledgment of those terrible events as genocide by the German Bundestag would promote a process of reconciliation between Armenians and Turks, and the historical treatment in Turkey. Here an intensive examination is necessary. But this does not alter the basic conclusion that in 1915 genocide was committed against the Arameans (sic!) and also the human rights of other Christian groups were massively violated.

    The author of the text obviously confused Armenians with Arameans. http://www.aga-online.org/news/attachments/AGA_Wahlpruefsteine_2013_Erinnerungspolitik_CDU.pdf.
    In academic literature, the position of the German legislature and government in this matter has been analyzed in the following publication: (Hofmann, 2006), and in two doctoral dissertations, Schaefgen (2006) and Robel (2013).
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5

The Condition of Armenian Refugees and Orphans as Reported in *Armyanskiy Vestnik*

Louisine Abrahamyan

Introduction

As a result of the Armenian Genocide, a great number of Armenian refugees and deportees found refuge in Eastern Armenia and in the territory of the Russian Empire. Eastern Armenia was brimming with homeless refugees and orphans, deprived of their livelihoods and suffering from famine and epidemic diseases. In order to help the refugees, a large-scale humanitarian movement was launched in which Eastern Armenians and the Armenian community in Russia took an active part. Numerous unions and Armenian committees were established in Russia to gather together the organizations involved in Armenian issues to carry out relief programs for the refugees (Barkhudaryan, 2010: 153).

On October 22, 1914, Russian Armenians held a meeting in Moscow. A number of Armenian public figures spoke at the meeting and described the plight of Western Armenians. Aleksey Jivelegov, a prominent Armenian scientist and public figure, announced that a relief committee was to be established to aid suffering Armenians (Barkhudaryan, 2010: 63).

The purpose of this article is to describe how the *Armyanskiy Vestnik* periodical, published in Moscow during 1916–18, covered the situation of Armenian refugees and orphans (who were deprived of basic living conditions as a result of the genocide carried out by the Ottoman government), its attempts to engage in public life, as well as the role it took in various humanitarian organizations focusing on the improvement of the refugee situation.

The Mission of *Armyansky Vestnik*

There was a great need to inform the Russian population about the Western Armenians' situation, to highlight their forced displacement,

and help them in wartime, and it was these aims in mind that the Moscow Armenian Committee[1] published *Armyanskiy Vestnik*. Hovhannes Amirov was its publisher, and Aleksey Jivelegov, the editor. The first issue, published on January 31, 1916, stated the aims of the periodical: "The more the Russian society learns about the Armenians in the ongoing war, the more fairly it will treat the long-suffering Western Armenians…"[2]

The Law on Refugees adopted by the Russian Government on 30 August 1915 was published in the first issue.[3] The article reported: "On August 30, 1915, considering its commitment to aiding refugees, the Government adopted a Charter on Meeting the Needs of Refugees." According to this charter, a special board was established to coordinate the reimbursement of refugees, education of refugee children and other refugee-related issues. The board included seven members of the State Council of the Russian Empire, seven members of the Douma (Parliament), a representative of the governor of His Imperial Majesty in the Caucasus, and representatives of the Armenian Relief Committee.[4] Mikhayil Papajanov, a Douma member of Armenian origin, was also involved in the board.

The scope of its activities was very broad, and applied to refugees from the Russian Empire's enemy countries during the war. This was mentioned in Clause 6 of the Charter, which mainly referred to Armenians under Turkish rule, who were transferred to the Caucasus with the retreating Russian troops.[5]

The Number of Armenian Refugees in the Caucasus

In order to inform the Russian population about the plight of Western Armenians, *Armyansky Vestnik* created a section entitled "Refugees," which included articles describing their displacement and mass slaughter. The section covered issues like the process of refugee and orphan placement, and refugee-related material from the Armenian press, accompanied by photos of orphans and refugees. The periodical regularly reported on the activities of the Moscow Armenian Committee and other charity organizations operating in the Russian Empire, such as Fraternal Assistance[6] and the All-Russian Union of Cities[7]. Based on these materials one can build up a general idea about the number of refugees and what they were living through. Also published in the periodical was information on the number and general situation of the Armenian refugees who found refuge in Transcaucasia until 1916. Thus, according to a report from representatives of the Moscow Armenian

Committee, in August 1915 the number of refugees in Echmiatsin reached 46,000.[8]

There were as many ten deaths per day. Despite the fact that the care and assistance given to the refugees by relief workers increased day by day, the mortality rate did not decrease, and there were 300 dead by the end of August. After receiving appropriate medical care, many refugees were transferred to Yerevan and then returned to Yerznka, Bitlis, Moush, and Van – regions of Western Armenia that had been occupied by Russian troops. Almost every issue of the periodical gave updated information on the number of Armenians taking refuge in different regions of the Caucasus.

One issue of the periodical presented the number of Armenian refugees in the Caucasus (Table 5.2) and in Western Armenia and Persia (Table 5.3) as of January 1916, drawing on information provided by the office of All-Russian Union of Cities.[9]

An abstract of a report by T. Zoryan, the commander of the Caucasus frontline of the All-Russian Union of Cities, was published in the

Table 5.1 The number of refugees in Echmiatsin on August 1915

Refugees in number	*Orphans in number*	*Refugees suffering from typhus and dysentery in number*
46,000	3,000	5,000–6,000

Table 5.2 The number of refugees in the Caucasus

Erivan province	10,716
Elizavetopol province	110,840
Tiflis province	7,660
Tiflis city	1,360
Kars province	11,000
Baku city	900
Alashkert province	12,000

Table 5.3 The number of the refugees in Western Armenia and Persia

Van province	5,000
Bayazed province	1,100
Diadin city	6,000
Urmia city	15,000
Dilman city	20,000
Khoy city	4,500

issues 12–13 in 1916. According to the abstract, the total number of refugees in the territories occupied by the Russian troops in early March of 1916 reached 9000.[10] When Russian troops occupied Van in 1916 the number of Armenians in the whole *wilayah* (province) totaled 11,000. In July of the previous year, the Christian population and the Yezidies[11] (approximately 160,000 people) fled their homes and migrated to Transcaucasia in 34 days after the Russian troops' retreat. During the migration, 8000 people died; 20,000 more died from famine and various diseases once they had reached Transcaucasia. In Van, the Turks and Kurds burned the Armenians' houses and looted their property and livestock.[12] By the end of 1917, the number of refugees in Yerevan province reached 126,000, in the region of Kars, 29,600, in Baku, 2500, and in Tabriz, 7017.[13] These numbers cannot be considered as final, since every day new groups of Armenians arrived from the Kurdish villages where they had been treated as slaves, and released after the arrival of Russian troops – the Kurds not daring to keep them.

Armyansky Vestnik also printed reports of relief workers and doctors returning from the Caucasus frontline. An abstract of the report by A.G. Maratiants, a doctor from the All-Russian Union of Cities in Sarikamish, was published in issues 12–13.[14] According to his report, there were unsanitary conditions in Erzroum, especially among the refugees. The Turkish government had done everything to make the city a spawning ground for epidemics. Suffice to say that by the time Russian soldiers occupied Erzroum, 40,000 people out of 100,000 were suffering from typhus. The mortality rate reached 50–60%. As they left the city, the Turks killed animals, leaving them by the roadside, and burned the buildings. As a result, the city became more polluted. A swamp formed nearby, causing malaria to spread. The evacuation of Armenian refugees became imperative, and the All-Russian Union of Cities used its railway carriages for this purpose. An abstract of the report by T. Devoyan, another relief worker from Yerznka, was published in issue 32 of 1916.[15] It reported that houses had been abandoned and the bazaar had been destroyed when Yerznka was occupied by the Russian troops. Only a few women and young girls remained in the city, most of them having managed to escape from Turkish harems. According to this report, Yerznka had become a vast grave, where the bodies of 200,000 Western Armenians lay. The Russian troops liberated more than 300 Armenian children under the age of ten who had been converted to Islam. Most of them did not speak Armenian and did not even know their own names.

Coverage of Orphan Care

The number of orphans was increasing day by day, and *Armyanskiy Vestnik* covered Armenian orphan care. An article "The Orphans and Children of the Caucasus Frontline"[16] was published in issue 24 of 1916. It stated that there were many orphans in the Caucasus frontline, most of them the children of refugees and slaughtered Western Armenians. The majority were either children saved by Russian soldiers or youths who joined the Russian army – reporters noted well-groomed rescued children in military units. Some soldiers adopted children and even sent them to Russia. However, this was not desirable from the point of view of preserving children's sense of national identity. Since the war had not finished yet, it was hard to determine whether children were orphaned or had parents who were still alive. In many cases, orphans found their parents when returning to the Caucasus. Not only abroad, but also in the Caucasus, children lost their national identity and even forgot their native language. This is why the Education Division of the All-Russian Armenian Congress held in Petrograd passed a resolution:

> the care of orphan refugees and refugees' children shall be centralized in the hands of one body; special detachments shall be set up in the territories occupied by the Russian troops with the aim to search, collect and register orphans; orphanages shall be opened mainly in Transcaucasia – in an Armenian environment and mainly in villages; under the threat of war, the children shall be transferred to Armenia, as soon as the first opportunity is provided; orphans shall under no circumstances be passed to individuals: only Armenian national organizations shall take care of them.[17]

The articles on how orphans were found are also noteworthy. A key article by Gevorg Gyanjetsyan was published in the issue dated March 19, 1917. In previous issues he had tackled the situation of Armenian refugees and orphans in the territories occupied by Russian troops. According to Gyanjetsyan a great number of orphans could be found among the refugees who took shelter among the Dersim Kurds and in Erzroum, which became a gathering site for refugees coming from Yerznka and Mamakhatun. The article mentioned that despite all the difficulties encountered, refugees never gave up orphans in their care. Usually, women took care of one more orphan along with their own children. Very often, refugees became so close to the orphans that they refused to take them to the orphanages.[18] Retrieving Armenian

children from Muslim families was also mentioned as a problem in the article: it was very difficult to take Armenian children back from Turkish families because the Turks hid them. Houses where Armenian children were concealed were found with the help of Greeks and some Turks. The return of Armenian children in this way was possible only in those places where pro-Armenian organizations were operating.[19] The names of 18 children rescued from Turkish captivity in January 1917 through the efforts of the Moscow Armenian Committee were also published in this issue. Children's ages, as well as the names of those Turks who had hidden the children, were mentioned.[20] There were emaciated children turned feral who had remained near the corpses of their parents. The Moscow Armenian Committee established an orphanage specifically for these orphans aged 4 to 14.[21]

Orphanages were established hastily, and most of them did not have adequate facilities. Skin diseases spread rapidly in unsanitary conditions, and children suffered from digestive problems because of malnutrition.

Purchasing Armenian Refugees: One Golden Coin per Armenian

The issue of buying Armenian refugees and orphans back from the Kurdish tribes was also mentioned in *Armyanskiy Vestnik*. In the article we discover that the "generous" Kurds settled on one golden coin (equal to 18 roubles) as a purchasing price for one Armenian. The periodical also launched a fundraising campaign.[22] Calls for public figures and ordinary citizens to take part in the charity were published in the issues. Children of school age were particularly active: a letter from a second-grade Armenian schoolgirl living in Russia was published – "I don't want to do less than my friends, I want to release five Armenians and send 90 roubles for this purpose."[23]

The Moscow Armenian Committee set up a special medical group in Echmiatsin to take care of the Armenian refugees and orphans released from captivity.[24] The Moscow Armenian Committee had also a special group in Yerznka, which released Armenians with the help of influential leaders of Kurdish tribes. For a reward, Kurds would bring Armenians down from the mountains and hand them to the Committee. Between June 24 and October 1, 1916, the Committee released 4671 Armenians, 450 of whom were children aged between 4 and 12.[25] In addition to the Moscow Armenian Committee, a special committee headed by Haydukapet (Fedayeen) Murad of Sebastia had been engaged in the releasing and purchasing of Armenians since August 1916.[26] The Kurds

called the reward for Armenians a "baggage fee," since women and children were brought down from the mountain on the back of mules. The baggage fee was based on the distance the Armenians had to travel (the further the distance, the higher the price). As of August 1916, 30 to 40 roubles were paid on average for each Armenian. In this way, a number of Armenian women (many of whom were pregnant) captured by Turkish soldiers and peasants were released. The released Armenians were transferred to Yerznka and handed over to the care of Armenian organizations.

Letters to the Editor

In almost every issue, *Armyanskiy Vestnik* published letters written by Armenian refugees to the authorized body dealing with issues of refugee placement in the Caucasus. In one of the letters, addressed to Mikhayil Papajanov in the Douma, refugees from Erivan Governorate asked the government for a per-diem allowance of 20 kopecks, far too little given the dire scarcity of material in the Caucasus at the time.[27]

A letter signed by Khachatour Gench-Oghluyev, the Chairman of the Financial Commission of the Moscow Committee for Refugees and addressed to the members of the Armenian community was published in issue 17 of 1917. The letter stated that despite the continuing war, pro-Armenian organizations had provided hundreds of refugees with food and dwelling places, collected hundreds of orphans, and had solved their food and education-related issues over the previous three years. The government was also giving material assistance to the refugees. However, these actions were insufficient. Without reducing material support, the Moscow Armenian Committee offered to simultaneously enable the refugees to gradually build up their household. With the approval of the Armenian colony, a committee was elected, which set the amount that each person in the Armenian community would have to pay. The committee requested that community members make these payments at the office of the Moscow Armenian Committee as soon as possible.

Addressing Refugees' Mental Health Problems

Many refugees suffered mental illnesses, and the issue of care for them was considered during the Armenian Congress held in Petrograd in 1916. An abstract from the report entitled "Armenian Refugee Psychiatric Assistance Program" was published in issue 29 of 1916.[28] The report

noted that, among those who found refuge in Transcaucasia, there was a notably high incidence of mental illnesses. Three measures were proposed to care for such people: the setting up of a psychiatric committee composed of psychiatrists and people with relevant experience in this field to study the regions inhabited by the refugees, to determine the best ways to evacuate mentally ill refugees, and to research the places where the care centers would be established. Temporary groups composed of 12 members (doctors and sisters of charity) would take care of those who were ill; they would search for refugees with mental illnesses. To centralize treatment, hospitals would have to be established.

Strategies for Social Integration

The Western Armenians who found refuge in Transcaucasia and Russia made various household and art goods to meet their everyday living needs, which were shown in the exhibition of Her Imperial Highness the Grand Duchess Tatiana Nikolaevna held by the Refugee Assistance Committee in Petrograd in April 1917. The aim of the exhibition was to inform the Russian society about the situation of refugees, their lifestyle and work. At the same time the exhibition showed the Russian society that refugees were working under dire conditions and did not rely exclusively on the assistance provided to them. Most refugees mastered different trades and opened workshops in different regions. Female refugees established various associations for education and training: about 30,000 Armenian women, mainly from Mush and Taron, who had found refuge in Alexandropol, founded the Taron Women's Association to teach different trades to refugees.[29] The Van Women's Association is noteworthy, as it focused on education and enlightenment issues and organized Russian language courses.[30]

Armyanskiy Vestnik discussed the efforts of the government to assist the activities of pro-Armenian organizations. One of its articles covered the conference of 125 government representatives and members of pro-Armenian organizations held on May 10–12 in 1916.[31] According to the article, approximately 270,000 people found refuge in Russia, while several thousand Western Armenians were still in the deserts of Mesopotamia. In early 1916, the government allocated 900,000 roubles to open shops for the Armenian refugees in the Caucasus and Western Armenian territories occupied by the Russian troops.[32] During a special meeting held in Petrograd the government decided to give loans to the Western Armenian artisans in order to get them involved in handicraft. At that point, the government had already assigned 15,000 roubles from the state treasury.

The periodical also covered the efforts of the Armenian General Benevolent Union[33] to provide the Armenian refugees with the means to survive. The central committee of the Union opened the House of Armenian Workmen in Tbilisi to provide homeless refugees with the means needed for survival. The House of Armenian Workmen started to operate on December 5, 1915.[34] It had five divisions (binding-enveloping-packaging, tailoring, chair knitting, shoemaking, sock-knitting and spinning) for refugees of different ages and even for 13-year-old children. *Armyanskiy Vestnik* explored the activities of the House of


№ 9. ЕЖЕНЕДѢЛЬНЫЙ ЖУРНАЛЪ Цѣна 25 k.

АРМЯНСКІЙ ВѢСТНИКЪ

26 февраля. ГОДЪ ИЗДАНІЯ II-ой 1917 г.

На площади, предназначенной для постройки армянскаго театра въ Эрзинджанѣ.

МОСКВА.

Figure 5.1 "In the square, which was selected for the construction of Armenian theater in Erzindjan," *Armyanskiy Vestnik*, N 9, February 26, 1917, Moscow, front page (AGMI collection)

Armenian Workmen, publishing interviews with refugees working there and their memories of their migration.

After the February Revolution the number of articles and photos depicting the situation of Armenian refugees and orphans gradually reduced, and the publication of the periodical stopped in April 1918. Its material and technical resources were given to the Armenian Affairs Commissariat.

Figure 5.2 "Destroyed and abandoned streets of Erzindjan," *Armyanskiy Vestnik*, N 8, February 19, 1917, Moscow, front page (AGMI collection)

Conclusion

Thus, *Armyanskiy Vestnik*, which published for two years in all, was important in terms of informing Russian society about Armenian history and culture, as well covering the Armenian social, political, and national reality. By publishing reports written by doctors returned from the frontlines and from Transcaucasia, and by employees of charity organizations, in every issue, the periodical exposed the conditions of Armenian refugees to the attention of the Russian society.

Figure 5.3 "The victims of Turkish violence," *Armyanskiy Vestnik*, N 44, November 27, 1916, Moscow, front page (AGMI collection)

Armyanskiy Vestnik became one of the most important ways in which the Moscow Armenian Committee raised funds in order to organize humanitarian aid for Armenian refugees and orphans. It contributed to strengthening faith in the struggle for existence of a nation that had suffered tragedy, as well as to the development of a comprehensive relationship, and mental and spiritual cooperation, with the Russian people.


№ 42. ЕЖЕНЕДѢЛЬНЫЙ ЖУРНАЛЪ Цѣна 20 к

АРМЯНСКІЙ ВѢСТНИКЪ

13 Ноября. ГОДЪ ИЗДАНІЯ I-ый 1916 г.

Сироты пріюта Елисаветпольскаго Комитета по оказанію помощи бѣженцамъ армянамъ.

(Сидятъ: посрединѣ — попечитель пріюта, съ лѣвой стороны — завѣдующая, съ правой — ея помощница)

МОСКВА.

Figure 5.4 "Armenian orphans in the orphanage of Elizavetopol Committee for Relief to Armenians," *Armyanskiy Vestnik*, N 42, November 13, 1916, Moscow, front page (AGMI collection)

Notes

1. This organization was established on October 26, 1914, in Moscow by a number of prominent Moscow Armenians to help thousands of Armenian refugees and save their lives. The Moscow Armenian Committee sent medical groups to the Caucasus, offered free medical consultation and medication to the tidal wave of the Armenian refugees. The Committee funds were drawn from membership fees, donations from Moscow Armenians, public lectures, charity concerts, etc. The financial board of the Committee compiled a list the Armenians living in Moscow, and charged each a certain sum. In order to raise the large amount of money needed, the Moscow Armenian Committee used a massive media campaign. The Committee undertook the publication of the *Armyanskiy Vestnik* periodical during 1916–1918. See: *Armyanskiy Vestnik*, 1916, issue no. 1: 14–16, as well as Hanragitaran, (1996: 337).
2. *Armyanskiy Vestnik* (1916), Editorial, issue no. 1: 1–2.
3. "Refugees: Law on the Refugees," *Armyanskiy Vestnik*, 1916, issue no. 1: 12.
4. *Ibid*., 13.
5. *Ibid*., 14.
6. This organization was established during the First World War to aid people affected by the war. The Committee of Fraternal Assistance was established on December 28, 1914, in Echmiadzin by the initiative of Gevorg V, the Catholicos of All Armenians. The Committee had branches in Petrograd, Tbilisi, Yerevan, Alexandropol, etc. During the Armenian Genocide this organization provided the Armenian refugees with food, medicine and clothes, and established a hospital in Echmiadzin. *Armyanskiy Vestnik* thoroughly covered activities carried out by the Moscow Armenian Committee. The Committee sent a medical group consisting of 110 doctors to Eastern Armenia in August 1916. The area of the group's activity was large and included 41 villages from Oshakan to Bash Aparan, where the number of the refugees reached 7000. The Committee established five orphanages for 500 orphans, four schools, three of which were for the orphans, the fourth one for the children of refugees. The Moscow Armenian Committee also established a hospital for refugees in Ashtarak. The Committee spent 18,000 rubles per month on these expenses. See: *Armyanskiy Vestnik,* 1916, issue no. 1: 14–16, as well as Hanragitaran (1996: 118).
7. The All-Russian Union of Cities was an organization of liberal *pomeshchiks* (landlords) and bourgeoisie, established on August 8–9, 1914, in Moscow at a conference of city mayors (usually referred to as the Union of Cities). By 1917 it included about 640 cities. During WWI this organization evacuated more than 3.5 million refugees from the frontlines, offered free medical consultations and provided them with shelters. After the February Revolution (1917) this organization continued its activities abroad since its members were exiled in Russia, and the All-Russian Union of Cities collapsed in 1922. See: Korobeynikoff (1994); Astashoff (1994).
8. "Refugees: Law on the Refugees," *Armyanskiy Vestnik*, 1916, issue no. 1: 15.
9. *Ibid*., 14.
10. "In Erzeroum," *Armyanskiy Vestnik*, 1916, issue no. 12–13: 38–39.
11. The Ottoman Empire was composed of many distinct religious and ethnic groups. The rights awarded to different groups broadly followed principles

laid down in Islam for the division and allocation of rights to Muslim and non-Muslim populations in a given context. The situation of the Yezidis (an ethno-religious community that adheres to the Yezidism religion) in the Ottoman Empire has been summed up in the following way: "Yezidi land, lives and property were available to any pious folk able to prevail over them, and in effect they were outlaws, which was by no means the fate of most Kurds, however great their reputation for disloyalty at the Ottoman Porte." Yezidis benefited neither from being members of the Muslim *millet* (community), nor from the minimal rights accorded to non-Muslims living under Muslim sovereignty (*dhimmî*). Dealings between the Yezidis and the Ottomans were usually tense and frequently erupted into violence. In 1849, Yezidis appear to have been recognized in an Ottoman edict giving them minimal rights as a sect, yet there appear to have been repeated attempts in the 1890s and at the end of the First World War to forcibly convert Yezidis to Islam. After the Russo-Turkish war of 1877–1878, Yezidis moved into the Russian Empire. See: United Nations (2008).

12. "In Erzeroum," *Armyanskiy Vestnik,* 1916, issue no. 12–13: 40.
13. "Refugee life," *Armyanskiy Vestnik,* 1917, issue no. 33: 13.
14. "Refugees: the needs of the Armenian refugees in Van," *Armyanskiy Vestnik*, 1916, issue no. 12–13: 36.
15. "In Yerznka," *Armyanskiy Vestnik*, 1916, issue no. 32: 27.
16. G. Abrahamyan, *Russian Sources on the Armenian Genocide*, "The Orphans and Children of the Caucasus Frontline," *Armyanskiy Vestnik*, 1916, issue no. 24: 177.
17. *Ibid*., 178–179.
18. "How the orphans are found," *Armyanskiy Vestnik,* 1917, issue no. 12: 8.
19. *Ibid*., 9.
20. *Ibid*., 15.
21. "Refugees: Among phantoms," *Armyanskiy Vestnik*, 1916, issue no. 42: 17.
22. *Ibid*.
23. "The letter of an Armenian girl," *Armyanskiy Vestnik,* 1916, issue no. 40: 15.
24. "One Armenian one golden coin," *Armyanskiy Vestnik*, 1916, issue no. 30: 18.
25. "Search, liberation, transportation and settling," *Armyanskiy Vestnik,* 1917, issue no. 48.
26. *Ibid*., 16.
27. "Refugees petition," *Armyanskiy Vestnik*, 1916, issue no. 3: 13.
28. "Armenian Refugee Psychiatric Assistance Program," *Armyanskiy* Vestnik, 1916, issue no. 29: 5–6.
29. "Relief to the Armenian refugees," *Armyanskiy Vestnik,* 1917, issue no. 10–11: 28.
30. *Ibid*., 29.
31. "All-Russian Armenian Congress," *Armyanskiy Vestnik,* 1916, issue no. 17: 9.
32. "Report on the activities of the government to assist Western Armenians," *Armyanskiy Vestnik,* 1916, issue no. 9: 22.
33. The Armenian General Benevolent Union (AGBU) was founded on April 15, 1906, in Cairo, Egypt, by the initiative of the renowned national figure Boghos Nubar and other prominent representatives from Egyptian-Armenian communities to contribute to the spiritual and cultural development of the Armenian people. Between 1906 and 1912, AGBU provided the villagers of Western Armenia with seeds, agricultural instruments, etc. It established

schools and orphanages in Western Armenia, Cilicia and other Armenian-populated regions of the Ottoman Empire. By 1914, AGBU had 142 branches in Western Armenia, Cilicia, USA, Argentina, Europe and Africa with 8533 members. During the First World War and the Armenian Genocide, despite the huge losses in different chapters of the union, AGBU managed to render tangible help to Genocide survivors. In the years following the Genocide, AGBU became involved mainly in taking care of orphans. After the war, AGBU was re-formed and founded new branches in Armenian-populated regions of the Near East, Greece, France and the USA. In 1921, the Union's headquarters was moved from Cairo to Paris. After the First World War , its main goal was to preserve and promote the Armenian language, identity, and heritage through educational, cultural and humanitarian programs. AGBU expanded and became the biggest and most influential Armenian-diaspora organization in the world. Today, AGBU has chapters in 80 cities in 22 countries around the world. See: AGBU (2006).

34. "The House of Armenian Workmen," *Armyanskiy Vestnik,* 1916, issue no. 20: 12.

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6

The Polish Press and Armenian Genocide from 1895 to 1920

Dominika Maria Macios

Introduction

The Armenian Question was a very popular topic in the European press in the 19th and 20th centuries. Many articles were published in the English, Italian, French, Russian and German newspapers and magazines. Interestingly enough, interest in the issue extended beyond the countries directly involved in affairs of the Ottoman Empire. Information regarding the Armenian Question was also published in the Polish press, a press that belonged to a nation without its own territory. Poland had not existed on a political map of Europe since 1795. Polish lands were a part of the German, Austrian and Russian Empires, and Poles were citizens of those countries. Polish writers, poets, politicians and noblemen were forced to emigrate, the Polish language was abolished in official political life, and the Polish press was censored.[1] Even though facing many difficulties since the Congress of Berlin (1878), the events relating to the situation of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire were widely known to the Polish public.

Press articles regarding the Armenian Question were being published for several reasons. First, the major impact the dissemination of this information had on the Armenian diaspora living in Poland for a few generations. In the 19th century, Catholic Armenians were already quite well assimilated into Polish society. What is more, they held high positions in the administrative, cultural and social structures under all three partitions, which is why they had a major impact on molding Polish public opinion (Kurkjian, 1958: 381–383). Another important factor influencing reports on Armenia was the sympathy and respect Polish people had for the Armenians because of their contributions to the national culture, history and heritage of the former Polish Republic and

Polish nation.[2] The political situation of the times was also an extremely important factor. The Polish nation, fighting for the restoration of its own independence for a hundred years, was sensitive to the fate of oppressed nations, supporting their aspiration for independence.[3] Also, interest in the events taking place in Armenia and the situation of its people derived from the similar positions of both nations. Their homelands did not exist as independent countries on the map of Europe. Both Armenian and Polish lands had been divided between neighboring countries.[4] During the First World War, the main front lines went through the territories of both the former Polish Republic and Armenia, causing their people to be resettled.[5]

Another common ground for both nations was Tsarist Russia, later the USSR, the country in which both Polish and Armenian people had a similar status and where both fought for similar rights and privileges (Rieber, 2014: 542–545; 548–550), particularly after the outbreak of the First World War, when the Polish Question and the Armenian Question regained international attention (Schmitt, 1941: 482–489; Hovannisian, 1971: 14–30).

Publication of material regarding Armenia has also been linked to Polish interest in the Eastern Question and the Polish belief that the Great War in the east ought to restore Poland's independence. This is why the mutual relations between the Russian, Austrian and German regimes and the Ottoman Empire, as well as the situation in the Caucasus, were observed so vigilantly.[6]

Polish Catholicism also had an impact on raising the Armenian Question. Faith and Church have been extremely important to the Polish people, having constituted their distinctiveness from the occupying powers as well as supporting and nurturing national traditions, and thus protecting the nation from losing its identity. This is why Polish Catholic magazines were published in the native tongue, influencing their popularity. Apart from the information on Church mission activities in Polish lands, the magazines described the life of Christians from different parts of the world, including Armenia. What is more, the authors of many Polish publications used the term Armenian interchangeably with Christian, especially in the context of the Armenian persecutions and the later genocide[7]: for example, "Christian Slaughter," (Mardiganian, 1919), "Christian Persecutions" (Teodorowicz, 1898: 18) and "Christian Murders."[8]

In this chapter I present the opinion of a Polish nation which was in a very similar political situation as the Armenians. Their homeland did not exist until 1918, and their people were also scattered. In addition,

we can treat the Poles as a witness with no political opportunity to be involved in the Armenian Question – unlike Russia, Britain, the US or Germany – and therefore have a more objective opinion. The study examines the way Poles came to read about the Armenian Genocide in the press, and thus perceive it, from 1895 to 1920. What were the historical and political questions that interested Poles about the Armenian situation in the Ottoman Empire? What were their opinions about Armenian issues before and after the First World War?[9]

The historical framework for this article is the period between the first massacres, in 1895, and 1920, when the Democratic Republic of Armenia came into existence. Poland's victory in the Polish–Russian War (1919–1921) resulted in difficult diplomatic relations with Caucasian countries under Bolshevik influence.[10]

The Profile of the Polish press

The Polish press active in the years 1895–1920 can be divided into magazines and newspapers printed in the three partitions of Poland. The most significant publishing centers in the territory of the Russian Partition were Warsaw and Vilnius. For the Prussian Partition it was Poznan, and for the Austrian Partition, Cracow and Lvov. Other extremely important centers for shaping Polish public opinion were Saint Petersburg and Moscow, where the largest Polish diasporas in Russia were located. In all of these centers, the press and publishers were obviously subject to the publishing law and censorship of the particular partition power at that time.[11] The information about the Armenian Genocide published in the press depended on the political ideas particular to each partition. The treatment of the Armenian Question in the Polish press is the perfect confirmation of such a thesis.

For example, despite the large Armenian diaspora living in Galicia, and the far-reaching autonomy of the province, the press in the Austrian partition took a significantly smaller interest in the Armenian Question. The positive diplomatic relations between Austria and the Ottoman Empire had a major impact on the frequency of the articles published on the issue,[12] and war censorship successfully blocked information that could put their allies in a negative light. For this reason, information about the Armenian Genocide was not published in Austria, in order to avoid irritating the Turkish soldiers fighting on the Eastern Front (Galicia) and to avoid inciting the Polish population against them. We notice an increase in the number of published press articles regarding the Armenian extermination after Cracow was taken

back by the Poles in 1918, when the Austro-Hungarian war censorship was no longer enforced.

The situation in the Prussian partition was very similar. Press articles regarding the Armenian Question were censored to a greater or lesser extent by the occupying forces.[13] However, documents testifying to the interference were preserved in the Prussian partition. One of the earliest pieces of evidence of such conduct is a document confirming a ban on the publication of the article entitled "Armenians Accuse the Turks of Christian Slaughter" that was meant to be published in the May 10, 1915 issue of *Goniec Wielkopolski* magazine.[14] This article was a reprint of a piece published in *Corriere della Serra* on May 9, 1915, which was an Armenian proclamation sent from Tiflis on April 30.[15]

A total ban on information was announced in November 1915, which is confirmed by the correspondence exchanged between the high command of the VI Army Corps and the German police in Poznan corps in that month.[16] The records can be found in documentation of the ban on printing any information regarding the Armenian extermination in Turkey in the magazines published in both Polish and German (Kucharczyk, 2004: 166; Hofmann, this volume, Chapter 4). The ban did not apply to Polish and German-language publishers adopting the Turkish narrative (Kucharczyk, 2004: 167). At the time of the First World War, many magazines on the territory of the Prussian partition published articles justifying the Turkish operations against the Armenians, accusing the latter of hatred, ingratitude, financial exploitation and cooperation with, amongst others, Russia (Hofmann, this volume, Chapter 4).[17] For example, see the *Głos Śląska* magazine which, in 1916 published an article entitled "About Erzurum," which stated:

> During the current war, the Armenians have taken the Russian side and created a volunteer corps, fighting the Turkish army, paving the way for the Russians. As a result, strict orders have been established to purge the Erzurum valley of Armenian people, which has evoked a vehement hatred of the Turkish governance among the Armenians.[18]

Of all the partitions, it was on the Russian territory that the largest number of articles was published regarding the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire. The Poles of Warsaw, Petersburg and Moscow wrote about the Armenian situation.[19] This consent on the side of the Russian government resulted from the Tsar's imperial politics, his desire to conquer Constantinople inspired by the ideology of Pan-Slavism, and the belligerent diplomatic relations between Tsarist Russia and the Ottoman Porte (Kohn, 1960).

Armenian Extermination as Reported in the Polish press

In the years 1895–1920, information regarding the slaughter and persecution of Armenians was published in many Polish magazines, such as *Czas*, *Dziennik Petrogrodzki*, *Echo Polski*, *Głos Śląska*, *Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny*, *Kurier Nowy*, *Misje Katolickie*, *Nowa Gazeta*, *Słowo*, *Tygodnik Ilustrowany* and *Ziemia Lubelska*.

The news was published in various ways: short notices, reports from the front, scientific articles, columns, correspondence, reports, occasional articles and reprints from foreign magazines. Summaries of Russian and Western press articles were published as well. These were, respectively: *Nowoje Wriemia*, *Birzewyja Wiedomosti*, *Riecz*, *Dień*, *Kawkaskoje Słowo*, *Wieczernije Wremia* and *La Figaro*. From the Armenian press they drew from *Mszak*, *Orizon*, *Wan Tosp*, *Arew, Owit* and *Armyanskiy Vestnik*.

Sources usually came from the foreign press: Austrian, French, German, Russian, English or Italian; from official press agencies, such as the Vienna Correspondence Bureau, Wolf's Agency and foreign correspondents in Warsaw, Poznan, Berlin, Paris, Saint Petersburg, Munich, London and Rome.

The frequency with which Armenian matters appeared in the press depended on the international political situation. An increase in the number of articles was usually connected to events taking place in the Ottoman Empire. The first mention of the Armenian extermination was published at the time of the Hamidian massacres of 1894–1896.[20] The Armenian Question was written about in the context of revolutionary incidents in the Caucasus (1905–1906). In 1909 the topic returned to attention because of Armenian massacres in Adana. The articles describing the unfortunate situation of Armenians in the Empire during the 1911–1914 period, served as a means of commentary on Russian diplomatic actions towards Turkey.

The year 1916 was critical for the First World War. From the outbreak of the war to the offensive campaign on the Caucasian front, information regarding the Armenian situation was published in the form of short notices. After Erzurum was conquered, there was an increase in the number of articles, including the special edition of *Echo Polskie* dedicated entirely to the Armenians. Over time, apart from the Armenian extermination, the Polish press began to raise the topic of Armenian autonomy and independence after the Great War. After the end of the war, the topic of extermination occurred more often until the mid-twenties. Later, it was raised in the magazine *Posłaniec Św. Grzegorza* published in Lvov by Armenians.[21]

The 1890s Massacres

The history and culture of the Armenian nation was known to Polish newspaper readers. From the beginning of the 19th century, articles on Armenian matters were published in the Polish press.[22] The first articles about the Armenian persecutions were written in the 1890s. These articles covered the difficult situation in Turkey, the high taxes, plundering, school closures, censorship, the ban on publications in the Armenian language, the politics of the Porte (in the context of the Congress of Berlin and the Armenian history) and the role these politics played in the propagation of Christianity. Descriptions of the riots and pogroms were also published. One of the first reports of this kind is a very brief description of the events in Constantinople:

> There was an argument, which turned into a scuffle and later into a bloody battle using daggers, bayonets, revolvers and barenknuckles. The Muslim mob assaulted the Armenians and started the bloody slaughter [...] Authorities sent almost 100 dead bodies to be buried in the Patriarchate, however, the fact is that many who were killed and dismembered were thrown into the sea.[23]

Poles had many ways of describing the events of 1894–1896 in the Ottoman Empire: "Christian slaughter," "Armenian slaughter," "bloody assaults," "bloody accidents," "murdering the Christians" and "bloody battles."[24] Usually, descriptions of the events were published in the form of short informative notices, rarely illustrated. The first illustrations commenting on the events in the Empire were those of October 28 (November 10), 1895, in *Tygodnik Ilustrowany*.[25] In issue 43, two reproductions entitled "Disturbances in Constantinople" were printed. The first one showed the Turkish police fighting the Armenians in front of a large entrance gate. The second one, with Hagia Sophia in the background, showed fighting between Armenians and Turks.[26] Both were drawings by Charles Joseph Staniland, British painter and illustrator, who based them on the sketches of an eyewitness of the events. Two weeks before being published in *Tygodnik Ilustrowany*, they were published in *The Graphic*[27] magazine with more descriptive titles: "Police Taking Armenian Prisoners to the Grand Zaptie Prison, Stambul" and "The Attack on Armenians by Softas (Theological Students) near St. Sofia. Armenian massacre in Constantinople."[28]

Besides descriptions of slaughters in Constantinople and Eastern *vilayets*, the Polish press wrote about the behavior of the Sultan and the

government, the attitudes of the powers, the opinion of the foreign press regarding the Armenian Question and the fallout from protests by the Armenian diaspora.

In the Polish press, Poles could read the news from both Turkish and Armenian sources. However the editors pointed out that the Turkish and Armenian sides provided mutually exclusive descriptions of the same events. This made it difficult to know the truth about incidents in Ottoman Empire.[29]

According to the Polish press, one of the main causes of the events in Constantinople was the unresolved issue of the Armenian Question since the Congress of Berlin. Moreover, Poles believed that responsibility for the pogroms fell not only on the Sultan and the government but also on the European Powers. Abdul Hamid II was considered to be the main inspiration of Ottoman society to carry out massacres. In addition it was believed that his policy led to "fanaticism and numbness in the Sublime Porte."[30] Poles emphasized the Sultan's shortage of ministers able to adequately manage the state because he replaced them with his courtly clique. Many able peoplethus, instead of working for the revival of the country, did everything in their power to cause its collapse.[31]

Poles also wrote very critically about the policy of the great powers of Europe. They accused them of a delayed reaction to the pogroms, operating without a clear agenda, a lack of mutual cooperation and of constant faith in the promises of the Padishah. What is more, it was believed that the intervention after the events in Constantinople was the result of fear for the lives of other Christians.[32] Poles considered that European powers treated the Armenian Question as a show.[33] In addition, they allowed Turkish government to take care of the Eastern Question in a Turkish style that was preposterous.[34] Polish writers pointed out that the great powers tolerated repression in the East because they were accustomed to mass murders that were intended to head off new massacres.[35]

The Armenian Genocide (1915–1920)

The difficult situation of the Armenian community inhabiting the eastern *vilayets* was known to the Polish community. Throughout 1914, up until the outbreak of war, articles were published quite frequently in which the Armenian Question was raised. Along with the war came informative notices about large-scale confiscation of animals, food and garments in the eastern *vilayets*[36] published in November in *Ziemia Lubelska* magazine.[37] Information was published as well about the

searching of houses of Armenians living in Constantinople, the confiscation of items found and the resettlement of detainees in Asia Minor.[38] In one of the following issues, information was given about Armenian youth emigrating from Turkey, describing Armenia as the "victim of Turkish savagery."[39]

The subsequent year of the war started with informative reports meaningfully entitled: "Armenian Refugees," "Expelled from Turkey" and "Armenian Defectors" (published in January in the magazine *Ziemia Lubeska*). The daily newspaper gave information about a significant number of refugees in the region of Sarikamish, as well as within Russian territory, including Armenian clergymen expelled from Turkey. A request for help for the refugees from the Armenian Committee in Tiflis[40] was also mentioned. In March, an article entitled "Example" described the difficult situation experienced by the Armenians: "Oppression, persecution and deprivation of civil rights – these are the conditions the Armenian nation, one of the most miserable nations in the world, is living in."[41]

The events of the night between April 24 and 25, the beginning of large-scale extermination of Armenians by the Ottoman Empire, were described in one sentence in *Dziennik Petrogradzki*[42]: "400 Armenians suspected of fomenting mutiny were arrested in Constantinople."[43]

In later articles, the Polish press wrote short informational notices about, among other events, the hanging of 20 members of the Hunchak party in Sultan Bayazid Square:

> 20 socialist Armenians, being the whole editorial board of the Armenian Marxist daily paper *Kaidz* (*The Light*), were hanged in Constantinople. Among them was one of the youngest and most talented party leaders, Wanikan, the lawyer who had completed his studies at the University of Constantinople just last year. All of the convicts had been accused of the intention to rebuild an independent and autonomous Armenia.[44]

Polish readers were informed about the situation of the Armenian Patriarchate and its conflicts with the Turkish government.[45] The persecutions in the Bitlis *vilayet* were also reported: "In the Bitlis *vilayet*, the slaughter of Armenians has been taking place for the last five days, the number of victims is between 8 and 10 thousand."[46] The Polish community could also read about the Armenian situation in Ankara: "Armenians in Angora (Ankara) and the surrounding regions were killed, except children who were sold in Konya, one *medjidie* for a child."[47]

Longer descriptions of the event were published in *Kurier Nowy:*[48] "In Armenia, under the Turkish rule, the 'cleansing of the Armenians' is being carried out, in a large part to the Mesopotamian deserts."[49] All of the Armenian inhabitants of Kharput (Harput) were displaced; older women were drowned, younger women were divided between the soldiers. All the men were displaced from Kirsheir (Kirşehir), the youngest were 19. Twenty-five thousand Armenians were deported from the Marash region to the Dejri Zor (Deir ez Zor) desert. In Cezajri (Kayseri), 500 families who decided to convert (to Islam) were left alive. What is more, the most prominent Armenian merchants and intellectuals were deported from Constantinople (to the deserts of Mesopotamia). The editorial board of *Echo Polskie,* moved by the Armenian situation, decided to publish the account of the Ambassador of Italy in Trabzon: "The information on Trabzon from *Le Figaro* – there have been 15 thousand Armenians in the city, shot, hanged, tortured or deported through the mountains and deserts." The Ambassador of Italy in Trabzon said:

> If people could see what I have seen with my own eyes, the whole of Christianity would ask if all the cannibals and wild animals of the world have gathered here. Murdering a whole nation, step by step, with guns, sabers, fire, water, hunger and dishonor is an abomination that remains impossible even for the most disturbed imagination, despite its authenticity.[50]

The editorial board of *Echo Polskie* (a magazine published by Poles living in Moscow) was known for its pro-Armenian sympathies.[51] Apart from short articles describing the Armenian situation, *Echo Polskie* dedicated the whole of one of its issues to the Armenian Question, the only Polish magazine to have done so. The special issue, published on February 21, 1916, included an article regarding the current Armenian situation and describing Armenian history and Armenia's contribution to the history and culture of Poland.[52] The editorial board also included Armenian folk songs and short literary works written especially for the occasion by Tadeusz Miciński, a Polish poet, entitled "The Love of Anahita" ("*Miłość Anahity*"). The love story takes place during the Armenian Genocide. The issue was abundantly illustrated with various reproductions, two of which concerned the Armenian extermination. The first one was a Franz Raubaud painting, "Kurd Assault on the Armenian Village" ("Napad Kurdów na wioskę ormiańską").[53] The topic of the painting was the Kurdish troops returning from plunder. In the foreground the artist depicted a horseman riding on a white horse, holding a faint,

half-naked body of a young Armenian woman. The herd of kidnapped cows, guarded by the Kurdish horsemen follows him. The procession ends with carriages filled with the spoils. In the background one can see the buildings of the Armenian village, consumed by fire. The illustration was well-known to Polish society. It was published for the first time in *Tygodnik Ilustrowany* in 1898 in relation to the Armenian Question.[54] The second illustration was a reproduction of a photograph subtitled "A group of Armenian Exiles." In the foreground, one can see women and children sitting on the ground. Among the trees behind them there is a group of men, amongst them a doctor and a Russian officer.[55]

The Armenian issue of *Echo Polskie* proved to be very popular in Armenian circles. A group of Armenians from Tiflis sent special thanks to the magazine's editorial office.[56] The Armenian Committee in Paris also thanked the magazine.[57] *Armyanskiy Vestnik* published the summary of the whole issue, and printed the entire article entitled "Nil Desperandum" by the editor-in-chief Aleksander Lechicki.[58, 59]

Apart from the descriptions of the cruel events, the Polish press raised the issue of refugees and the help provided. *Kurjer Nowy* wrote about Armenians returning from Persia to Van[60] and from Van to Bitlis,[61] about the organization of refuges for children[62] and about the situation on the plains of Mesopotamia where "mainly women, children and the elderly are suffering barefoot and hungry … . Condemned to death from starvation, they cry for help."[63]

After the end of the war in 1918, the Polish press wrote about the Armenian extermination in articles addressing the actual situation in Armenia, its independence, and help for its inhabitants. Poles were interested in the Armenian Question because of the similarity to their own situation and the restoration of independence after the decline of the European powers. In a speech, Woodrow Wilson mentioned both Armenians and Poles as nations that had the right to self-determination (Gatrell, 2004: 20). Although both nations gained independence after the war, their future depended on the agreements that would be reached at the peace conferences in Paris and in Sèvres with respect to the boundaries of the state, humanitarian aid, repairing war's ravages and national minorities. Any decisions made at the peace conferences were closely monitored and commented on in the press. In 1920, in one of its articles, *Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny* wrote that:

> Between the Arab and Turkish lands lies Armenia – not the most fortunate land in the world. Cruelties committed by the Turks on the Armenians (lately under the watchful eye of various Goltzes,

> Limans and Sanderses from Berlin!) cry out to heaven for vengeance. And it is not appropriate to feel any pity for the fate of Turkey, when remembering the Turkish crimes in Armenia! Armenia looks for a protector today. Unfortunately, it cannot find one. … President Wilson was ready to take over the protectorate, but the American senate objected.[64]

Poles were also interested in Armenia because of Marshall Jozef Pilsudski's political conception of mutual cooperation between the countries adjacent to the USSR. Pilsudski was called "the great ideologist of the liberation of the nations." He was faithful to the traditions of struggle against the imperial Romanov Empire and later on against Soviet Russia. He believed that nations which had consistently fought against Russia should be in an alliance for mutual cooperation and assistance, and should always be watchful of Russian politics from a distance (Charaszkiewicz, 1983: 7). This political concept was based among other things on the experience of the Polish–Russian War of 1919–1921. The Polish victory in the war and the gradual annexation of the Caucasus countries (Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia) by Russia, not only partially prevented the introduction of this concept, but also significantly hampered the flow of information on the situation of Armenia and Armenians. In turn, this had a significant impact on the frequency of articles published about the Armenian Genocide.

However, despite a decline in the publication of articles in the 1920s, Polish reports about the Armenian Genocide had a significant meaning for the future. One of the readers of that press was a Raphael Lemkin, a young law student at Jan Kazimierz University in Lvov. During his studies, Lemkin became interested in the Armenian Question and conducted research on the concept of mass crime, which evolved into the term Genocide in 1948 (Apsel, 2003: 126–128).

Conclusion

Information on the Armenian Genocide published in the Polish press was highly dependent on censorship and the press laws imposed by the occupying forces, their diplomatic relations with the Ottoman Empire, and the information block applied by the Turks.

The reasons for the persecution of the Armenians as given by the authors of the articles were as follows: fomenting mutiny, plans for rebuilding an independent Armenia, hatred toward the Armenian nation, and Turkish bigotry. It has been indicated that the war was

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stwach takich nie zdarzają się wcale rozwody, co znowu w dzisiejszych czasach staje się groźną plagą młodych stadeł, zawiązywanych dla samych pięknych oczu, wiktu, opierunku i fikcyjnego posagu.

Niechby to zatem nie zaszkodziło, żeby ten przyszły anioł ogniska domowego, czekający z otwartą buzią pieczonych gołąbków, które ma zawsze upolować, osuknąć i niemal na rożen wsadzić obowiązkowo pan małżonek, posiadał jaki taki praktyczny sposób oszładzania mu ciężkich obowiązków żywiciela żony i dziatek, choćby... patoką z własnej pasieki lub owocami własnej hodowli.

Zresztą, zalecając płci nadobnej jakiekolwiek zajęcie, rozwijające jej intellektualne i praktyczne zdolności, czynię to we własnym interesie kobiet, mających wplatać mężczyznom róże w cierpie żywota; pragnąłbym je ochronić od najniebezpieczniejszej choroby w życiu panny, a jeszcze gorzej mężatki,—od... nudów.

Pomijam to, iż najbardziej anielski anioł zaczynający się nudzić, staje się również nudnym i nieznośnym dla swojej drugiej połowy, a szukając z nudów zabawy i rozrywki, ze skrzydlatego Cheruba zamienia się tak łatwo w ćmę, lecącą w płomień lada lojówki.

Jakaż tego przyczyna?..

Głębsza, niż się na pozór wydaje i bezimienny obserwator bardzo trafnie ją określa, dając również trafne rady:

„Trzeba, żeby ludzie przynosili do towarzystwa uprzejmy pogodne i sympatye wzajemną, a wówczas zawsze się dobrze zabawią. Czy będą rozmawiali i tańczyli lub grali w sekretarza, będzie im z sobą dobrze i nie będą wcale potrzebowali łamać sobie głowy nad wyszukiwaniem sztucznych środków ożywienia zabawy. Sztuczne środki tyle tu pomogą, albo nawet mniej, niż zamawianie na miłość."

„Ktoby chciał nowe życie tchnąć w stosunki towarzyskie tam, gdzie ono przygasa, powinien szukać nie nowych zabaw, ale środków, przez które do umysłów wchodzi pogoda, a do serc życzliwość wzajemna ludzi do ludzi. Pierwsze jest trudne: trzebaby chyba, żeby ludziom lepiej było na świecie, czego najmędrzejsi zaprodziej uprzątnić nie potrafi. Drugie, choć częściowo, da się osiągnąć za pomocą tej zdrowej rady: zdzierajcie się w małych kółkach, dobranych z pośród przyjaciół. W takich kółeczkach sympatya wzajemna może nawet zrobić więcej, niż ów czarodziej, sprowadzając na umysły jeśli nie trwałą pogodę, to choć chwilową niepamięć trosk życia codziennego. Wielkie zgromadzenia ludzi obojętnych i mało sobie znajomych zawsze będą mniej lub więcej siedliskami nudy tam, gdzie szerokie pole tycia nie zapładniają ich atmosfery wzajemnem zainteresowaniem się ludzi jednych drugimi."

Kto się przypatrywał tej Syzyfowej pracy gospodarza i gospodyni na dużych zebraniach, by rozruszać, rozbawić, ożywić towarzystwo, podtrzymać ogólną rozmowę, zogniskować ją około jednego przedmiotu, któryby wszystkich zajął, ten musiał dla nich nabrać nieraz litości i powiedzieć sobie:

— Po co ci biedni ludzie zadają sobie tyle zachodu, aby zapełnić swój salon gośćmi, którzy przyszli z obowiązku, z konwenansu, nudzić się raz po za domem własnym,—którzy wnoszą z sobą odporność bezduszných manekinów, nie lgną do siebie i nie czują żadnej wzajemnej potrzeby!.. Zamiast wesołości wnoszą skwaszony humor, zamiast życzliwości chłodną obojętność, jeżeli nie krytycyzm, który kate im z oczu zawiścią często przyglądać się meblom, strojom, zastawie stołu, kolacyi i porównywać to z urządzeniem własnego domu i przyjęciem u siebie. Szczerość i otwartość zastępuje konwencyonalna obłuda i brzydki zwyczaj plotkowania tuż za plecami bliźnich. Przychodzą na twoje zaproszenie nie jako przyjaciele w gościnę, ale by pod twoim własnym dachem bawić się twoim kosztem, dowcipkować złośliwie, obnawiać się często i uważać się za ofiary twoich daremnych usiłowań rozbawienia i rozruszania ich ciężkich organizmów cielesnych i duchowych!..

Ludzie się nudzą z sobą, bo są dla siebie obojętni, bo ich nie wiąże żadna nić serdeczna, bo każdy sobą tylko zajęty nie zajmuje się szczerze i nie troszczy drugim, chyba wtedy, gdy... może mu łatkę przypiąć.

O Johnie Kingu, ty jeden byłeś jeszcze w ostatnich czasach tym dobrym duchem, które łączył nam ręce w nierozerwalny łańcuch i umiał skupiać w zwartą gromadkę i ożywiał nasze towarzystwa bez muzyki, deklamacyi a nawet oświetlenia salonu,—i ciebie wyklęli z naszego grona!... przestałeś być tajemniczą siłą, niezbadaną istotą, o której mówiono, pisano, rozprawiano tyle w ciężko naukowych i zbyt lekkich traktatach.

O Johnie Kingu, o Eusapio Palladino, gdzie wasza sława i wielkość!... nie zostało z was nawet to błoto na bucikach, które mi powalało palec podczas pamiętnych spirytystycznych seansów i medyumicznych doświadczeń, kiedym chwytał zmaterjalizowaną nogę, w baletniczych podskokach z poza słynnej kotary

Zaburzenia w Konstantynopolu. (Ob. „Politykę").

Na ten temat spisano już całe foliały moralów, więc nie myślę dopisywać ani wiersza do tej literatury.

Obawiam się znudzonych kobiet z innych względów, z towarzysko-społecznych.

Nie ulega to najmniejszej wątpliwości już, że te stosunki towarzyskie u nas poują się coraz bardziej; nasze salony stają się coraz nudniejsze, nasze zebrania coraz sztywniejsze, nasze rozmowy coraz bardziej jałowe, nasze rauty nawet z wystawną kolacyą coraz większą pańszczyzną, a nasza atmosfera towarzyska coraz banalniejszą.

W tym przedmiocie znalazłem w „Gazecie polskiej" wybornie napisany artykuł p. t. „Wieczory zimowe," w którym autor powiada: „Przyznać musimy, że w gwarze wielkomiejskim zatraciliśmy sztukę przyjemnego spędzania czasu w licznieszem towarzystwie."

Śmiejemy się półgębkiem, ziewamy całą gębą, nawet już mimo nie nadrabiamy więcej na proszonych zebraniach, wieczorach i jour-fixach.

Damy nudzą się między sobą, mężczyźni między sobą, a razem nudzą się do spółki. Wszystkie projekta reformy nie na wiele się przydają, bo: „powab życia towarzyskiego nie na tem polega w co się ludzie bawią, lecz jak się bawią. Czy nie widzieliście nudnych wieczorów tanecznych?.. i nudnych deklamacyjno-muzycznych?.. i nudnych konwersacyjnych."

I zamiast być bardziej przekonanym, wyszedłem większym jeszcze niedowiarkiem z dziedziny „nowych zjawisk."

Wyspowiadałem się przynajmniej przezornie na tem miejscu z moich grzesznych wątpliwości swojego czasu, gdy Eusapizm zawrzał nam głowy w Warszawie, ale potrzeba było dopiero chłodnych, rheumatycznych Anglików, aby zdemaskować słynne medyum, na posiedzeniach „Towarzystwa psychologicznych badań" w Cambridge i jej stosunki z Johnem Kingiem w właściwem okazać świetle.

O Eusapio, jakże sromotnie zakończyłaś swoją karyerę, ścigając przed policyą angielską!... pozostało po tobie tylko błoto, jako zmaterjalizowanie twej siły medyumicznej i owa historyczna szpilka, którą Bronisław Rajchman zrobił pierwszą dziurkę w balonie twojej kuglarskiej blagi!...

Bronił cię wprawdzie wówczas teorya, że tylko wtedy oszukujesz, kiedy rzeczywisty John King ci nie pomaga i przez ambicyę medyumistki robisz „kawały," gdy jesteś nieuposobiona.

Co za huczwoi ten twój John, Eusapio, że cię na taki sztych wystawił!... Powróć do swego kramu z jarzynami i zerwij z nim raz na zawsze wszelką spółkę, bo to już nie będzie żadnym interesem solidnym, odkąd ze sfery „naukowej" przeszłaś na grunt policyjny.

Quis.

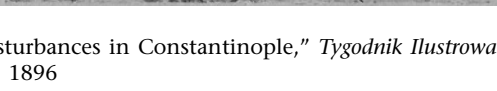

Figure 6.1 "Disturbances in Constantinople," *Tygodnik Ilustrowany*, October 28 (November 10), 1896

being used as an excuse to purge the Empire of the Christians. The Armenian extermination was described as the "Armenian slaughter," "extermination of the population," "mass displacement," "methodical acts of destruction" and "Turkish crimes." Polish readers, thanks to the articles published, were familiar with the methods of persecution used by the Turks against the Armenians. The Polish editorial boards wrote about executions, hanging and torture, displacements and deportation to the deserts of Mesopotamia, drowning women, raping young girls and selling children, and forcing people to convert.

According to the editors of Polish magazines, the result of the Armenian extermination not only deprived thousands of human beings of their lives, but also generated a huge number of refugees, including orphans and unemployable people, starving countless Armenians to death in Mesopotamian deserts. Very little attention was paid to Turkey and the Turks themselves. Until the end of the war, it was emphasized that they were Germany's darling child. It was only after Polish independence was restored that comments on Turkey's cruelty and the situation in Turkey began to be published. Usually the blame for what the Turkish had done was placed on Germany, which had been turning

Figure 6.2 Franz Roubaud, "Attack of the Kurds on an Armenian village," *Tygodnik Ilustrowany* 1898

Figure 6.3 A group of Armenian exiles, *Echo Polskie*, February 21 (March 5), 1916

a blind eye to the Ottoman Empire's politics of extermination in the interests of their own geopolitical expansion.[65]

Not much was written about the responsibility of the coalition countries. These issues started to be raised in the Polish press after the end of the war, especially in the interwar period.

This article is only an introduction to the question of the Armenian Genocide in the Polish press. The subject demands more detailed study, especially in the context of article censorship and the information block applied by the Ottoman Empire.

Notes

1. From 1772 to 1795, three partitions of Polish lands took place. Pursuant of the three partition treaties, the lands belonging to the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth were divided between its neighbors: the Russian Empire, the Austrian Empire and the Prussian Kingdom. What is more, the last king of Poland (Stanislaw August Poniatowski) abdicated in favor of the Tsar. As a result, Poland ceased to exist on Europe's political map until 1918.
2. The gradual influence of the Armenians on the "orientalization" of Polish culture can be observed from the 16th century on, through the items being

brought from the East in merchant caravans as well as Armenian arts and crafts in Polish lands. The Armenians took part in all the events that were important in the Polish history, such as the Battle of Vienna (1683), adopting the Constitution of May 3 (1791), the November Uprising (1831) and the January Uprising (1863). They also financially supported Polish kings and cooperated with the royal court on diplomatic missions. For further information on this issue see Biedrońska-Słota (1999), which was published in conjunction with the exhibition of the same name, shown at the National Museum in Krakow, Poland; Deluga (2010), as well as in conjunction with the exhibition of the same name, shown at the Zamosc Museum, in Zamosc, Poland; Stopka (2000).

3. In the 19th century, during the Polish uprisings (1830 and 1863), the motto "for our freedom and yours" was very popular. It meant that the Poles were fighting against the Tsar not only for their own freedom but also for the freedom of another nation. This motto was also popular wherever the Poles fought during the Spring Nation. See Henning Hahn (2001: 183).
4. The French writer Victor Bérard claimed that Armenia and Poland were in very similar situations. Their territories had been divided among three neighbors: Prussia, Austria and Russia in the case of Poland, and Turkey, Persia and Russia in the case of Armenia. Furthermore, he compares Persia to Austria, since in both countries the Armenians had the greatest civil liberties. "Z wywiadów o Polsce," Głos Polski, March 8 (March 21), 1915: 13.
5. The Eastern Front passed through the lands of the Kingdom of Poland (the old name of Polish lands annexed by Russia). In 1915, due to the advancing offensive of the Central Powers' armies, around 800,000 people were forcibly evacuated to central Russia, Georgia and Persia. The Caucasus Front passed through Armenian lands, also forcibly evacuating people to Russia by Russians, and according to the Turkish narrative of the Armenian Genocide, Armenians were "evacuated" to the Mesopotamian desert. See Gaunt and Bet-Sawoce (2006: 64, 68–69*)* and Holquist (2011: 171–174).
6. The concept of the Great War goes back to Adam Mickiewicz (1798–1855), Polish national poet; he saw the East as the salvation for the lost homeland. He believed it to be the only place where the outbreak of war would divide the occupants and set them against each other. Mickiewicz died in 1855 in Constantinople, during the organization of the Polish corps of the Imperial army. The circumstances around his death have popularized the Great War theory.
7. The tendency to use the term Christian has occurred in Polish literature as well. The proceeds from the first Polish scientific publication regarding the Armenian extermination – *Kwestya Ormiańska* by August Teodorowicz (Lvov 1898) – were used for "[…] Catholic missions taking care of the oppressed Christians in Turkey." The first Polish translation of *Ravished Armenia*, published c.1919, by Polish publisher A. A. Paryski, was released under the title *Slaughters of Christians in Armenia. The description of the barbaric cruelties committed by the Turks on the defenseless Christian people in Armenia at the beginning of the Great War*.

   Use of the term Christian in Polish magazines published in the Russian partition and in Russia might have been related to the Tsar's politics towards Christians in Turkey, initiated in the 19th century. The Tsar, as the defender

of all Christians, had been claiming a right to Constantinople, named by the Polish press as *Carogród*, meaning "the city of the Tsar" up until 1918.

8. "Polityka," *Tygodnik Ilustrowany* 7, October 19, 1895: 269.
9. The Armenian Genocide in Polish public opinion has not so far been studied extensively by Polish historians. See Giza (2000); Macios (2013, 2014).
10. The only Polish diplomatic outpost in the Caucasus was the Polish consulate in Tbilisi in 1926–1937. The consulate took care of Poles living in all the Caucasian republics. See Skrzypek (1985) and Furier (2009: 374–381).
11. For further information on this issue see Kmiecik (1976), Kostecki (2013) and Mucha (1994).
12. The articles published in the Austrian Empire usually presented a Turkish narrative about the Armenian Genocide. A very good example is the newspaper *Illustrowany Kurier Codzienny* published in Krakow in the 19th and 20th century. During the First World War there was only one article published about the Armenian Genocide (see "Biedni Ormianie Tureccy," *Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny,* September 13, 1916: 2.).
13. For further information about the Armenian Genocide in the German press, see Hofmann (this volume, Chapter 4).
14. National Archive in Poznan, Polizei-Präsidium, nr 4768, "Sammlung von Zeitungsartiklen aus polsnishen Blättern, die von der Zensurgestrichen worden sind," 73.
15. Published in Polish. Milan, May 9. (Wat.). In *Corriere della Serra*, the following proclamation of the Armenians was sent from Tiflis on April 30:

> From time immemorial the German [sic] nation has been exposed to Turkish persecution. Our history and literature are filled with the memories of martyrdom caused by the Turks. Every high and exalted part of us has been suppressed, and today we are remembered in the context of the slaughters of our nation. Our attempts to regain our free existence have worsened our situation. Today, we are desperate, for the Turks, aggravated with their failures and detecting the end of their rule, take their revenge on the defenseless victims, slaughtering them from the Black Sea to Mesopotamia. This way, they hope to crush and suppress all the laments and complaints of the Armenian nation. In the name of humanity, in the name of Christianity and in the name of civilization is the Armenian Literary Society turning to the nation in this terrible hour of oppression with the request to let the whole world know of our desperate pleas and to raise your voice to end these crimes and slaughters of the defenseless nation.

16. National Archive in Poznan, Polizei-Präsidium, nr 4814a, "Zensur der Presse 1914–1915": 64.
17. Such magazines are, for instance, *Głos Śląska* (Gliwice) and *Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny* (Krakow).
18. "O Erzerum," *Głos Śląska*, February 24, 1916: 1–2.
19. For example, *Gazeta Polska* (Warsaw) published 158 issues with information about the Armenian Question from 1878 to 1915; *Nowa Gazeta* (Warsaw) published 20 issues with articles about the Armenian Question between 1909 and 1915.

20. According to the author of the article, the Polish newspaper *Gazeta Polska* (Warsaw) published 62 issues containing articles about the Armenian Question from the Congress of Berlin to the Hamidian Massacre. However from 1894 to 1986 the same magazine published 74 issues.
21. *Posłaniec Św. Grzegorza*. Illustrated monthly magazine of the Armenian Catholic Archdiocese of Lvov, later an organ of the Archdiocese Association of the Armenians, published in the years 1927–1934 as well as 1938–1939.
22 One of the first articles to speak about the Armenians is "Wiadomość o Ormianach w Austryackiey znajdujących się Monarchii," *Gazeta Krakowska,* February 19, 1804: 180–181.
23. "Polityka," *Tygodnik Ilustrowany*, September 30 (October 12), 1895: 249.
24. "Polityka," *Tygodnik Ilustrowany,* September 30 (October 12), 1895: 249, "Polityka," *Tygodnik Ilustrowany,* October 7 (October 19), 1895: 269; "Polityka," *Tygodnik Ilustrowany,* November 25 (December 12), 1895: 416.
25. *Tygodnik Ilustrowany*, first Polish illustrated magazine, published in Warsaw (1859–1939), established by Józef Unger.
26. "Zaburzenia w Konstantynopolu," *Tygodnik Ilustrowany,* October 28 (November 10), 1895: 325.
27. *The Graphic*, British illustrated weekly magazine, published in London (1869–1932).
28. *The Graphic*, October 26, 1895: 515. Staniland's works were later printed in the book by Munsell Bliss (*Turkey and the Armenian Atrocities: A Reign of Terror. From Tartar Huts to Constantinople Palaces*.1896: 449–450).
29. "Wypadki w Konstantynopolu," *Gazeta Polska*, September 23 (October 5), 1895:3; "Sprawa Armeńska," *Gazeta Polska*, February 21 (March 5), 1895:3.
30. J. G. "Odpowiedzialność za rozruchy," *Gazeta Polska*, September 25 (October 7), 1895:1.
31. "Sprawy wschodnie," *Gazeta Polska*, September 12 (September 24), 1896: 1; L. W. Radomyślanin, "Z Konstantynopola," *Gazeta Polska,* November 27 (December 9), 1896:1.
32. J. G. "Odpowiedzialność za rozruchy," *Gazeta Polska*, September 25 (October 7), 1895:1.
33. "Wypadki tureckie," *Gazeta Polska*, August 28 (September 9), 1896:1.
34. L. W. Radomyślanin, "Rozruchy w Konstantynopolu," *Gazeta Polska,* August 24 (September 5), 1896: 1.
35. "Po wypadkach w Stambule," *Gazeta Polska,* August 31 (September 12), 1896:1.
36. "Pogłoski o oblężeniu Wan," *Ziemia Lubelska*, November 11, 1915: 1.
37. *Ziemia Lubelska*, Polish social-political magazine, published in Lublin (1906–1931).
38. "Pogłoski o oblężeniu Wan," *Ziemia Lubelska*, November 11, 1915: 4.
39. "Ormianie i Turcy," *Ziemia Lubelska*, November 13, 1915: 4.
40. "Uciekinierzy Ormianie, i Wydaleni z Turcji," *Ziemia Lubelska*, January 4, 1915: 3; "Zbiedzy Ormiańscy," *Ziemia Lubelska*, January 16, 1915: 1.
41. "Przykład," *Ziemia Lubelska*, March 19, 1915: 1.
42. *Dziennik Petrogradzki*, Polish magazine published in St. Petersburg (1909–1914), raising political, social and literary questions.
43. *Dziennik Petrogradzki*, April 19 (May 2), 1915: 5.
44. *Głos Polski*, August 23 (September 5), 1915: 16.

45. "Kronika Wojny," *Dziennik Petrogradzki*, August 1 (August 14), 1915: 4; "W Turcji," *Dziennik Petrogradzki*, August 28 (September 10), 1915: 4.
46. "Kronika Wojny," *Dziennik Petrogradzki*, July 29 (August 11), 1915: 4.
47. "W Turcji," *Dziennik Petrogradzki*, September 4 (September 17), 1915: 4.
48. *Kurjer Nowy*, replaced *Dziennik Petrogrodzki*, a magazine that raised social, political and literary awareness, published in Saint Petersburg (1916–1917).
49. "W Armenii," *Kurjer Nowy* 3, (August 16), 1916: 3.
50. "Armenia," *Echo Polskie,* May 1 (May 14), 1916: 17.
51. The Russian newspaper *Gołos Rossi* accused the editorial staff of Polish Newspaper *Echo Polskie* (published in Moskva) of sympathizing with Armenians who turned to President Wilson to protest. "Co o nas piszą," *Głos Polski,* June 26 (July 7), 1916: 9.
52. *Echo Polskie,* February 21 (March 5), 1916: 1–13. See Macios (2014: 21–22).
53. Franz Alekseyevich Raubaud (1856–1928): Russian painter, graduated from Odessa Drawing School and the Academy of Fine Arts in Munich, lectured at the Academy of Fine Arts in Saint Petersburg, accomplished many paintings on the Tsar's orders. In his works tackled the history of Russia and the Caucasus. He is called the Caucasian Bard by art historians.
54. "Nasze Ryciny," *Tygodnik Ilustrowany* 28, (April 9), 1898: 296–297.
55. *Echo Polskie*, February 21 (March 5), 1916: 5. The author of the photograph and the place where it was taken are unknown. However, in the Collections of the Armenian National Archive, we have found one photograph that presents a Russian officer with staff and refugees. It is possible that this photo presented the same officer and it was taken by the same author before March 1916.
56. "Z prasy. Echa numeru Ormiańskiego," *Echo Polskie*, March 27 (April 9): 20.
57. "Pro Armenia," *Echo Polskie,* May 8 (May 21), 1916: 16.
58. "Z prasy. Echa numeru Ormiańskiego," *Echo Polskie*, March 27 (April 9): 20.
59. For more information about *Armyanskiy Vestnik* see (Abrahamyan, this volume, Chapter 5).
60. "W Armenii," *Kurjer Nowy*, September 3 (September 16), 1916: 3.
61. "Pomoc wygnańcom," *Kurjer Nowy*, August 5 (August 18), 1916: 4.
62. "W Armenii," *Kurjer Nowy*, September 3 (September 16), 1916: 3.
63. "W Armenji," *Kurjer Nowy*, August 6 (August 19), 1916: 3.
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7

The 1915 Genocide in the Post-war Ottoman Press and in Parliamentary Records (1918–1919)

Suzan Meryem Rosita AlJadeeah and Sait Çetinoğlu

Introduction[1]

Although modern-day Turkey continues to deny the Armenian genocide, Turkey was actually the first country to condemn it. During the years 1919–1921 Turkey held more than 60 trials in an attempt to prosecute war criminals, including accusations of the deportation and mass killing of Armenians. In our essay, we want to draw attention to the period right before these trials started. In current scholarship this period is often overlooked, nevertheless it is an extremely important one in terms of localized discussions of the Armenian massacres in the Istanbul press, memoirs of statesmen, testimonies of regional leaders, and parliamentary discussions.

After the defeat of the Ottoman State in the First World War, an unconditional ceasefire was signed on October 30, 1918, and the leaders of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) escaped to Germany, taking German submarines via Russia. Under these new circumstances, the censorship and pressure on newspapers in Istanbul lessened to some extent. Starting in November 1918, journalists broke their silence and started to write about the war defeat, about those who were responsible for it, and about the inhuman treatment and mass killings of the Armenian people during the war. Newspapers published many articles about the possibility of prosecuting the leaders and directors of the governing Committee for Unity and Progress (CUP), and raised important questions about what was to be defined as the first genocide of the century.

In this essay, we present a snapshot of newspaper articles from October 1918 to February 1919, starting with the closure of the Ottoman parliament up to the beginning of the Turkish courts-martial in the spring of 1919, where we discuss the demands for justice in the local press by

(1) presenting excerpts from three memoirs by Ottoman Turkish state officials, published in various Istanbul newspapers during the years 1918–1919; and by (2) presenting selected newspaper articles that dealt with the question of who was to blame for what was called, at the time, the Armenian Massacres. In a concluding perspective, we present some of the preceding discussions about the same question brought up in the Ottoman parliament during the autumn of 1918. In our final reflections, we discuss what Kemal Mustafa Atatürk thought about the Armenian massacres and about whom he saw as the guilty party.

Demands for Justice in the Press

After the end of the war, many newspapers began to publish articles on the deportations and death marches. Foremost among them was the Journal *Alemdar* and its contributor Ref'i Cevad Bey (Ulunay).[2] Ali Kemal[3] of the paper *Sabah* also wrote many articles against the Unionist Committee. Other papers too, such as *Aravod*, *Vakit, İçtihad, Hadisat* and *Tasvir-i Efkar* paid attention to the issue of the Armenian Genocide, or what was called crimes against humanity at the time, and demanded justice.

Memoirs – testimonies

In the post-war newspapers, wide publicity was given to reports and eye-witness accounts from the Armenian-populated regions. This was done in parallel with news on the upcoming Istanbul trials of some of the perpetrators of the massacres. These publications are important as historical testimonies. The most important memoirs are of those by Aleppo Governor Mehmet Celal Bey, Hasan Amca (Çerkes Hasan), and Ahmet Refik (Altınay). Mehmet Celal Bey was governor (*vali*) in Halep and Konya, and he witnessed many events that took place during the Genocide. He was dismissed from his position for not obeying orders and for failing to implement the genocidal massacres of Armenians in his region. Hasan Amca's accounts are important, since his duty was to set up an infrastructure in the Syrian regions for those Armenians who had remained alive after the death marches. He observed their suffering and their abandonment to death during their inflicted exile around Halep, Damascus (Sham), Beyrut, Trablusham, Haifa, Yafa, Akka, Havran or Cebelt, and he did his best to ease their terrible situation. His testimony is very important, as he was one of the few Ottoman officials who showed a humanitarian attitude. Ahmet Refik's testimony is especially important, because he was

in Eskisehir for some time, a region that was the main collecting point for Armenians being deported from the Western provinces of the Ottoman lands towards the Syrian Desert, and he also saw the deportation of local Armenians from around the Eskisehir region.

Aleppo Governor Mr. Mehmet Celal[4]

In his observations about the Armenian massacres, the Governor (*vali*) of Erzurum, Mehmet Celal Bey, comments that the events that were taking place stemmed from a policy of the central state administration. The Armenians were being repressed by the Kurds, and because of this they were forced to emigrate to secure places to live. He also attests to their strong patriotism,[5] which unfortunately did not save them from the death marches to follow. Mehmet Celal Bey's testimony about the genocide was published in the newspaper *Vakit* between the dates of November 29 and December 12, 1919. He gives important information on his relations with Armenians and the central state administration during his governorship in Erzurum (Erzen-i Rum), Aleppo and Konya. As a state administrator, Celal Bey had been in contact with the Armenian communities long before 1915; here especially his duties in Erzurum are important. He points out that he undertook his position as governor of Erzurum just after the March 31, 1909 (April 13, 1909) massacres of Armenians in Cilicia. He gives some examples of the usurping of many Armenian properties by Hamidiye regiments, and emphasizes that the most important issue dividing the Armenians and the Kurds was the question of the lands confiscated from the Armenians by the Kurds:

> Kör Hüseyin Pasha, the head of the Haydaranlı Tribe, had invaded five or six villages in this way. A rebel named Shah Hüseyin Beyzade Haydar Bey controlled a large portion of the district. A huge land holding between Karakilise and Beyazıd, which I was hardly able to cross by car in four hours, was included in the property of one of the high-ranking officers of the Hamidiye cavalcade.

For him, it was very clear that the lands confiscated by Hamidiye regiment commanders had belonged to Armenian peasants. In the following excerpt from his memoirs, Mehmet Celal Bey gives us insights into the social situation of the region, underlying his own intimate relations with all social and ethnic strata:

> I've been all over the province. I've been the guest of Kurd rulers in tents and of Armenians in villages. There is no township in the

> province of Erzurum where I haven't visited and taken a rest for a day or two... There are Kurds who went to Istanbul or Smyrna to be porters or night watchmen... Armenians who went to Russia or America to trade.

On the basis of his experiences during his two-year-duty in Erzurum, he says:

> Those who were closest to us among the non-Muslims and who were most available to accompany us were Armenians. … I knew many traders among the Armenians of Erzurum who have in their hearts much love for their country and are highly concerned about the future of our country. None of these men are alive today. Without exception, they all died ghastly deaths, either in the secluded places of Erzincan or in the deserts of Diyarbekir, surrounded by thorns.

When Celal Bey was governor of Aleppo at the beginning of the First World War, he immediately started to question his orders to deport Armenians: "I presumed that no government would be able to exterminate its own subjects, its human capital and the largest wealth of the country."[6] He assumed that this was a measure to temporarily expel Armenians from the war zones as a war requirement, and he requested funds from the government for the purpose of lodging Armenians who were to be relocated to Der-eir- Zor. However, instead of funds they sent an officer with the title Director of Tribes and Immigrants, Şükrü Bey,[7] who was entrusted with deporting the Armenians with their children. This was in fact a means of bypassing Celal Bey,[8] who was dismissed for not carrying out the deportation orders. He tell us with astounding clarity:[9]

> I disobeyed the written order concerning the deportation of Armenians in my capacity as Governor, since I know there is no reason to evict and deport Armenians in the province of Aleppo, who surely did nothing wrong. This disobedience caused my transfer from Aleppo to Ankara, and to Konya three or four days later.

In a letter sent to the government, Celal Bey says the following:

> The Armenian race constitutes a significant part of our country's population. Armenians hold a significant part of the general wealth and they run half of the country's commercial activities. Trying to

> destroy them will cause damage to the country, which cannot be healed for centuries. If all our enemies sat down and thought for a month, they couldn't find a more damaging thing for us.

After no reply, Celal Bey decided to go to Istanbul, thinking he could explain the situation. There, he understood that he had obtained a promise to stop the deportation of Armenians from Konya and so he returned to Konya. On his way there, he witnessed the following:

> I will never forget the tragic picture I saw in Ilgın. There was a helpless person both of whose legs had been cut off at the top among the hundreds of women, men, young and old persons who had been dispatched to the station and left outdoors waiting for the train for days. A piece of leather was tied around this helpless person's backside and he had a pair of clogs on his hands and a shoe shining box hanging round his neck. He was earning his living by begging and shining shoes... This unfortunate person was not able to understand the reason he was being deported.

Celal could not believe that a legless Armenian seemed dangerous to the Unionists. But the nightmare continued:

> When I arrived in the capital (Konya), I saw the Konya Armenians being brought to the train station. Moreover, thousands of Armenians brought from provinces such as Izmit, Eskisehir and Karahisar were living in an open space, inside things looking like tents made from quilts, clothes and felts, living in miserable conditions and the sight of them was heartbreaking. I couldn't do anything for those brought from other places. I sent the ones from Konya to their homes. I started to provide a stipend from the refugee funds for the others.

Celal Bey talks about Armenian exiles sent to Konya from other provinces because Konya was another center in which Armenian exiles were rounded up. He summarizes his position in these words:

> My status in Konya closely resembled that of a man standing on the edge of a river with no rescue equipment. The river was flowing with blood instead of water, and thousands of innocent children, blameless old men, weak women and strong youngsters were streaming along in this flow of blood toward nothingness. I rescued those that

> I could get a grip on with my hands, my nails, but others floated away, never to return.

Because of the delay to the convoys, the General Director of Tribes and Immigrants, Şükrü Bey, came to Konya. Among those who came to administer the exiling was Hamal Ferit,[10] who was one of the leaders of the Special Organization[11] (*Teskilat-ı Mahsusa*) acting on behalf of the Committee of Union and Progress.

Celal Bey was no longer governor and was removed from Konya.

The Member of Parliament for Konya stated that dispatching Armenians complied with the national mission. Celal Bey replied with the following words: "Which national mission…? Calling these kinds of cruelties the national mission is the worst slander and insult to the nation." Celal Bey continued – against all odds – to help the Armenians. Approximately thirty thousand Armenians who were brought from other locations were able to stay in Konya; and the Armenians from Konya itself were not deported.

The following two excerpts are again from Celal Bey's memoirs as published in the *Vakit* newspaper in December of 1919. They are significant in that they ask many important questions that might never truly find answers. Their historical significance cannot be underestimated and they clearly show that (1) while local governors were able to avoid taking part in the atrocities for short periods of time, the Genocide was premeditated by officials on the state level and was followed through until the end goal was achieved; (2) no one was safe, not even close friends of officials; the Armenian nation and race was the target, and this did not allow for anyone to be spared.

> I went to the workplace of the officer[12] who was to replace me and while travelling from Akşehir[13] and Ilgın, he ordered the deportation of Armenians and the group he sent off was executed as I heard later. (…) The government of that period reasoned as follows: "The Russians will attack the Sakarya valley and the Armenians will help them". Therefore, they said, "As a precaution, we extended the deportation to Ankara, Konya and Eskişehir". (…) Rightly or wrongly, if it was deemed necessary to deport Armenians from their locations in order to save the country, was this the way to carry it out? Did the government that gave the order to deport the Armenians to [Der-eir-] Zor think about the problem of sheltering these poor people without food and housing them among the nomadic Arab clans? If they thought about this, then I ask, "How much food did they send and

> how many houses did they build there in order to accommodate the immigrants? And what was the purpose of deporting Armenian people who had lived a sedentary life for centuries to the [Der-eir-] Zor Desert, which does not have trees, water or construction materials?"

From this second excerpt, we learn about Krikor Zohrab Efendi and Ohannes Varteks Efendi, who were members of the Ottoman parliament and who were put on the death march:

> Zohrab Efendi and Varteks Efendi were sent to Aleppo under police escort in order to be dispatched to Diyarbekir. These two miserable men, who realized the destiny that was determined for them, were very sad. Many Muslim people appealed to me and to Cemal Pasha, who was in Aleppo at that time, demanding that Zohrab Efendi and Varteks Efendi be allowed to stay in Aleppo. These two men were my friends. It was not possible for me to send them to their death with my own hands. In particular, Zohrab Efendi was suffering from heart disease. I wrote to Istanbul[14] to ensure that they could stay in Aleppo. I never get an answer. I promised not to send them as long as I stayed in Aleppo, and I kept my promise. One day after my resignation, Zohrab Efendi and Varteks Efendi were sent off. These two wretched men were best friends of important people in the government of that period.

Uncle Cherkess Hasan (Hasan Amca, Çerkez Hasan)

More eyewitness testimony from Ottoman officials can be found in the memoirs of Uncle Cherkess Hasan (Hasan Vasfi Kıztaşı). These were published in the newspaper *Alemdar* between June 19 and June 28, 1919. He had been assigned to dispatching and settling Armenians exiled to the area that was controlled by the Fourth Army under Cemal Pasha. Later, the Armenians did not forget Uncle Hasan. At his funeral ceremony, which was held in the Osmanağa Mosque in Kadıköy on March 15, 1961, *Hasan Amca's*[15] relatives and his nearest journalist friends attended, together with many Armenians. At the funeral ceremony the then Armenian Patriarch, *Karekin Hachaduryan,* loudly proclaimed, "We owe him a debt of gratitude. He saved us from hunger and misery during the war. If he had not been there, we would not be here now either." In his memoirs, Uncle Hasan openly states that the Unionists exiled Armenians to Syria with the sole purpose of exterminating them. However, the publication of the memoirs was left unfinished and Alemdar made a snap decision to stop their publication.[16]

His memoirs are invaluable in that they attribute the rise of a Muslim bourgeoisie during the First World War and in the immediate post-war years directly to the disappearance of the Christian merchant class during and after the Genocide. He had observed state bureaucrats taking their first steps in commerce. He recounts seeing them stealing small things from stores, but also distributing rights to purchase railway wagons. Corruption was opening up ways for some functionaries to easily become rich. They steadily developed into a commercial bourgeois class while getting rid of those who had previously been the commercial and industrial entrepreneurs: the Armenians. Often, bureaucrats active during the deportations later became merchants and entrepreneurs.

However, returning to his memoirs, it is clear that at first, Uncle Hasan had not believed the rumors of the mass extermination of the Armenians in the Turkish Empire. When he visited his sister in Aleppo, he was overwhelmed with disbelief and guilt:

> These mountains haven't witnessed this much calamitous misery since their creation. This journey, which lasted four days, brutally showed me how wild and relentless so-called human beings could be, so I was scared and felt ashamed to be a member of mankind.
>
> The decisions and practices of the Union and Progress government regarding the Armenian people seemed unbelievable to me. What I heard at that time seemed exaggerated… This bloody picture, which I thought of as an exaggeration by my Armenian friends of their concerns and complaints concerning incidents that I didn't believe at first, came alive in my mind as an absolute truth when I went to visit my sister, who was living in Aleppo in a hotel.[17]

Going on to describe his mission to help wretched people who had been deported from their home towns, Uncle Hasan comes back to the wretched situation of the Armenians and the violence of their deaths:

> Suffering and the lack of necessities brings human beings to the level of animals. What does a human being feel when he sees and hears his fellow creatures eating grass, dead bodies and even their children? What words can he use to describe this feeling and effect?[18]

Uncle Hasan witnessed the death of refugees *en masse* every day. He notes that even the simplest disease resulted in mass deaths, since there was no medicine and there was no chance of medical attention.

We know this also from Aram Andonyan's personal testimonies in Der-eir-Zor:[19]

> I preferred to sleep in the field that night. I could not stay. I saw a child choked by lice there. These billions of impure creatures that invaded the entire body of the innocent child from his fingernail scratches completely covered the corpse. I waited for the morning to come leaning against the trunk of a plane tree.

Uncle Hasan made an extraordinary effort to save many Armenians in little time, and he also transported a considerable number of Armenian exiles to safe places in the face of many administrative difficulties. However, the Istanbul government did not like this. In response to Uncle Hasan's statement that "the Committee is not aiming to provide for the settlement of the Armenian people and their lives but it is proposing to handle this issue by ethnic cleansing,"[20] there was an immediate intervention:

> The Ministry of Internal Affairs at once repeated its death command to the province: "Command of the Ministry of Internal Affairs: The settlement issue of deported Armenian refugees is among the duties of the government. The interventions of the Army's commanders are not valid anymore. Therefore, the transportation of any Armenian refugee from one town to another will only be possible with the command and permission of the Ministry of Internal Affairs."[21]

The memoirs of Uncle Hasan end at this point. The censor cut their publication. The narrative was left half-finished.

Mr. Ahmet Refik (Altınay)

Ahmet Refik Bey's memoirs were published in the *Ikdam* newspaper between December 17, 1918, and January 13, 1919, under the heading "Two Committees; Two Massacres"[22]. Here, Ahmet Refik Bey argues that constitutionalism was an illusion, and summarizes the period of the Union and Progress government:

> Since the July 23rd [1908] incident the country has been under martial law. Constitutionalism exists only in name. The Constitution was trampled upon in every act. The government was not implementing justice and the law. In any case, its existence was illegal and illegitimate (Refik, 2006: 20).

He underlines the role of the Special Organization (*Teskilat-ı Mahusa*) in the Armenian Genocide:

> At the beginning of the war many gangs were sent to Anatolia from Istanbul. The gangs consisted of murderers and thieves who had been released from prisons. These people were trained for one week in the Department of Interior and were sent to the Caucasus border on the orders of the Special Organisation. In the Armenian massacres, these gangs committed the most serious murders.

Ahmet Refik starts his account as follows: "In no period was the Ottoman Millet misdirected with such cruelty by its own members. In no period did the Ottoman State suffer a disaster of this magnitude, due to the villainy of four or five bullies" (Refik, 2006: 10). He then describes Eskisehir on October 3, 1915, when the palace and the government were in the process of moving to Anatolia due to the imminent danger of Istanbul being occupied.

> The Imperial treasury had already relocated to Konya. The elegant Armenian houses around the railway station were empty. This ethnic group, with its wealth and commerce had shown superiority, obeyed the orders of the government, evacuated their houses and withdrawn to the suburbs of Upper Eskisehir and now their vacated houses with dozens of valuable carpets, elegant rooms and closed doors, were as though they were expectantly waiting for the arrival of the fugitives.
>
> Eskisehir's most beautiful and most refined houses were around the railway station. The houses near the railway station, suitable for residence, were assigned to Ittihad's most important officials: the German school, with its exterior lacking paint and plaster went to Sultan Mehmet Resat; a huge Armenian mansion to the prince; two canary yellow houses side by side in the area of Sarısu Bridge to Talat Bey and to his assistant Canbolat Bey; a magnificent villa in the Armenian neighbourhood to Topal Ismail Hakkı. (Refik, 2006: 12)

After that, the deportations started and the convoys of Armenian exiles arrived at the Eskisehir railway station.

> One morning, an extraordinary scene was witnessed at Eskisehir railway station: The arriving convoys consisted of children and their mothers, old men and young women. This small convoy constituted such a sad, such a painful view that it would break your heart to see

> small children embracing their mothers with their soft arms, under the scorching June sun, hungry, sweating and hanging their heads. Was that all, one wondered? It was said that "they were going to Konya". (Refik, 2006: 29)

But in their pockets they had no money for the train ticket. They were all poor, unfortunate villagers.

> In the railway station, in front of the railing, was an old woman with a blond blue-eyed girl five or six years of age in her lap and next to her a boy, sitting with his head bowed. I inquired. They were the family of a soldier; their father had been sent away with the army. Their mother had died. She was raising these unlucky orphans. I asked the girl's name: Siranoush. The poor innocent child dipped a piece of dry bread into water and ate it that way. (Refik, 2006: 29)

He tells us that diseases continued to take many lives and that many Armenians were buried in the small Armenian graveyard behind the railway station. But the horrors continued and he remembers:

> Eventually, one day a sinister order arrived. Eskisehir was also to be evacuated. The next day, the helpless families, with baskets in their hands and their coats under their arms, boarded animal compartments on the train. Their eyes full of tears, their hearts broken, they left the houses they loved, where their families had lived for many centuries, their flower gardens, their cherished memories, and bade farewell to Eskisehir's pretty skyline, the historic city which reflected Heroic Osman's justice. They went towards the mountains, which surround Konya Valley, the rugged mountain pass of Pozantı, Mesopotamia's hellish deserts, to hunger, to misery, to wretchedness and towards death … . (Refik, 2006: 29–32)

Ahmet Refik tried to find solutions to save them. However, he was not able to. He remembers:

> Was there no opportunity to save these innocent people? I talked to the German priest in Eskisehir. I asked him to send a telegraph to Istanbul, through the Austrian Ambassador, to at least get permission for the Catholic Armenians to remain in the village. He agreed. The next day, an order arrived from Istanbul stating that the Catholic

> Armenians, families of people in the military, and employees of the railway company could stay. These relationships were able to save a lot of families' lives. Some among them wanted to become Muslims, but the government would not allow it. (Refik, 2006: 32)

The nightmare of the Armenians, in his opinion, was often the work of the Special Organization who used both Turanist ideologies and extreme interpretations of Islam to justify their brutal policies in the local arenas.

> The Armenians' greatest fear was Pozantı. The attacks by the gangs over there made their hearts shiver. Who constituted these gangs? There were two gangs that the Ittihat government sent to the Caucasus in the name of its Turan policy, in the name of Islamic unity. These people were gang chiefs sent on the orders of the Special Organization. … The correspondent of a German newspaper, who hated the murders of the loathsome gangs, said: "If you saw how cruelly they behaved! I will be damned if I ever travel with these people again. Neither Islam nor Christianity; they do not recognize anything. (Refik, 2006: 40)

What Refik tells us here is also – in much more gory detail – remembered in the testimonies of Armenian genocide survivors. Reading just a few survivor testimonies, we are staggered by the sheer brutality that was used against – mostly – Armenian women and children. Who were these Turks that "cut off the woman's head like a hen?" Who "prepare[d] hand-beads and necklace charms from the nipples of the girls and women?" A survivor, Khoren Gyulbenkian (born in 1900) tries to make sense of it all: "The government had incited the Turkish people against the Armenians, [stating] that the latter were infidels, that they coveted the Turkish lands; consequently, to tear them to pieces and to kill them would not be sinful."[23] Like Refik Bey and the German journalist, Gyulbenkian believed that nationalism, but even more so religion, served as a justification for the brutalities carried out by the CUP. The local Turkish people are not blamed directly in Gyulbenkian's analysis. However, from historical sources, such as local property registers or registers from state-organized auctions, we know that often these local Turks (or Kurds) benefitted the most from the deportations of their Armenian neighbors: they pillaged or started living in their deserted houses, took over businesses, sometimes even married their wives or daughters.[24]

Also in Refik Bey's account, we read of plundered houses but again it is not the Turkish people but the local police, turning a blind eye on the village-wide pillages, who are blamed. He writes:

> The police supposedly protected the houses with absentee owners. However, at night the carpets, possessions and valuable belongings were stolen in their entirety. The same situation emerged during the evacuation of Izmit and Adapazarı, where, after the goods were stolen, the houses were set on fire to cover any traces. (Refik, 2006: 34)

While Refik Bey watched houses being plundered and set on fire, more miserable Armenians were coming from various provinces and passing through Eskisehir; the deportations continued day after day. Not being able to do anything but not able to turn his eyes away from the direction in which the victims were sent to an unknown destination, he remembers:

> My eyes turned involuntarily towards the railway and the land, which ends by the purple mountains and the yellow trees. I thought of families, who, once, in the cold, in the darkness of night, slept, crying and seeing horrible dreams. Who knows where they are, in which mountain they became victims in the paws of which ruthless gang? Poor Siranoush, beautiful innocent girl, where are you? (Refik, 2006: 45)

Pozantı as everyone, including the Armenians, knew was the destination of the death march and the end-point of the journey of the Armenian exiles who came from the west of Asia Minor. Many were tortured and killed or died on the way. We know from the final accounts in his memoirs that Ahmet Refik was obsessed by Siranoush's fate and asked himself often whether she die in this bloody passage or not.

The Significance of Post-war Newspapers for Scholars of the Armenian Genocide of 1915

In their memoirs, Mehmet Celal Bey, Hasan Amca (Çerkes Hasan) and Ahmet Refik (Altınay) took a clear position to what was at the time referred to as the Armenian Massacres. Their respective testimonies and eyewitness accounts from Aleppo and Konya, Eskisehir and the Syrian territories recognize the Armenian massacres in all of its brutal dimensions. While Celal Bey and Hasan Amca speak of who benefitted from the Armenian deportations, Refik Bey is shattered by the cruelty he witnessed in Eskisehir and its surroundings. How is it possible that this

was happening in front of his eyes? Refik blamed religion – as many Armenian survivors did. Celal Bey and Hasan Amca saw economics, the wealth that changed hands during the time, as the major motivation behind the crimes. Still, like Hasan Amca, Celal Bey was very doubtful that the Turkification of Armenian wealth would bring any sustainable benefit to the CUP government and its collaborators. He foresaw the damage that could result in giving Armenian businesses to inexperienced Turkish handlers. He had – like Hasan Amca – seen state officials taking their first, shaky steps in commerce. What all of them knew, and realized very early, was that the deportations were just a ploy to destroy or send Armenians out of their ancestral homelands in order to homogenize and Turkify Anatolia.

Like the rest of the post-war Ottoman press that is surveyed in this essay, their memoirs represent extremely important historical testimonies for establishing and recognizing the Armenian Genocide of 1915 through Turkish-Ottoman sources. However we should also not forget that they are subjective representations of the massacres, and were written and published shortly before and during the Turkish courts-martial began. One could argue that they are a bit too quick to finger-point the guilty (the CUP and collaborators) in the process relieving themselves and the rest of the Turkish people of a collective guilt.

Representation is – as the editors of this volume remind us in their introduction – not a static or neutral, but a political and social, process. In the memoirs of Celal Bey, Hasan Amca and Refik Bey, the Armenian genocide is undoubtedly recognized and described in much detail. Still the extermination of the autochthonous people, like the Armenians, but also including the Assyrians, Chaldeans, Nestorians, Hellenes, Pontos and Ezidies, who had lived in their historical homeland (historical Western Armenia, Pontos, Aegean, Mesopotamia), was forgotten by them and the other people living in the same lands too quickly.[25] The Genocide events left few traces in the memory-scape of the nascent Turkish nation. Was it because of a sense of guilt? Because it was easier forget atrocities committed by one's government? By oneself? – A survey of the post-Ottoman press and discussions among the various journalists and columnists has allowed us to explore these questions even further.

Discussions of guilt in the Ottoman post-war press (from October 1918 to February 1919)

Starting with the closure of the Ottoman parliament up to the beginning of the Turkish courts martial in the spring of 1919, the local press,

in addition to publishing the memoirs of Governor Mehmet Celal Bey, Hasan Amca and by Ahmet Refik (Altınay), started to discuss the Armenian massacres on a daily basis. For many scholars in the field this comes as a surprise. Coming from a contemporary perspective, we expect total silence or denial about the Armenian massacres in Ottoman-Turkish sources – let alone newspapers of the time. Especially, because we also know that often and unpredictably, newspapers were closed down or parts of the news were censored through official censorship. And that censorship was (as it remains to this day) an ongoing oppression apparatus.

Still, it is also clear that some reports escaped censorship or were –at the time – not seen controversial or deemed dangerous. This was true, as we have seen in parts, in the published memoirs written by the Governor of Aleppo Mehmet Celal Bey, by Ahmet Refik and by Hasan Amca (whose memoirs were the only one cut short by official censorship).

An example of such oversight or uncontroversial news item can be found in the *Sabah* newspaper of December 11, 1918. There we learn that two important documents were captured in a search carried out at the headquarters of the Party of Union and Progress. Although few details are provided, we read that these documents were telegrams sent to Malatya by Talat Pasha and that in one of the telegrams, Talat forcefully ordered: "Exterminate the Armenians, material and moral responsibility belongs to me" (Koloğlu, 2000: 91; Dadrian & Akçam, 2008: 17).

Two days later (December 13, 1918), *Le Spectateur d'Orient* and the *Renaissance* newspapers, which were published in French, followed the *Sabah* newspaper. A heated discussion among rival journalists across the media spectrum ensued: Yunus Nadi of the *Yenigün* newspaper (December 13, 1918) attacked the editor of the *Sabah* newspaper and wrote everything is "untrue" in relation to the alleged document that was published. A sharp rebuttal to *Yenigün* appeared on December 14, 1918, published in another newspaper, under the heading "Answer to Yenigün." On December 11, 1919, the *Akşam* newspaper wrote:

> In a search, which was performed on suspicion of documents being hidden in the house of Ahmed Ramiz, the chamber counsellor in the Ministry of War and the son-in-law of Bahâeddîn Şakir, documents were captured in a suitcase. These documents had been lost from the headquarters of the Union and Progress Party.[26]

The article continues as follows:

> These documents were opened four days later by the court authorities and it was found that they related to meetings during which conversations of the senior executives of The Union and Progress Party in relation to the extermination of the Armenian population of the Empire were partly recorded (Dadrian & Akçam, 2008: 46).

But examples are numerous, and many journalists of the time were not shy to put the blame either on Ottoman officials or even on the Turkish nation as a whole. Here, is an overview of what was written in the Ottoman Turkish press, in November 1918 to February 1919, immediately after Istanbul was occupied by the Allies and the press enjoyed the most freedom in terms of local censorship. What we should not forget, however, is that this was also a time when the Allied forces set up their own military administration and were looking for suspects to be tried in the Turkish courts martial of 1919–1920. Therefore, we see not only a vague admission of a general collective guilt in the pages of these newspapers but also, and especially, a very clear categorization of who was to blame, and who was not.

This nationwide and broad search for the guilty parties started in the *Sabah* newspaper on November 5, 1918, when Ali Kemal described the typical all-out perpetrator of the massacres as follows:

> In this 20th century, a perpetrator whose bloodline and lineage is low, who has no insight, who is uneducated, and who has no idea about law, freedom and government, comes into the picture, finds roughnecks like himself – we have a lot of roughnecks in this country – and performs irrational, unconscionable murders and insanities… We worshipped these skunks as chiefs and rulers for years. Now, if we examine lots of disasters like this, this is the punishment for our actions, we are going to suffer.

This search for the guilty in the upper echelons of the Ottoman state returned on November 21, 1918, when *Yeni Sabah* published an article entitled "Letter from the Senate to Mr. İbrahim, Former Minister of Justice." It asked the following questions:

> Didn't you get your inhuman orders from the gang as relayed by the house of Talat? After the decision by the gang to follow the orders received from the headquarters of the Party of Union and Progress to

> deport innocent Armenians from their legal domiciles and to exterminate them in a brutal and barbaric way, didn't you release from prison the most monstrous murderers, the most bloodthirsty galley slaves who had been sentenced to death in order to carry out the killing of the innocent Armenians in the vicinity of their cities, towns and villages?

Tasvir-i Efkâr on November 29, 1918, agreed and wrote: "The people responsible (for the massacres) have positions in the upper levels of our polity and their number is very large. Ministers, governors, members of parliament, and especially the 250 members of the House of Representatives and public servants, are among them." We see a change in course in *Yeni İstanbul* on November 30, 1918, which admits very blandly that "We are all perpetrators." *Zaman,* on November 23, 1918, agreed and wrote that, indeed, "Turkey is under the shadow of a criminal charge."

Finally, on December 26, 1918, Müşîr İzzet Fuad Pasha wrote for the *İçtihad* newspaper:

> Disastrous "Unionist" behavior against humanity, which cannot be denied, took place. Confession is the only solution. Therefore, an honorable, dignified unhesitating and glorious declaration about these events is the most urgent mission of such a great nation.

In *İkdam* on December 29 , 1918 wrote, it is again "the governors who influenced the murderers in order to realize their felonious desires [who] were with few exceptions the abettors" and *Söz*, on December 28, 1918, sought out those guilty by classifying them into seven different categories: (1) persons who actively committed evil acts; (2) persons who operated in secret using the active perpetrators as lightning conductors – key players from the headquarters of the Party of Union and Progress and heads of country clubs; (3) persons who worked for the secret organization, officers with relatively low ranks, and soldiers and bullies who had been released from prison; (4) members of parliament who said nothing and approved and profited from the killings; (5) journalists and writers who applauded all kinds of murders; (6) people who pursued profit and wealth; and finally (7) sycophants.

Just two months before the Turkish court-martial began, amidst heated discussions in the press, the *Alemdar*'s Refi Cevad (Ulunay) tried to stifle the debate and wrote on February 20, 1919:

> The deportation and massacre problem… is not a complex incident. The problem is very simple. The Union and Progress gang ordered

> it. It destroyed entire basic elements of the Armenian population. It hanged some of them, it cut off other parts and burned and finished the other parts. The mind which thought up this order, the mouth which gave this order, the hand which executed this order are all in the paw of justice. It doesn't take any particular investigation to analyze this incident with a fine-toothed comb.

As we can see from this example, and from others quoted above, a close reading of the post-war Istanbul press, does lead us to the discovery of vital historical material that opens up a pathway into the minds of local and state officials. A pathway that in turn could help us, as historians, to answer the ever-present question of why the Genocide happened and how it was justified internally.

The uniqueness of these Ottoman Turkish-language sources, produced by state officials or those in close proximity, cannot be exaggerated. As we all know too well, Ottoman Turkish-language sources are far and few between concerning the Armenian genocide. Many were either destroyed or are housed in state archives that are very difficult to access for historians aiming at critical scholarship. Just a word of caution: many Turkish scholars have recently fallen into the trap of trying to prove the veracity of the Armenian genocide with Turkish Ottoman sources or to write a history of the Genocide solely based on Turkish Ottoman sources.[27] As historians, might we ask what merit can be drawn from such endeavors?

The Armenian genocide, and this needs to be underlined, is not a disputed historical tragedy, it is a genocide that has been accepted as such by serious scholarship. We do not need to establish its veracity anymore, nor do we need to answer the denialist historical claims by the Turkish state. This is not why local Turkish Ottoman sources are so important to us. They are important to understand, in historical terms, why one neighbor turned against the other, why one people tried to kill the other, and how they justified such acts.

Let us turn now to the Istanbul Armenian press in order to see the contemporary Armenian Ottoman perspective. So far, little attention has been paid to these publications and further in-depth studies are needed to really grasp the immensity of the historical documentation that can be found in their pages. Like in their Turkish Ottoman counterparts, as we have seen above, much can be learned about the Genocide, the massacres in many parts of Asia Minor, as well as about the perpetrators of the genocide. The Armenian newspapers also give us much information about the trials of the Unionists, and they had an important role in informing public opinion.

Discussions of the Armenian massacres in the Ottoman-Armenian press

For example, *Aravot* newspaper on April 28, 1919, published information about the trials of the Genocide perpetrators and it discussed the worsening conditions of the miserable exiles gathered in Giresun. It also mentioned a request for the restitution of confiscated food. An article by M. Suryan headed "Exile and Massacre" ("*Stanoz and Aya*") even focused on the Genocide. It appeared on the front page and gave accounts of the massacres in Stanos in Ankara, which contained 800 Armenian houses, and in Gradz Kar (Kireçtaşı), which was another Armenian village of 20 Armenian houses located one hour away from Stanos. The article observed that:

> The Armenian men of these two villages were all taken away and slaughtered. The women were sent to different Turkish villages and tortured and abused. In Ayaş Belina military officer named Zeki with a Sergeant Hurşit from Crete slaughtered 23 (some witnesses gave this number as 33) intellectuals who had been exiled to Ayaş from Istanbul, and then he went to Stanoz. In Stanoz, this bloodthirsty murderer took away all the men in the town in order to satisfy his bloodlust. All of these men disappeared. Some of the first group of them were slaughtered in Stanoz and Ankara and the others were slaughtered a short distance from Ankara. In the second group, more than 50 Protestant Armenians were slaughtered. The massacre was carried out at a rocky place in the Belören hillside, a place called İncirce, which was an hour's walking distance away from Stanoz. The bones could be found in the wells of this place.

The article goes on to narrate the massacre of the children of Stanoz and the despair of their mothers. It gives the exact locations and the methods used in the massacres. For example, it held that Dr. Garabed Khan Paşayan, who was the Member of Parliament from Sivas, died a horrible death: he was slaughtered by having his eyes scooped out. Alongside the article, a murder list was published, incriminating the district governor, police and military offices and even the villagers of Gayi.[28] The murderers list in *Aravot* overlaps with the *Exterminators* list put together by Patriark Zaven.[29]

Aravot also focused on the fate of the Armenian intellectuals who were exiled from Istanbul to Ayaş on April 24, 1915. In an article entitled "Corpses of the Martyr Intellectuals" that appeared on its second page, the paper provided information regarding the slaughtering of

the Armenian leaders and noted that the gaps in the rocks and wells at the bottom of a hill near Baş Ayaş[30] village were used to dispose of the corpses. It requested the Patriarchate to transfer the bones to Istanbul:

> We request the Patriarchate to send a priest there and to transfer these corpses to Istanbul under his supervision. If this is not possible, at least bury them in the Stanoz Armenian Cemetery. At the present time, treasure hunters and looters have desecrated the Stanoz Armenian Cemetery. The gravestones were used as decoration material in the municipality garden a few years ago. I sent a file concerning the situation to the Patriarchate and suggested taking these gravestones from the municipality garden to the Armenian cemetery in Istanbul – Şişli. The answer was: "We have many things like that."

Discussions in the Ottoman parliament and the Establishment of a Commission of Inquiry

As we have seen in the previous sections, the massacres of the Armenians and their near-extermination by the Committee of Union and Progress was questioned and discussed widely in many Istanbul newspapers after the war. Whether this search for the guilty parties was influenced by the occupation of Istanbul by the Allies and the imminent Turkish courts-martial raises questions that go beyond the scope of this article. However, there is another place where silence was broken and the guilty were ready to be charged: the Ottoman parliament.

It is here that the questions of why and how were raised repeatedly by the Christian members of parliament. Their argument was that the Committee of Union and Progress needed a holy war (Jihad) fatwa by the Caliph to ensure the mass participation of Muslims in the war. However, the Committee could not cope with the enemy at the front and could not succeed in winning their holy war; therefore they applied the Jihad fatwa to the Christian citizens living within their borders.

After much debate in the parliament and led by its Christian members, one deputy from Divaniye, Fuad Bey, entered a motion containing ten articles on October 28, 1918 asking the Supreme Court to put former government members on trial. This motion was accepted and the first inquiry into the subject was started with the establishment of a commission of inquiry (Fifth Branch) (Dadrian & Akçam, 2008: 20–21). Very quickly, lawsuits against those responsible were filed and trials began to take place.

In this spirit, in the session on November 4, 1918, Emmanuil Emmanuilidis, a member of Parliament from Aydın, the chief instigator

of these debates, revealed that Halil Efendi (Menteşe), the President of Parliament was among those cited for his responsibility in the government actions: "I want to emphasize that I feel sadness because of the position of Halil Efendi (Menteşe), who is one of the people cited, I don't know how you can accept his presidency and at the same time pass judgment on these questions" (Emmanuilidis, 2014: 465).

Following his speech, Emmanuilidis Efendi proposed the election of a new president, but the proposal was rejected in a secret vote. He then proposed a motion containing eight articles, co-signed by Dimitriadis Efendi, a Member of Parliament from Çatalca, and Mimaroğlu Efendi, another Member of Parliament from İzmir[31]. The motion is a document of historical significance raising questions about actions taken during the war:

> To the Speakership of the parliament; As you know, in this country in the last five years a series of unprecedented and depressing incidents have been carried out in the name of government. 1. A million people, including women and children, were killed and disappeared. Their only guilt was their Armenian identity.2. 250,000 people of Greek origin, who had been citizens of this country for 40 centuries, were thrown out of the Ottoman borders before the war and their property was confiscated.3. After the declaration of war, a further 500,000 Greeks from the Black Sea, Marmara, Dardanelles and Aegean coast regions, their vicinity, and from other regions were deported, exterminated and their belongings were plundered and confiscated. 4. Trade by non-Muslims was prevented. A powerful class monopoly took control over trade. In this way, entire groups of the population were robbed. 5. Zohrap Efendi and Varteks Efendi, who were members of parliament, were killed. 6. Bad behavior by the noble Arab part of the population was not considered inappropriate, and executions took place. 7. Mobilization was declared. By this means labor battalions were established and 250,000 people in these battalions were killed by means of misery and hunger. 8. The government participated in the war for no reason. In addition to trying to avoid the blame for this terrible decision they actually surrendered part of this country to Bulgaria. We ask: What does the new government know about the perpetrators of these incidents? What does the new government think about the essence of the problem? When are you, the members of the new government, going to try to right the wrongs of our former leaders? November 2, 1918 (Signed by) E. Emmanuilidis (Aydın), S.Mimaroğlu (İzmir), Th. Dimitriadis (Çatalaca) (Emmanuilidis, 2014: 465–466).

As can be seen from this motion, Ottoman parliamentarians were well aware of what had happened during war, and some of them, like Emmanuilidis Efendi, Dimitriadis Efendi and Mimaroğlu Efendi, were ready to accuse and prosecute state officials – and even fellow parliamentarians – for the killings and disappearance of one million Armenians, for the deportation of 750 000 Greeks and the confiscation of the latter's properties as well as for many other war crimes. They were also not shy in pointing out the obvious, that many Muslims had enriched themselves from the misery and death of their fellow Ottoman citizens: the non-Muslims. The rise of a powerful new merchant class, so their argument goes, was only possible because the new owners were able to take over the commerce and trade of non-Muslims who were henceforth prohibited from exercising professions, or had been killed or disappeared.

On November 15, 1918, the Ottoman parliament was closed. According to the Greek newspaper *Empros* it was seen as being too much of a discussion platform, and elderly parliamentarians were considered useless. With the closure of the parliament in November 1918, the majority of these discussions moved to front pages of various Istanbul newspapers, as we saw at the beginning of this article.

Conclusion

In this chapter we have presented a snapshot of publicly available documents from the period ranging from October 1918 to February 1919 (plus the publication of Hasan Amca's testimonies in the early summer of 1919). These included documents from the parliamentary records of the Ottoman parliament, newspaper articles from various Istanbul news agencies, and testimonies of three Ottoman state officials as published by different media outlets. There are many more vital historical documents such as these in the parliamentary records of the Ottoman parliament and in the historical press archives of Istanbul. A combined reading of these documents could give us new insights into the mindset of state officials and journalists of the time.

In our present essay, we saw a complicated picture emerging. One that not only speaks publically of the genocide of the Armenians, first of its kind in modern history, but also one that shows us that there was always a way and place to raise one's voice for help. The question of who is a perpetrator, bystander or rescuer is one that is often raised in this context. There is much leeway for gray zones, and many incidents and stories that are too nebulous to reliably reconstruct. In particular,

the stories and reports of the state officials mentioned in this article open up more questions. Were they really rescuers? Or maybe they were just bystanders at times, and even perpetrators? Why did they feel the need to tell their stories to the local press? Just to bear witness to the persecutions, or to better position themselves in the face of their political opponents? Were they trying to avoid prosecution by the allies? Were they simply trying to set the record straight? We need to look at their accounts again, more closely and in more depth. This debate also reminds us of the memoirs of the Turkish feminist, Halide Edib, who presented herself as the savior of Armenian orphans in Greater Syria, but then actually appears in historical testimonies of the time as a someone who assisted "when [Cemal] Pasha was feeding Turkishness with human corpses like a Moloch." Maybe our main characters, too, were just presenting themselves as the ultimate "good Turks," while in reality they were not really a part of the rescuer saga (Yalman, 1970: 279–280). But, again, maybe they were rescuers. Who knows? Our cautious approach is to not use these unique historical sources to find a few good ones among the many bad, which seems to be developing into a new trend in our field of scholarship. Here, we have tried to present these historical sources for what they are: subjective narratives that were written at a time when the whole world, including the Ottoman Empire, was searching for someone to blame and convict. In effect, they are subjective representations of the Armenian massacres and its political, economic and social aftermath. None spoke of culture, shared heritage or of rightful historical ancestry to the lands of Asia Minor. For them, religion and money were to blame. Often construed as a religious hate crime against the Ottoman Christian citizenry, or portrayed as an Islamic jihad, the "Islamic factor" is one of the more obvious explanatory tropes describing the intent behind genocidal policies of the CUP. However, we need to be careful not to allow for simplistic explanations for the sake of a straightforward historical argument or to attribute an ontological status to religion for what were to be called crimes against humanity. [32]

As two decades later in Nazi Germany, the religious momentum was clearly used to deepen the already existing divisions among the different populations of Turkey. Refik Bey, the German journalist, and the Armenian survivor, Khoren Gyulbenkian, both attest to this. Also, we should not forget that the memories of the Balkan wars, and of atrocities that were committed there by Christian populations against Muslims, were still fresh in the minds of the *mujadirs* who fled their native (Balkan) homelands and were now looking to settle down in Anatolia.

We learned from Khoren Gyulbenkian's testimony that the Young Turk government had used religion to dehumanize the Armenians and allowed the infidels to be torn apart, as to kill them would not be sinful.[33] Another survivor, Souren Sargsian, who had met Enver Pasha twice when he came to his village in 1914 and 1915, remembers how the local gendarmes started torturing the local priest – after rumors of Armenian insurgency had spread, and also how they "gradually changed the local gendarmes, replacing them with gendarmes from Albania, who looked and acted like wild beasts." But not all Turks were the same, as Celal Bey, Hasan Amca and Refik Bey asserted. And also Souren tells us that after being put on the road with the rest of the Armenian children and women, and after weeks of marching, Souren – by a sheer twist of fate – was discovered by two old village men when he was looking for water; they brought him to the village and Souren continued to live in the village and became as he tells us in his memoirs "a round-faced, blond, curly-haired, blue-eyed boy." The story of Souren is not the story of just one individual; in fact, most survivor testimonies or memoirs tell us about the Turks (in this context they seldom mention Kurds) who helped, who gave them clothes, bread, food or shelter – not unlike Celal Bey, Hasan Amca and Refik Bey did. From survivor testimonies we also learn that the Armenian survivors of the Genocide generally divided the Muslim Turks, in which they included the Kurdish population, into three categories: the government, who master-minded and perpetrated the genocide; the Kurds and bandits, who executed the genocide; and the villagers and simple people, who helped them. There are very few stories about evil deeds committed by the villagers and simple people, and if mentioned – as in Souren's story – they are mentioned as exceptions or in passing. The Armenian historian Suren Manukyan and the Turkish-German historian (and co-author of this essay) Suzan Meryem Rosita Aljadeeah rightly question this as a nostalgic yearning for the old times and the native lands, and argue that the number of the so-called "good Turks" who – in one way or another – rescued or helped Armenians in 1915 is in fact the same as the number of Turkish people recognizing the Armenian genocide openly today. In their opinion, we need to look deeper into what made the Turks so Turkish and turned them from respectable Ottoman citizens into murderous Turks who believed in nothing but what Talaat Pasha so tellingly phrased as "a Turkey for the Turks!"

Turkey for the Turks is, then, also what influenced how the Armenian genocide was remembered – and not remembered. In the political economy of historical memory the Armenian massacres were not important

enough to headline Turkish Ottoman newspapers for more than a few months. Soon after the Turkish courts-martial began topics such as the condition of political prisoners, the Peace Conference in Paris, and possible reparations that were to be paid to the Allies were taking center stage. Who could be blamed in an occupied post-war Istanbul where even the Armenian patriarch was quoted as being overwhelmed with what he could, and could not, handle in terms of the preservation of historical memory? The looting of Armenian gravestones in the municipality gardens and their transfer to a safer location such as the Armenian graveyard in Sişli, for example, was simply not important enough and

Figure 7.1 Monument commemorating the Armenian Massacres, erected in Istanbul, 1919 (in the Archives of the Armenian Genocide Museum Institute)

was rejected by him with a brusque "We have many things like that." Instead of answering to individual demands, and in an effort to create a collective mourning symbol, the Armenian patriarch chose to erect a monument the middle of Istanbul testifying to the Armenian massacres. Not much is known about this monument. Today we are left with a single photograph in the Archives of the Armenian Genocide Museum Institute in Yerevan. What happened to this monument?

We know that it was destroyed when the Kemalist forces arrived in Istanbul November 1922. Whether this was done by the Kemalists or by the Armenian community themselves we do not know. We can only speculate as to who is responsible for this act, what we know with certainty however is that even before Kemal Mustafa Atatürk entered Istanbul with his forces all documents pertaining to the Armenian massacres were sent to Europe (and later to Jerusalem) by the Armenian Patriarch of the time, Zaven Ter-Yeghiaian. We can assume that the Armenian Church was simply too afraid that the Kemalists would raid and purge their archives. When asked, the official story was (and still is to some extent) that all the archives of the Istanbul Patriarchate were lost in a fire. From this fear of the Armenian church of having documents that possibly incriminated the Kemalists, one could infer that the Armenians were well aware that not only was Mustafa Kemal Atatürk surrounded with people who had actively participated in the massacres and but that he would also not allow any public demonstrations of mourning, victimhood, or a remembrance of the Armenian massacres to take place in his republic.

As for Atatürk's general attitude to the Armenians, one could say, that it was motivated by tactics[34] and definitely changed with his audiences. In an article he wrote for the *Minber* newspaper[35] on November 9, 1919, for example, he described the deportations as a mistake made by certain people (and induced by their mentalities). In a later speech at a clandestine meeting of the parliament, we hear him justifying the actions taken by arguing that the Armenians had tried to exterminate the Muslim people. And in a conversation with his close friend Rauf Bey, he complained that "in America, France and England, killings and other murders are occurring, but no one is being accused. Only Turks are deemed to be responsible for the massacre of eight hundred thousand of their own people …" (Orbay, 1993: 276). As Atatürk became stronger, he became also bolder and a policy of denial and obfuscation gradually emerged. Questions of victimhood, historical justice and morality were never discussed in his new republic. Historical memory of the Armenian massacres simply did not fit into his nation-building project. Turkey became, and remains to this day, a republic that has

not mourned its dead. Nor has it prosecuted its crimes and spoken about its past.

The editors of this volume have argued in their introduction that media has an impact on the creation of historical memory. Turkey sadly presents us with a case in which this is not true. While the memoirs of Celal Bey, Hasan Amca and Refik Bey, the articles in the Istanbul press, and the last proceedings in the Ottoman parliament can give us glimpse at what was discussed before the veil of silence fell over Turkey, we know that they have long been forgotten.

In a way, our essay has tried to bring them to life from their grave of silence. We tried to show that there was a time in Turkey when the Armenian genocide was recognized and represented – when there was no publicly imposed silence. But let us not forget that these personal stories and opinions of Ottoman statesmen and officials, or journalists and intellectuals, that we presented here were published at a time when everyone was searching for answers and everyone was looking for the murderer. We saw that in their search they did not really mourn the dead nor did they not ask for forgiveness but mostly they were looking to put the blame on the shoulders of a handful of evil perpetrators and free themselves and the general Turkish / Muslim population from responsibility for the Genocide. Let us read these historical sources cautiously.

Notes

1. If not otherwise stated, all translations in the text were done by Serdar Koçman ve Niko Uzunoğlu.
2. Mr. Ref'i Cevad raised questions about the death journey of the Armenians in Alemdar. Because of this, he was put on the list of traitors, which was called the "One Hundred and Fifty (Yüzellilikler)" after the Treaty of Lausanne in 1924. After that he was expelled from his home country.
3. On November 6, 1922, a squad, which was assigned by Mr Sadi, the assistant chief of police, caught Ali Kemal after an adventurous tramway journey near the Serkldoryan passage, in the Marcel barber shop. They first took him to a house in Samatya in a commandeered taxi and then took him to İzmit by motorbike. He was interrogated in İzmit by Necip Ali. (Necip Ali subsequently became a member of the Independence Court and also a member of parliament.) After that, he was denigrated by "Bearded" Nurettin Pasha, who was the first army commander. Then, Bearded Nurettin gave the following order to Mr. Rahmi (Apak), the Head of the Intelligence Department: "Now find one or two hundred persons and order them to gather in front of the big gate. Order them to lynch and kill Ali Kemal." Mr. Rahmi, who was weak-hearted and a coward, could not implement this order and could not raise an objection. Therefore, he passed on the job to a military police

captain, Bald Sait. The crowd gathered together in a short period of time and descended upon Ali Kemal like a black cloud. Ali Kemal hopelessly clung to interrogation officer Necip Ali for protection from the attack. First he was knifed in the belly and then his head was crushed with stones and sticks. The crowd which killed Ali Kemal did not forget to rob him and to take his ring, gold watch and money. His naked body was pulled through the streets by means of a rope tied to his legs. Pasha Nurettin did this to impress İsmet İnönü, who was planning to pass through Izmit on the way to the Lausanne Conference by train. A gallows was set up above a small tunnel near the station and the dead body of Ali Kemal was hung from it. Also see: http://www.taraf.com.tr/yazilar/ayse-hur/resmi-tarihin-unlu-haini-ali-kemal/369/

Boris Johnson, who is the son of Stanley Johnson, who is the grandson of Ali Kemal, is a parliamentarian in the British Conservative Party. He worked as Executive Editor of *The Spectator* magazine for a period, and he won the London Mayorship as the Conservative Party candidate.

4. All quotations in the text were published as Celal bey's memoirs in *Vakit Gazetesi* during the month of November 1919; and then published as whole text in *Agos* newspaper, 30 July 2010. We refer to the latter publication in our essay.
5. An explanation could be that the Muslims had not yet developed a sense of nationhood in that period. This is the reason for the Holy War declaration (asking for war in the name of Allah) with the Jihad fatwa from the Caliph during the First World War. The people who took part in the war in the name of the nation (motherland) were the Ottoman people, who were not Muslim and who had a developed sense of nationhood. The Muslims died in the name of Allah and non-Muslim people went to war for the defense of the nation.
6. Information in relation to Mr. Celal is given in German documents: Rössler wrote the following before the Van rebellion on April 12: "After my return, Mr. Celal, the governor of Aleppo notified the following. It is seen that in the Turkish government a current with a tendency to accept all Armenians as enemies or an unreliable group came to the fore." The Governor commented on this change as a mischance for his country. 1916-01-03-DE-001 also see Gust (2012: 105).
7. The General Directorate of Tribes and Immigrants is a bureaucratic organization which organized all the logistics of the Armenian deportation. Mr. Şükrü (Kaya) (1883–1959), who became the head of this organization in 1915 worked as the right-hand man of Talat Pasha, the Minister of Internal Affairs. After the War of Independence (May 19, 1919–July 24, 1923), Mr. Şükrü was taken to Malta by the British, charged with playing a vital role in the killings of Armenian during the so-called deportations. He escaped his imprisonment in Malta early 1921 and joined the Kemalist forces in Anatolia in their struggle for national Independence. After the successful victory of the Kemalist forces led by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, Şükrü Kaya become Member of Parliament of the Menekşe region and then Minister of Internal Affairs in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey between the years 1923 and 1938. In this function he was charged with the resettlement of Kurds from the Dersim region and actively participated in the bombing of Dersim in 1935. He was a close confidante of Atatürk and frequently joined

the latter's legendary dinner table, at which most political decisions were discussed and made.

8. Mr. Şükrü, the General Director of Tribes and Immigrants, organized the deportation and was involved in it personally. Şükrü appointed Abdullah Nuri as the General Director of Tribes and Immigrants in Aleppo. Nuri was a fanatical Unionist and the brother of Yusuf Kemal Tengirşek, who became the Minister of Justice in the Kemalist period. Yusuf Kemal was the member of the CUP who wrote the report on the Cilicia Massacre of 1909. He did not put the Cilicia Report by Babikyan, who was a member of the Ottoman parliament and was disliked by the Unionists, on the parliamentary agenda. Before Babikyan's questionable death, he is quoted in Yusuf Kemal's memoirs as saying the following to him: "You are going to be merciful to my children, Kemal, aren't you?" (see Tengirşek: (1981: 118)). A. Nuri was arrested after the war on a charge of genocide. See: Akçam (2002: 572–573).
9. Information in relation to the dismissals is given in German documents: "Many Turkish high-level officers were dismissed because they did not accept the things which were done to Armenians". Rössler wrote the following to Mr. Celal, who was one of the most important persons among these officers: "So far, he has not sent any Armenians from the province of Aleppo and he has guaranteed that they will stay calm". Rössler made a prediction of the future: 'The government wants to be a maverick here too.' 1917-05-09-DE-001. See: Gust (2012: 21).
10. Mahmut Ferit Hamal (1887–1951) is one of the figures symbolic of the continuity between the Unionists and the Kemalists. After he had graduated from law school, Ferit worked as a clerk and member of various courts, and as deputy prosecuting attorney in İstanbul. After 1908, he worked as a party secretary of the Union and Progress Party in Emirgan, İstanbul, and in August 1914, when Germany declared war against Russia, he was one of the groups of the İstanbul Union and Progress Party secretaries who had broad authority to secretly organize the gangs of the Special Organization at the Russian border. Ferit Hamal participated in managing the work of the Special Organization at Erzurum, Bayburt, Trabzon and Artvin during this period. At the same time, he was appointed county governor of Borçka, Artvin, for a short period. Later, he joined the battalion of 2000 persons commanded by Yakup Cemil, one of the Unionist strongmen. Gangs of ex-prisoners that had been defeated by the Russians during gang wars were later appointed to the Armenian Genocide. Colonel Behiç Erkin, Deputy Chairman of the Army Department of the Turkish Military Academy, said in his memoirs that Yakup Cemil was executed in 1916 because of an attempted coup d'état against the government, and indeed Yakup Cemil practised so many cruelties with his gangs that his execution was deserved. (Erkin, 2010: 155). In the summer of 1915, Ferit was appointed as a political secretary in Konya and organized the deportation there. He was exiled to Malta at the end of the war but soon after was released by the British and returned to Turkey. In the Kemalist period, Ferit Hamal continued his political career in the Republican People's Party. He was the Party supervisor of craftsmen's associations. In 1939, he was the İstanbul delegate to the great congress of the Republican People's Party; in 1942, he was the leading commission member dealing with the Wealth Tax, which was one of the final instruments of the economic and cultural

genocide. Because of his success in the Wealth Tax commissions, he was chosen as a member of parliament for the Republican People's Party in 1943 (Aktar: 113–125).

11. *Teskilat-ı Mahusa* was a widespread secret organization under the orders of Enver Pasha, with the aim of carrying out irregular warfare actions within and outside the Ottoman Army. It organized and carried out crimes such as ethnic cleansing against non-Muslims.
12. Mehmet Hüsni Zadil was discharged from the Konya governorship in October 1918 and retired. In the Kemalist period he was appointed member of the administrative body of the General Directorate of Monopolies and as member of the administrative body of the National Reassurance Insurance Company. He died in an elevator accident when he was a member of the Board of Consultants of the Istanbul Municipality (Çetinkaya, 1968–69: 272).
13. Mr. Ali Fehmi was in charge in Akşehir during the Armenian and Greek deportation according to his biography in the Civil High School's history. Çetinkaya writes that he was murdered near his tiny farm in Kartal, Istanbul, in May 1919. The reason for the murder could not be determined and the murder could not be investigated by the official authorities (Çetinkaya: 1969: 376–377).
14. Celal bey sent a health certificate regarding Zohrab Efendi's stay in Aleppo for additional ten days because of his inability to travel to Istanbul (Sublime Porte 245 Ministry of Internal Affairs – Origin: Aleppo Cipher Office, Date of sending: June 14; date of arrival in the office: June 15). It reads as follows: 'Zohrab Eefendi will be sent to Diyarbekir. Therefore, he was sent here under custody and he has an illness of shortness of breath so he cannot easily travel. This situation was understood as a result of a medical examination. Therefore, he will be kept here for ten days together with Varteks Efendi with the approval of Pasha, who is here now. Respectfully submitted, June 14." Celal, on behalf of the Governor of Aleppo. BOA DAH ŞF 14/36-8;
15. Uncle Hasan was an opponent of the Party of Union and Progress and in the Kemalist period he was also an opponent of the Republican People's Party, which was the successor of the Party of Union and Progress. He lived in İstanbul, Sophia and Athens until 1959, in hiding. In the 1950s, two books by Uncle Hasan, who was working for the *Dünya* (*The World*) newspaper, were published with the following titles: *Unborn Freedom* and *Main Entrance of the Regular Army*. After *Unborn Freedom*, three additional books were planned but none of them were published. Uncle Hasan lived the last two years of his life wrestling with illnesses and died in 1961 of cardiac insufficiency.
16. *Agos* newspaper, 23 April 2012.
17. *Alemdar* newspaper, 19 June 1919.
18. *Alemdar* newspaper, 22 June 1919.
19. Aram Andonian, (1875, Constantinople–December 23, 1952, Paris) was an Armenian journalist, historian and writer. He edited the Armenian journals *Luys* (*Light*) and *Dzaghik* (*Flower*) and the newspaper *Surhandak* (*Herald*). He then went on to serve in the department of military censorship of the Ottoman Empire. He was arrested by order of Interior Minister Talat Pasha of the Ottoman Empire on the eve of April 24, 1915, and joined the large number of Armenian notables who were deported from the Ottoman

capital. Andonian was deported to Chankiri. Halfway there, he returned to Ankara and was deported again to the camps in Ra's al-'Ayn and Meskene. However, he survived in Aleppo, in the underground. When British forces occupied Aleppo, a low-level Turkish official, Naim Bey collaborated with Aram Andonian in publishing his memoirs, an account of the deportation of the Armenians. The Memoirs of Naim Bey were published in 1920, and are sometimes referred to as the "Andonian Telegrams" or the "Talat Pasha Telegrams." The telegrams are purported to constitute direct evidence that the Armenian Genocide of 1915–1917 was state policy of the Ottoman Empire. They were introduced as evidence in the trial of Soghomon Tehlirian. From 1928 to 1951 Andonian directed the Nubarian Library in Paris, and succeeded in hiding and saving most of the collection during the German occupation of Paris.

Other selected works by him: *Shirvanzade* (biography of Alexander Shirvanzade), Constantinople, 1911: *Badkerazard endardzak batmutiun Balkanean baderazmin*, 5 vols., Constantinople 1912 (*Complete Illustrated History of the Balkan War*); *Ayn sev orerun* (*Reminiscences of the Armenian Genocide*), Boston 1919; *The Memoirs of Naim Bey*, London 1920.

20. *Alemdar*, 28 June 1919.
21. *Ibid*.
22. Mr. Ahmet Refik was dismissed from the university during the university redundancies in 1934. The last years of his life were spent in poverty and misery.
23. Souren Sargsian's Testimony (born 1902, Sebastia, Khochhissar Village) cited from *The Armenian Genocide: Testimonies of the Eye-Witness Survivors*, collected and edited by Verjine Svaslian (Gitutiun: Yerevan, 2011.
24. See Uğur Ümit Üngör and Mehmet Polatel *Confiscation and Destruction: The Young Turk Seizure of Armenian Property* (London: Continuum, 2011).
25. For a theoretical work on the connection between guilt and forgetting refer to Sigmund Freud's seminal essay "Forgetting Things," in *Psychology of Everyday Life* (1901).
26. *Akşam*, 12 December 1918.
27. Remarkable Turkish scholars, like Taner Akçam, have taken on a near Primo Levian role of presenting an unbiased and scientific account of the Armenian Genocide by unearthing more and more materials from Ottoman archives, thereby not only placing their lives in danger and themselves in conditions of illegality and isolation but also taking on a witness role that is hard to overcome. See his most recent book for an attempt to write a history of the Armenian Genocide solely based on Ottoman sources: *The Young Turks' Crime Against Humanity: The Armenian Genocide and Ethnic Cleansing in the Ottoman Empire*, Princeton University Press, 2012.
28. The list of the murderers in Stanos: The District Governor of Ayaş; Bayraktar Hasan; İbrahim – police officer; Şehirli İsmail; Ziya, the military officer from Crete; Sergeant Hurşit; Bıyığın Ali; Kadir, the military police officer of Beypazarı; Seraylı Hamdi; Bacılı Halil; Kütükçü Hasan; Mustafa, the military police officer of Stanoz; the villagers of Gayi.
29. In the Armenian Patriarch Zaven Der Yeghiayan's (1868–1947) 'List of the organizers of the Armenian Genocide: Exterminators and Virtuous Muslims' the names and biographies of those who have killed or come to help Armenians were recorded by the patriarch himself.

30. http://www.nisanyanmap.com/?yer=2426&z=13&mt=Karma
31 http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/TUTANAK/MECMEB/mmbd03ic05c001/mmbd03ic05c001ink011.pdf
32. Using a unique collection of German propaganda postcards and a German-printed *fatwa* proclaiming jihad, Haig Demoyan cautions us to put the "jihad phenomenon" into the perspective of German wartime politics and propaganda efforts. Like Alfred Lütdke, he argues that – at least for the German War Office – the proclamation of holy war was perceived as a unique way to figuratively kill two birds with one stone: (1) to unite the Muslim *mucajir* hailing in from the Balkans (and some from Morocco) after the Balkan wars and the Anatolian Turks; and (2) to instigate Islamist insurgencies in the colonial territories of the Allied forces. Hayk Demoyan, "The Last Jihad of the Ottoman Empire: Confessional Basis of the Genocide," as presented at "The Caucasus Frontline of the First World War. Genocide, Refugees and Humanitarian Assistance," organized by the Armenian Genocide Museum Institute, Yerevan, 21–22 April, 2014. Conference Proceedings forthcoming. Also see; Tilman Lüdtke. "'Jihad made in Germany.' Ottoman and German Propaganda," Cambridge University PhD Thesis. Reports of the German war office substantiate his argument and provide us with detailed information not only about how the German War Office planned and recruited for "their jihad" abroad and sold it at home, but also how the Armenian massacres, in the end, endangered German domestic support for these wartime policies. From a report prepared by the diplomatic personnel in Constantinople for the ambassador (a sanitized version of the report was later sent by the ambassador to the German War Office in Berlin), we learn that the German diplomats were not so much concerned with the extermination of what they believed, in 1915, to be around one million Armenians, and the disastrous consequences this extermination would have for the economic future of the Ottoman empire, but that the extermination of the Armenians ("*Ausrottung der Armenier*") could damage the image of the German empire abroad and at home. Not speaking up against the atrocities, according to the report, could implicate the Germans in the crimes, as they are believed to be the only Christian Western power that could influence Ottoman affairs. Here, it is not the fact that the Armenians were being exterminated (*ausgerottet*), to which the report repeatedly refers, that is emphasized but the possible repercussions this could have in terms of winning or losing the war and retaining support for it at home. We learn that the German proclamation of jihad was an extremely difficult bargain to sell at home and could only be justified by bringing enormous advantages in terms of war strategy. The extermination of a Christian population, through religious fanaticism, could be misunderstood as a side effect of the Islamic holy war and could lead to unrest among the German population at home. As can be seen from this summary of German diplomatic reports of the year 1915, the jihad phenomenon during the First World War in the Ottoman territories was not a precondition of the Armenian massacres but an essential part of wartime politics that were believed to help win the war.
33. Souren Sargsian's Testimony is cited from *The Armenian Genocide: Testimonies of the Eye-Witness Survivors*.
34. Turkish Historian Timur, who defined Mustafa Kemal as a politician, accepted that the Armenian massacre was performed by the Unionists and he also characterized the massacre as a sordidness on the one hand, but on the other hand he defended the right of the nation, which was put in

the position of a slaughtered nation while the truth named it a slaughterer (Timur, 96–97). His position was clearly tactical.

35. "This mistake, which was the product of a few people's minds, could not have had any other result than upsetting the serenity of these two populations which had lived together as neighbors for centuries in the same country, which participated together in social life, policy, economy and society, and thusly it did not. In all nations of the world fanatics can emerge; naturally these kinds of people also exist among Armenians. However, are you not becoming more fanatical when you fantasize a more fanatic dream than those pathetic people when you fantasize the extermination of an entire nation by getting angry with a small fraction?"
36. All newspapers mentioned in our article went out of print or were closed during the one-party rule of the Kemalist regime, with the exception of *Yenigün* which, as mentioned above, continued as *Cumhurriyet* newspaper. *Agos* newspaper was established in 1996 and continues today.

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Newspapers[36]

Agos Gazetesi: A contemporary Armenian-Turkish weekly newspaper published today – Hrant Dink, main editor and founder of this newspaper was killed on January 19, 2007.

Alemdar: An Ottoman palace organ – its main writer was Ref'i Cevad the son of the governor of Yozgat who was deposed of from his office as governor because he protested against the Armenian massacres.

Aravot: An Armenian newspaper that was published between the years 1909 and 1924. It was the party organ of the Ramgavar Party.

Empros: An independent Greek caricature magazine.

Hadisat: A newspaper opposing the Committee of Union and Progress, founded by the intellectuals Süleyman Nazif and Cenap Sahabettin.

İkdam ve İçtihad: A newspaper published by Ahmet Cevdet. Holds the view that the Turks carry no guilt for the Armenian massacres.

Sabah: A daily newspaper that opposed the Committee of Union and Progress.

Le Spectateur d'Orient et Renaissance: A French newspaper published in Istanbul.

Yeni Gazete: A daily newspaper which held the view that it was Armenians who killed the Turks; Turks did not commit any crimes.

Yenigün: A daily newspaper supporting the Committee of Union and Progress. Later owned by Kemalists and siding officially with the Nazis in the Second World War, this newspaper exists to this day under the name *Cumhuriyet* newspaper.

Zaman: A newspaper published by Refik Halit, who was sent into exile during the Independence War.

8

Extreme Violence and Massacres during the First World War: A Comparative Study of the Armenian Genocide and German Atrocities in the Canadian Press (1914–1919)

Joceline Chabot, Richard Godin and Sylvia Kasparian

Introduction

The First World War brought extreme violence to the battlefields of Europe and to its civilian population. Following the invasion of Belgium and northern France, during the summer and fall of 1914, German troops resorted to abuses and slaughter against Belgian and French civilians (Horne & Kramer, 2001). French, Belgian and British authorities quickly set up inquiries, and they produced reports denouncing "German atrocities." A few months later, in the spring of 1915, news from the Ottoman Empire described systematic massacres, wide-scale deportations and the slaughtering of the Armenian civil population (Kévorkian, 2011). In May 1915, in a joint statement, the *Triple Entente* – France, Great Britain and Russia – accused the Turkish government of "crimes against humanity and civilization" (Racine, 2006: 3–8).

The notions of "atrocities" and "massacres" used at that time to describe such actions are not well-defined judicial principles. Jurists, who cited the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907, as well as the Geneva Convention of 1906, described "German atrocities" as war crimes. But a denunciation of the "Armenian Massacre" did not fit within such an elaborate and codified legal tool-set. Indeed, at the time, international law was still in its developing phases regarding warfare, and the *Triple Entente*'s denunciations of the Armenian massacres had a strictly political impact. As the war ended, tribunals found themselves unable to judge the guilty, and the specific nature of extreme violence

against a civilian population faded in judicial annals when it was displaced, though not altogether forgotten, by authorities who substituted the more unifying theme of treating war itself as a great massacre (Prochasson, 2003).

Throughout the conflict, newspapers relayed information from the Western and Caucasian front. Journalists adapted these news items giving them titles that painted a grim and bloody portrait of German and Turkish crimes. However, the media narrative indicates that in the violence committed against the Armenian population the superficial reporting of massacre after massacre might be hiding something deeper (Becker, 2003). In this chapter, our analysis will try to determine how the newspapers that make up our corpus enounced, represented and attempted to understand both the general conflict and the Armenian confrontations. We intend to question whether, as these events were taking place, the media were able to size up the different nature of the crimes that were committed against civilians on the Western front and in the Ottoman Empire. Using the conceptual tools and methods of three different disciplines – history, media studies and linguistics – we have undertaken a lexical and semantic[1] analysis of a press corpus composed of seven French Canadian newspapers from the period. Using this corpus we can describe in some detail the media representation of the major events. And at the same time, using our semantic analysis, we can answer some of the major questions concerning the Armenian massacres. Throughout, we will take into account the fact that war measures and censorship had significant effects on the media represented in our corpus.

The Canadian Press in an era of Censorship and Propaganda

In the context of the First World War, the press became a laboratory for developing messages that aimed to serve the efforts at mobilization. In fact, the idea of using media language diffused in the press to influence the public was relatively recent at the time. The notion of information as something to be controlled, and the systematization of direct means of achieving such control, was still an emerging concept at the war's onset in 1914. Canada was among the first nations to develop a centralized censorship system, along with France, Great Britain, Belgium and Germany (Levert, 2004: 334–335).

Freedom of the press in Canada was thus restricted by the War Measures Act and by the dictates of censorship and propaganda. These

measures of control would determine the scope of information during the entire period covered by this analysis. The three main consequences of this control were the absence of war correspondents as direct witnesses sent to the front; the substitution of correspondents linked to the military; and the censorship of strictly informative content. As a first consequence, until 1917 the coverage of this unprecedented conflict was conducted without the contribution of any Canadian reporters on the European Western front (Keshen, 1996: 65), as well as in Asia Minor. A second consequence, linked to the first one, was the total control of information imposed by the military, which severely restricted both the gathering and the transmission of news. This control brought about the creation of the position of a military correspondent in the war zone; acting as an official eyewitness[2] and delivering a military-sanctioned version of events that afforded little or no margin of interpretation to the journalists. A third consequence was the strict control of information content, regarding censorship and propaganda. On June 10, 1915, an order issued under the War Measures Act created the office of the Chief Press Censor[3] under the direction of Ernest J. Chambers. In 1917, a national press agency, The Canadian Press,[4] was created, beginning operations in Toronto on September 1 of that year.

This exceptional context generated a number of questions concerning the role played by the Canadian press during the events in Belgium in 1914 and those in Turkey in 1915–1916. Of course, the Canadian Press's avowed goal was to avoid the leaking of any information susceptible of aiding the enemy. It was felt that such information could affect the morale of the troops and the civilian population, and could have a negative effect on mobilization and enrolment efforts. More broadly, we must remember that the War Measures Act was passed on August 18, 1914, without any debate in the House of Commons. Adopted as an emergency measure, it granted extraordinary powers to the executive branch of the government in order to support a total commitment to the war effort. It allowed the government to act by decree whenever deemed necessary. One such occasion was the decree of June 15, 1915, imposing press censorship. The restrictions contained in the decree included a rigorous control of information to be obtained through censorship and propaganda, and they also limited the civil rights of Canadians for the duration of the war (Castonguay, 2003: 160). This law gave the federal government the power to impose its centralizing force upon both official language groups in Canada during this crucial period of Canadian history.

In French-speaking Canada, and particularly in Quebec, the pre-war context was marked by the domination of the Catholic clergy, which

had attempted to impose its moral order on the freedom of expression of the press by exerting a strict control. Catholic bishops already limited the rights of the press by either condemning a publication, by reprimanding its editor or by favoring one publication over another (De Bonville, 1996: 50). However, with the adoption of the War Measures Act and the creation of the Chief Press Censor's office, relations between the clergy and the press were temporarily modified. Indeed, the Chief Press Censor did everything in his power to bring the clergy to conform to the national rules of censorship. He would meet with representatives of the Church regularly, and in his final report[5] stated that he had managed to stem the propagation of undesirable information from the pulpits (Chambers, 1996: 318).

Given this ambivalent context, the stories reported by the main French-Canadian dailies regarding German atrocities and the massacre of Armenians must be interpreted with a certain degree of circumspection. Once the reports were published, no one doubted their veracity. However, the role given to the Canadian press was to mobilize, defend the nation, serve unity and fight the enemy alongside the forces of the British Empire. In this respect, the English-language press was indefectible in its loyalty. Quite the opposite was the French-language press, notably *Le Devoir*, although even it tended to moderate its opposition, especially after 1917 when the question of conscription came to a head (Cyr, 2008). For both the English- and French-language press, journalistic objectivity had been placed under the control of the Censor's office, which necessarily supposes biased information. In the end, the readership (i.e., the population) was most affected. As is argued by historian Jérome Coutard, the information regarding a "far-away war" was standardized and conformed, conveying emotional values that respected the criteria of what was "desirable" and what was "despicable" in the Quebec society of that era (Coutard, 1999: 559). As is the case with journalistic content in all of the Allied nations, Canadian media certainly met some challenges in its effort to deliver information. The political, cultural and social values associated with a society facing war were mobilized and presented as truths concerning the events taking place (Horne, 2004). But what was modified to conform to the new directives of the censors? The articles published by the newspapers used in this study demonstrate the tensions that existed between propaganda and "truth." Both versions often came through in the coverage and both served as a key to our analysis of representation.

The present analysis draws upon a corpus that includes seven French-Canadian publications: *L'Action catholique*, *Le Canada*, *Le Devoir*, *Le Droit*,

L'Événement, *La Patrie*, and *La Presse*. The corpus consists of 172 articles totaling 453,343 words. These numbers are the result of an exhaustive search through the published content on the chosen subjects in the aforementioned publications. They fall into two main categories: the first, *Corpus allemand* (German corpus), includes 882 articles and 361,306 words related to "German atrocities"; the second, *Corpus arménien* (Armenian corpus), includes 290 articles and 74,037 words related to the massacre of the Armenian civil population. The chosen period starts with the publication of the first articles in 1914 and ends with the Paris Conference in 1919. These publications were selected as being representative of the media discourse of the time for two reasons. First, their daily circulation of 196,703 copies represented more than one-third of the total circulation of Quebec daily newspapers, established at 518,720 in 1914 (De Bonville, 1988). Second, these seven newspapers covered most of the political and ideological currents present in Quebec in the early 20th century. While *Le Devoir* remained a combative newspaper and a promotional tool for French-speaking Canadians, *La Presse*, close to liberal circles, became a major newspaper that managed to profit from all the methods used by its modern counterparts at the turn of the century. Its main competitor, *La Patrie*, also followed the modern style of most major newspapers, but it showed a more conservative orientation. It is worth noting that *L'Action catholique*, as its name indicates, was the official journal of the Catholic Church. Obviously, all these newspapers differed in their coverage of events. Without going into a detailed analysis of the news format, we can see from Table 8.1 that there was a marked difference in the number of articles published in the major newspapers selected. Some of them, notably *La Presse*, *L'Événement* and *La Patrie* excelled in the rapid delivery of information, while opinion newspapers like *Le Devoir* and *L'Action catholique*, or more regional ones like *Le Droit*, preferred in-depth political analysis and local news.

Lastly, we should mention the over-representation of the German corpus, which is the result of the following factors. First, Canadian newspapers gave more attention to European events, especially on the

Table 8.1 Article distribution, by corpus and by newspaper

Newspaper/ Corpus	*Action catholique*	*Canada*	*Le Devoir*	*Le Droit*	*Événement*	*La Patrie*	*La Presse*	Total
German	78	131	74	101	176	176	146	882
Armenian	32	46	61	27	43	31	50	290
Total	110	177	135	128	219	207	196	1172

Western front, because that was where the vast majority of Canadian troops were stationed. Second, newspapers obtained most of the news they published from press agencies, as well as from French and British newspapers, all of which had a vested interest in the events taking place on the Western front. Third, it is clear that Asia Minor did not benefit from the same media coverage as Western Europe, in no small part for geographical reasons. The sum of these factors explains the significant statistical discrepancies between the two corpuses.

Extreme Violence in the Media Discourse

Analysis of the substantial corpus (453,343 words) concerning German atrocities and the Armenian Genocide in the French Canadian Press, between 1914 and 1919, was conducted using cutting-edge discourse analysis software. Both programs used, Sphinx[6] and Hyperbase,[7] enabled us to explore and describe the global lexicon of the corpus, identifying, in an initial phase, all the words from the lexicon related to criminal acts and linked to these two sets of events.

Subsequently, this list was cross-referenced with both the German and Armenian corpus. We should specify that, in order to meet the objectives of this analysis, namely for statistical purposes, both corpuses were further divided into two periods. The first period includes the articles published between 1914 and 1916, which were written as the events took place or shortly afterwards. Indeed, crimes were committed against civilian populations by German soldiers as they crossed Belgium and northern France in 1914. Over 6000 civilians were killed within a few weeks of the beginning of the war (Horne & Kramer, 2001: 74). In 1915–1916, widespread massacres devastated the Armenian population. The initial elimination of the men, and the subsequent deportation of women, children and the elderly to the deserts of Syria and Mesopotamia resulted in the death of more than 1,000,000 Armenians. The second period includes the articles published between 1917 and the Paris Conference of 1919, a period that also saw significant wartime violence directed at civilians. For example, the German occupation of Belgium and northern France met solid resistance and resulted in numerous deaths, and sporadic massacres were still being carried out against the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire. However, during this period, mass crimes ceased to be the focus of the press coverage, even if they were still evoked in order to denounce the enemy's barbarity.

By compiling the list of descriptive words used in newspaper reports, crossing them with the two periods and the two corpuses (German and

Armenian), submitting them to a statistical analysis (Correspondence Analysis, or CA), we were able to identify the words and the lexical fields linked to each corpus and to each period identified. Many questions then arose: what words are associated with each crime? What are the lexical fields linked to these two corpuses according to the 1914–1916 and 1917–1919 periods? What can these words reveal regarding the terminology and qualification of these crimes? Finally, is there a difference between the media coverage of these two events?

These are the questions that we attempt to answer. We do so by, first, analyzing the words extracted from the main corpus; second, examining the lexical fields linked to both sub-corpuses; and, third, obtaining a broader look at the lexical distance between the texts and the discourses linked to each of these two events, with a specific focus on the terminology and qualification of crimes.

Global analysis of the lexicon: Words

A list of words linked to crimes committed against civilians

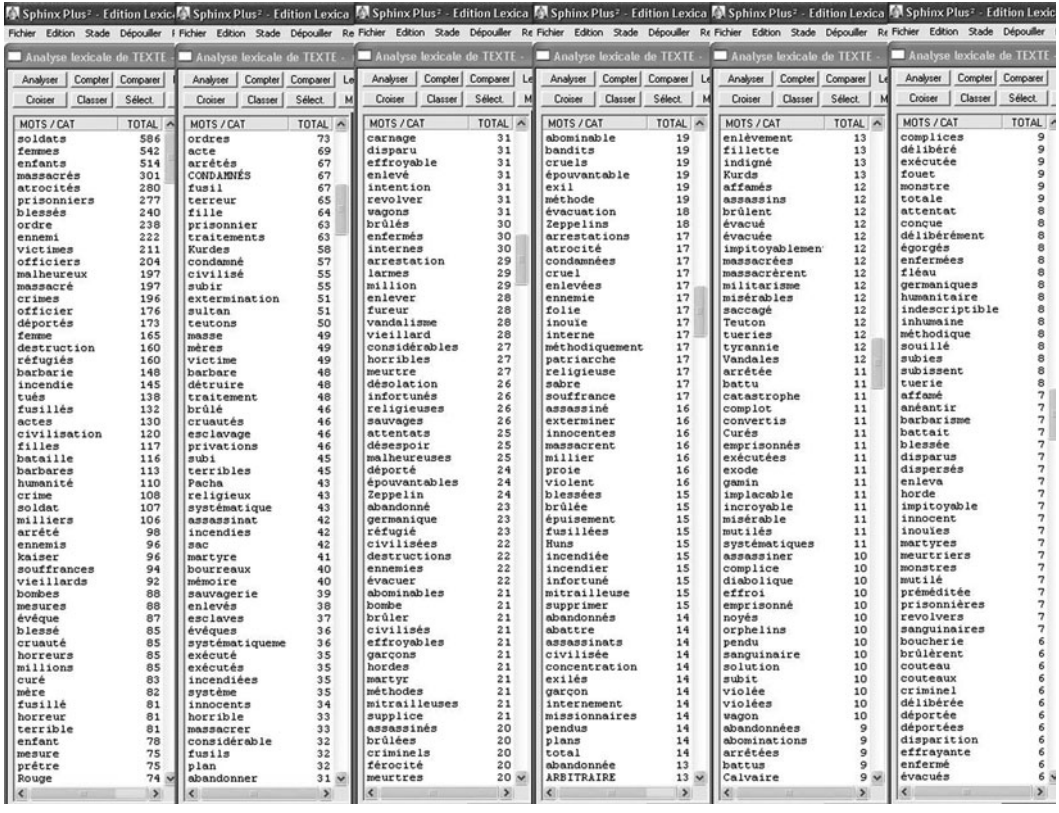
Our research began with the preparation of a complete dictionary from the corpus. We then sorted out and alphabetically listed all of the words linked to crimes committed against civilians. The results are presented in Table 8.2, in which the words retained are listed along with the frequency of their use. This step allowed us to reduce the corpus by removing tool-words like qualifiers, prepositions and terms not directly significant to criminal acts.

Correspondence analysis of words linked to crimes in the German and Armenian corpuses

We then organized the German and Armenian corpuses following the same periodization as was used for the whole corpus. We did this in order to carry out more advanced statistical analyses aimed at describing the finer relations between words and different corpuses. To follow the evolution of the lexicon and the discourse within the previously established chronologies, we analyzed both the German and Armenian corpuses by dividing them into four sub-corpuses: German 1914–1916, Armenian 1914–1916, German 1917–1919, and Armenian 1917–1919. We cross-analyzed the list of 632 selected words with these four sub-corpuses. This allowed us to refine the analysis and to study the media narrative more closely. The resulting contingency table (632×4) was subjected to a CA, which gave us Figure 8.1.

This figure clearly shows, on Axis 1 (horizontal axis), a separation between the German (left side) and Armenian (right side) corpuses.

Table 8.2 A list of words linked to crimes committed against civilians



MOTS / CAT	TOTAL
soldats	586
femmes	542
enfants	514
massacrés	301
atrocités	280
prisonniers	277
blessés	240
ordre	238
ennemi	222
victimes	211
officiers	204
malheureux	197
massacré	197
crimes	196
officier	176
déportés	173
femme	165
destruction	160
réfugiés	160
barbarie	148
incendie	145
tués	138
fusillés	132
actes	130
civilisation	120
filles	117
bataille	116
barbares	113
humanité	110
crime	108
soldat	107
milliers	106
arrêté	98
ennemis	96
kaiser	96
souffrances	94
vieillards	92
bombes	88
mesures	88
évêque	87
blessé	85
cruauté	85
horreurs	85
millions	85
curé	83
mère	82
fusillé	81
horreur	81
terrible	81
enfant	78
mesure	75
prêtre	75
Rouge	74

MOTS / CAT	TOTAL
ordres	73
acte	69
arrêtés	67
CONDAMNÉS	67
fusil	67
terreur	65
fille	64
prisonnier	63
traitements	63
Kurdes	58
condamné	57
civilisé	55
subir	55
extermination	51
sultan	51
teutons	50
masse	49
mères	49
victime	49
barbare	48
détruire	48
traitement	48
brûlé	46
cruautés	46
esclavage	46
privations	46
subi	45
terribles	45
Pacha	43
religieux	43
systématique	43
assassinat	42
incendies	42
sac	42
martyre	41
bourreaux	40
mémoire	40
sauvagerie	39
enlevés	38
esclaves	37
évêques	36
systématiqueme	36
exécuté	35
exécutés	35
incendiées	35
système	35
innocents	34
horrible	33
massacrer	33
considérable	32
fusils	32
plan	32
abandonner	31

MOTS / CAT	TOTAL
carnage	31
disparu	31
effroyable	31
enlevé	31
intention	31
revolver	31
wagons	31
brûlés	30
enfermés	30
internés	30
arrestation	29
larmes	29
million	29
enlever	28
fureur	28
vandalisme	28
vieillard	28
considérables	27
horribles	27
meurtre	27
désolation	26
infortunés	26
religieuses	26
sauvages	26
attentats	25
désespoir	25
malheureuses	25
déporté	24
épouvantables	24
Zeppelin	24
abandonné	23
germanique	23
réfugié	23
civilisées	22
destructions	22
ennemies	22
évacuer	22
abominables	21
bombe	21
brûler	21
civilisés	21
effroyables	21
garçons	21
hordes	21
martyr	21
méthodes	21
mitrailleuses	21
supplice	21
assassinés	20
brûlées	20
criminels	20
férocité	20
meurtres	20

MOTS / CAT	TOTAL
abominable	19
bandits	19
cruels	19
épouvantable	19
exil	19
méthode	19
évacuation	18
Zeppelins	18
arrestations	17
atrocité	17
condamnées	17
cruel	17
enlevées	17
ennemie	17
folie	17
inouïe	17
interne	17
méthodiquement	17
patriarche	17
religieuse	17
sabre	17
souffrance	17
assassiné	16
exterminer	16
innocentes	16
massacrent	16
millier	16
proie	16
violent	16
blessées	15
brûlée	15
épuisement	15
fusillées	15
Huns	15
incendiée	15
incendier	15
infortuné	15
mitrailleuse	15
supprimer	15
abandonnés	14
abattre	14
assassinats	14
civilisée	14
concentration	14
exilés	14
garçon	14
internement	14
missionnaires	14
pendus	14
plans	14
total	14
abandonnée	13
ARBITRAIRE	13

MOTS / CAT	TOTAL
enlèvement	13
fillette	13
indigné	13
Kurds	13
affamés	12
assassins	12
brûlent	12
évacué	12
évacuée	12
impitoyablemen	12
massacrées	12
massacrèrent	12
militarisme	12
misérables	12
saccagé	12
Teuton	12
tueries	12
tyrannie	12
Vandales	12
arrêtée	11
battu	11
catastrophe	11
complot	11
convertis	11
Curés	11
emprisonnés	11
exécutées	11
exode	11
gamin	11
implacable	11
incroyable	11
misérable	11
mutilés	11
systématiques	11
assassiner	10
complice	10
diabolique	10
effroi	10
emprisonné	10
noyés	10
orphelins	10
pendu	10
sanguinaire	10
solution	10
subit	10
violée	10
violées	10
wagon	10
abandonnées	9
abominations	9
arrêtées	9
battus	9
Calvaire	9

MOTS / CAT	TOTAL
complices	9
délibéré	9
exécutée	9
fouet	9
monstre	9
totale	9
attentat	8
conçue	8
délibérément	8
égorgés	8
enfermées	8
fléau	8
germaniques	8
humanitaire	8
indescriptible	8
inhumaine	8
méthodique	8
souillé	8
subies	8
subissent	8
tuerie	8
affamé	7
anéantir	7
barbarisme	7
battait	7
blessée	7
disparus	7
dispersés	7
enleva	7
horde	7
impitoyable	7
innocent	7
inoules	7
martyres	7
meurtriers	7
monstres	7
mutilé	7
préméditée	7
prisonnières	7
revolvers	7
sanguinaires	7
boucherie	6
brûlèrent	6
couteau	6
couteaux	6
criminel	6
délibérée	6
déportée	6
déportées	6
disparition	6
effrayante	6
enfermé	6
évacués	6

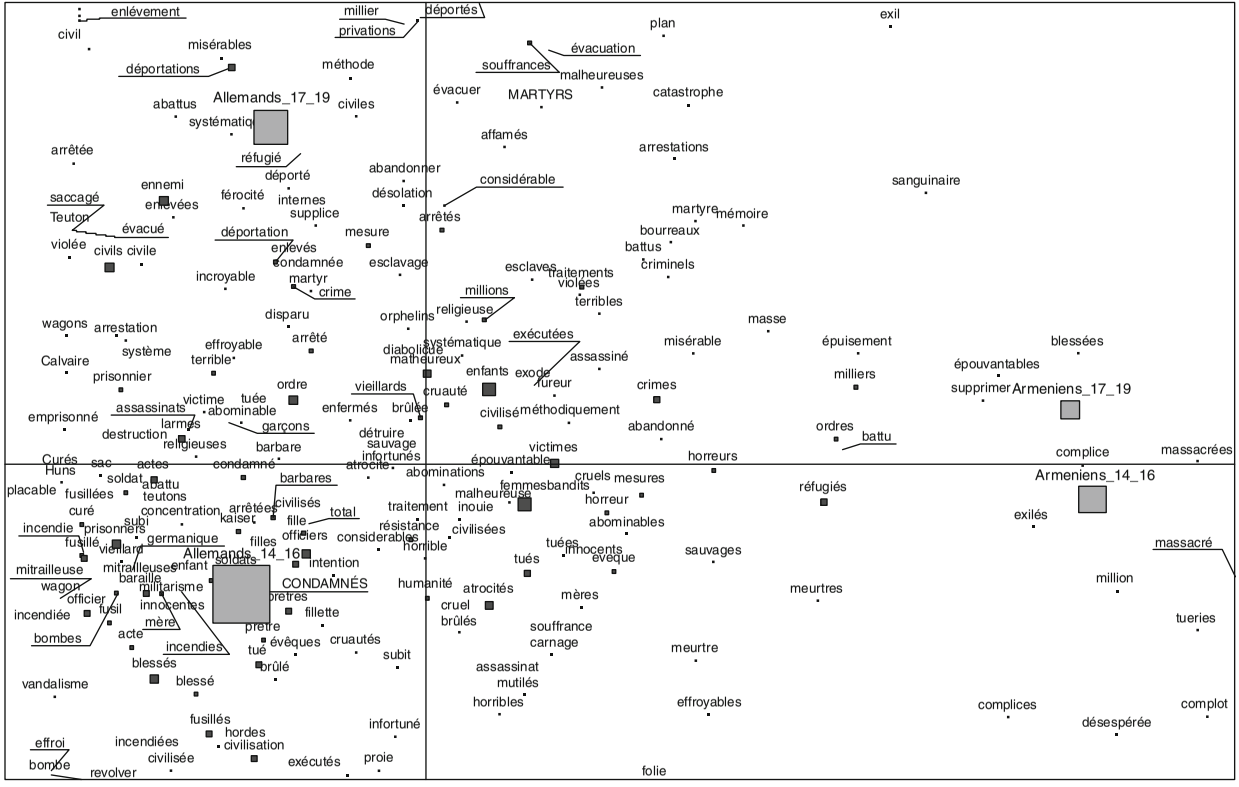


Figure 8.1 Correspondence Analysis of the 632 words for German and Armenian corpuses

Axis 2 (vertical axis) represents the axis of time for the German corpus that is divided into two sub-corpuses (1914–1916 and 1917–1919), each with distinct and different words. The Armenian sub-corpuses, however, did not indicate significant differences and are not separated chronologically. This figure provides us with a clear representation of the exact words associated with each of the three corpus groups: German 1917–1919 (top left section), German 1914–1916 (bottom left section) and both Armenian sub-corpuses (right section).

As we can see by examining Axis 1 (80.58% of variance) of the CA (Figure 8.1), terms used in the German and Armenian corpuses are different even if some are repeated or show semantic proximity. The German corpus includes the following words: *barbare* (barbarian/barbaric), *humanité* (humanity), *civilisation* (civilization), *emprisonnement* (jailing), *disparition* (disappearance), *assassinats* (assassinations), déportation (deportation), *incendies* (fires, arson), *arrestation* (arrest), *effroyable* (horrifying), *incroyable* (incredible / unbelievable), *ennemi* (enemy), *bataille* (battle), *armes* (weapons), *intention* (intent), déni (denial) and other acts. The words *extermination* (extermination), *massacres* (massacres), *assassinat* (assassination), *carnage* (carnage), *déportés* (deportees), *evacuation* (evacuation), *supprimer* (eliminate), *torture* (torture), *catastrophe* (catastrophe), *esclavage* (enslavement), *souffrance* (suffering), *mesure* (extent), *nombre* (number), épouvantable (terrifying), *viols* (rapes), *inconcevable* (inconceivable), *bourreau* (executioner / killer), *apostasie* (apostasy / denegation), *meurtres* (murders) are all associated with the Armenian corpus.

Already, this exploration shows us some of the differences that define the particular media narrative of each set of events. In the German corpus, words linked to the illegality of the acts being committed against civilians under international law (e.g., imprisonment, disappearance, assassinations, enslavement, deportation, executions) reflect the illegitimate, but also barbaric, nature of these crimes. It is because of this that under the title "*Les atrocités allemandes*" ("The German Atrocities") one of many similar articles presented the acts committed by German troops against the Belgian population:

> A large number of villages located in the Vilverde–Mechelen–Leuven triangle … have been sacked, partially burnt down, their population dispersed, while citizens were being arbitrarily arrested and shot for no apparent reason, as they met the advancing troops … (*La Patrie,* November 28, 1914).[8]

As for the words present in the Armenian corpus, they give account of a dreadful, incredible, frightful and horrifying crime, a catastrophe marked by massacres, millions of deportees, the torture and extermination of an entire people, as related by the following excerpt from an article entitled "*L'extermination des Arméniens*" ("The Extermination of Armenians"):

> Today, the program of the Red Sultan [moniker given to Sultan Abdul Hamid II, who was considered responsible for the massacres committed against Armenians in 1894–1896], carried out by the Young Turks, is quite close to being completed, if it is not already achieved. The violent and systematic extermination of the Armenian people has been pursued over many months with such meticulous care that it could not fail to attain its goals. These events are historically unprecedented. Under the Hamidian regime, massacres were confined to certain Armenian districts. Today, it is the entire Armenian population that is being wiped out, wherever it resides within the borders of the Ottoman Empire. (*Le Devoir*, October 25, 1915).[9]

Axis 2 (14.72% of variance) is the time axis for the German corpus, and it reveals that, whereas the Armenian corpus establishes no real distinction between the two periods, the German corpus differentiates the lexicon from period to period. For the period closest to the German invasion, 1914–1916, the lexicon reflects the qualification and the condemnation of the barbaric and implacable nature of both the actions and the perpetrators: *barbare* (barbarian/barbaric), *hordes (*hordes), *Huns* (Huns), *vandalismes* (vandalism), *cruautés* (cruelty), etc. In August 1914, an anonymous contributor residing in Paris sent these few lines to *La Presse*:

> unspeakable atrocities are being committed in Belgium, and no one here can help but shudder at the thought of the terrible fate that awaits the population along the French borders that will be confronted with the Teutonic invasion. The list of acts of unprecedented cruelty committed by the "barbarians" seems inexhaustible. (*La Presse*, August 27, 1914.)[10]

This being said, many words allude to the events taking place within the military context: *soldat* (soldier), *officiers* (officers), *bombes* (bombes), *mitrailleuses* (machine guns), *militarisme* (militarism), etc. In every one of these cases, newspapers did not hesitate to denounce German war crimes

and to represent their perpetrators as modern-day "barbarians." Recalling an interview given by Cardinal Mercier, Archbishop of Mechelen,[11] *La Patrie* writes:

> These bomb-throwers wanted to stab at the heart of Belgium. … German military behavior in Belgium has nothing in common with the gallant chivalric warfare or with modern scientific norms; one might compare them to a barbaric eruption into our prosperous, honest and industrious nation. (*La Patrie*, September 11, 1914.)[12]

As for the lexicon of the 1917–1919 period, it refers to the occupation and occupation policies enacted by German authorities: *emprisonnement* (imprisonment), *disparition* (disappearance), *victime* (victim), *enlèvement* (abduction), *deportation* (deportation), *privations* (privations), etc. At the end of the war, many articles gave a grim account of the years of the German occupation in Belgium and in the northern part of France. For instance, a long article titled "*La Belgique délivrée des Boches*" ("Belgium Freed from the Boche") paints a dramatic picture of the condition of the Belgian civilian population:

> Actually, and without doubt for some time to come, life is going to be painful in Belgium. … Even for well-to-do families, basic subsistence became a challenge, and we ask with some anguish what will be the long-term effect of these long and cruel privations on the energy of the Belgian race. (*La Patrie,* January 14, 1919.)[13]

This initial exploration of the corpus allowed us to identify the distinctions in the terms used by Canadian newspapers in their account of events during the First World War to be identified. The next section of our analysis will focus on the words linked with the terminology and qualifications used to describe the crimes committed against the civilian population by the German and Turkish authorities.

Analysis of the Terminology and Qualifications used to Describe the Crimes Committed

Using the results of Axis 1 (Figure 8.1) as a basis and returning to the original text, it is possible to focus more clearly on the lexicon of terminology and qualifications used by the press to describe the actions, atrocities and cruelty that was reported in the German and Armenian corpuses.

The Armenian corpus

It is evident from Figure 8.1 that six words are closely related to the denomination of crime in the Armenian corpus: *systématique* (systematic), *méthodiquement* (methodically), *mesures* (measures), *plan* (plan), *ordres* (orders), and *complot* (conspiracy). For example, in the fall of 1915, as news came in on the massacre taking place in Anatolia, an article on the events reminded readers that "the Turkish government has pursued with inexorable cruelty a program of assassination of all Christians of Armenian blood … In the eastern and northern regions of Asia Minor, a methodical extermination of the Christian population is being carried out" (*Le Devoir*, September 21, 1915). The assessment remains identical four years later when, quoting from a document produced by the Armenian delegation at the Paris Peace Conference, an article concludes that: "… under the leadership of the Young Turks, murder and robbery have been systematically carried out on the Christian population of Cilicia" (*L'Action Catholique*, May 1, 1919). This is of particular importance, since in the eventual definition of crimes of genocide, the intentional and systematic nature of the crime is at the very heart of what became the legal definition validated by the international community in 1948.[14] However, at the time the article was written, the notion of genocide was nonexistent. Even so, in the presence of an unspeakable crime, the media sought primarily to establish the responsibility of the Committee of Union and Progress, which headed the Ottoman government, in the systematic and methodical extermination of Armenians. This goal is evident from excerpts of an interview given by the Italian ex-consul to Trabzon, Giacomo Gorrini, on the subject of the measures taken against the Armenian population. Journalist Uldéric Tremblay, stated clearly that "the internment order came from Constantinople, from the central government, from the Committee of Union and Progress." (*Le Devoir*, November 9, 1915). As for the words: *considerable* (considerable), *masse* (mass), *million* (million), *millions* (millions), and *milliers* (thousands), they do not directly add to the seriousness of the crime, but they clearly illustrate the violent and wide-scale nature of the slaughter and deportation of Armenians.

In Figure 8.1, a series of words specific to the Armenian corpus, such as épouvantable (frightful), *inouïe* (unprecedented), *abominables* (abominable), *horribles* (horrible), *terribles* (terrible), and *catastrophe* (catastrophe) illustrates the seriousness of the crime committed against the Armenians. The representations of the crimes committed against the Armenians describe in detail the terrible sequence of events that constitute, according to the press, a frightening spectacle: "The horrible

scenes that have taken place might seem unbelievable …" (*Le Canada*, November 27, 1915), "Scenes of horrific carnage are occurring within the borders of Turkey" (*L'Action catholique*, September 17, 1915). It should be noted that the terminology that stands out in this group gives an account of the frightening, monstrous and incredible nature of the crimes committed, but also of the mass violence and extermination that accompanied them: "Imagination could not create a more atrocious vision than that of this wanton extermination, these abominable atrocities" (*L'Événement*, January 13, 1916). Newspaper headlines did not hesitate to announce "Horrible Massacres" (*Le Canada,* November 27, 1914), nor describe "Scenes of Horrific Carnage" (*L'Action catholique*, September 17, 1915). Of course, these qualifications cannot by themselves define the phenomenon in question, but they spread the perception of the changing nature of the violence suffered by the victims.

The words associated with the Armenian corpus rapidly lead us to identify these criminal acts. Thus, *carnage* (carnage), *crime* (crime), *atrocités* (atrocities), *arrestations* (arrests), évacuation (evacuation), *massacre* (massacres), *déportés* (deportees), *supprimer* (eliminate), *exiler* (exile), *mutilés* (mutilated), *affamés* (starved), *battus* (beaten), *violée* (raped), and *tués* (killed) are all specific to the Armenian corpus. They constitute the lexicon used to describe the radical measures that constituted this massive crime. In addition to the atrocities themselves – mutilations, rape, etc. – we should add the arrest and evacuation of the deportees to their designated places of relocation, another step in the Armenian extermination.

International opinion was well informed of the actions undertaken by Turkish authorities. They were noted in the Bryce report,[15] quoted in *Le Devoir*: "… the extermination of Armenians is being pursued in three ways: massacres, abjurations, and deportation" (October 9, 1915). Also, even though the laws of war do not codify the term "massacre," the actions reported by Bryce are at the very origin of the notion of crimes against humanity, a notion that was being constructed even as the crime was being committed. Indeed, from the beginning the severity and magnitude of these massacres situated them within the scope of the crimes against human rights as denounced by the Allies.

Also, the CA (Figure 8.1) reveals the lexical representations of both main actors in the reported events: the executioner and the victim. The words, *bourreaux* (executioners), *criminels* (criminals), *complices* (accomplices), *bandits* (bandits), *sanguinaire* (bloodthirsty), and *cruels* (cruel), paint and define the dehumanized figure of the cruel and violent perpetrator without always identifying him by name. In fact,

the articles generally use the expression "the executioners and their accomplices" (*La Patrie,* April 1st 1916). Otherwise, what the media saw as criminals were designated under the general appellation of Young Turks, accompanied by one or by many qualifiers: in language like "the rogue and bloodthirsty government of the Young Turks" (*L'Action catholique*, November 2, 1915). As for the vocabulary associated with the victim, it is much richer than the former and it includes words like *martyrs* (martyrs), *victimes* (victims), *enfants* (children), *femmes* (women), *innocents* (innocent), mère (mother), *désespérée* and *désespérés* (desperate), *abandonné* and *abandonnées* (abandoned, or forsaken), réfugiés (refugees), *évêques* (bishops), *misérables* (miserable), *malheureuses* and *malheureux* (unfortunate), *esclaves* (slaves), and *folie* (madness). It is clear that innocent victims are portrayed as emblematic figures, such as mother, woman or child: "the Armenians that are deported to the desert are now a miserable herd of elders, women and children" (*Le Devoir*, October 25, 1915). The description of the victim was that of a slave, of a martyr. Headlines regularly repeat the expression "The Martyrdom of the Armenian" (*Le Devoir*, August 18, 1916), or by metonymy "Martyred Armenia" (*Le Droit*, August 9, 1916), a way of representing an entire population stricken by tragedy. The victim is not only miserable and unfortunate, but desperate, driven to madness and forsaken: "The soldiers submitted the women to unspeakable treatment and many among them became mad and threw away their children" (*La Presse*, October 7, 1915). As a tragic figure, the victim assumes every characteristic of the Armenian population in its slow extermination, befallen by incredible violence on the road to deportation and exile. To this effect, *Le Droit* cites large excerpts from the testimony of Henry Barby,[16] the only French reporter present in Armenia, who struggled to describe the horrifying violence suffered by the victims. After his encounter with seven young rescued children, he writes:

> I thought my investigation was finished, I thought I had said everything to be said about the martyrdom of the unfortunate Armenia. But once again, I must return to it, I must once more evoke frightful scenes, more frightful than all the others, because its victims were children. (*Le Devoir*, September 25, 1916.)[17]

The victims are invariably presented as an anonymous mass, but one type of victim is identified more individually by his function, namely the bishop. On many occasions, the media narrative described the cruel fate the executioners reserved for him. As an example, many newspapers

relate a horrific scene reported by an eyewitness who noted: "the bishop of Sivas was shod with red-hot irons … at the demand of the Turks" (*La Patrie*, October 25, 1915). More often, newspapers described the summary execution of clergymen and members of the Armenian elite. For example, when Djevdet Bey and his battalions took the city of Van,[18] "[they] burned two bishops from Armenia and Chaldes in the public square" (*L'Action catholique*, November 27, 1915). This presence of clergymen in the media coverage denotes a representation of the massacre of Armenians as a crime largely motivated by what was interpreted as Muslim hatred of Christians. The press regularly portrayed the conflict as a matter of Turkish barbarism pitted against Christian civilization. This opposition remained a permanent theme of the Allied propaganda during the Great War.

The German corpus

In Figure 8.1 the words *atrocités* (atrocities) and *cruautés* (cruelty) associated to the German corpus are the terminology used to describe the crime. The term "atrocities" refers to the terminology used by Allied propaganda to designate the crimes committed during the opening weeks of the war by the German army (Schaepdriyver, 1999). From then on, every newspaper used the expression in its headlines: "*Révoltantes atrocités des Allemands*" ("Revolting German Atrocities") (*La Patrie*, August 29, 1914); "*Atrocités allemandes"* ("German Atrocities") (*L'Action catholique*, September 19, 1914); "*Les atrocities allemandes"* ("The German Atrocities") (*Le Droit*, August 24, 1914). The term "cruelty" is more or less a synonym of the first, and it, too, found its way into many headlines: "*Cruautés allemandes*" ("German Cruelty") (*Le Devoir,* September 23, 1914); "*Les cruautés allemandes*" ("The German Cruelties") (*Le Droit*, December 8, 1914). Both words seem to designate the same horrific acts committed against the civilian population. It is also clear that in the corpus, these words refer to a series of infractions committed against Belgian and French civilians. Infractions that were in violation of the laws of war laid out for the first time in the Saint Petersburg Declaration of 1868 and in the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907.

In addition, the corpus shows the words most frequently used to describe the German actions: *incendies* (fires / arson), *incendiées* (burned), *vandalisme* (vandalism), *sac* (sacking), *condamnés* (condemned), *fusillés* (shot), *abattu* (killed / slaughtered), *arrêtées* (arrested), *exécuter* (executed), *brûlé* (burned), and *tué* (killed). All of them describe the criminal acts carried out by the German army on the Western front. Cities and villages were sacked and their inhabitants summarily executed. As early

as August 22, 1914, the daily newspaper *L'Événement* alerted its readership to the German troop violations of the Hague Convention as they laid waste to villages and forced the citizens to act as human shields for frontline soldiers. A few weeks later, newspapers were able to give a more detailed account of those events: "on Wednesday August 19 …, in Aarschot [Belgium], a town of 8,000 inhabitants, the German burned down many houses and, on Martegu Street shot 5 or 6 inhabitants" (*La Patrie*, November 16, 1914).

Other words were repeated regularly, such as *enlèvement* (abduction), *déportation* (deportation), *arrestation* (arrest), *condamnations* (sentencing), *prisonniers* (prisoners), *esclavage* (enslavement), *privations* (deprivation) and *désolation* (desolation). They were not associated with the killings and excesses that accompanied the invasion, but they referred to the long lists of exactions and deprivations of every sort that were imposed upon the occupied civilian populations. In addition, the words *arrestations* (arrests), *comdamnations* (sentencing) and *déportation* (deportation) evoke the arbitrary nature of an occupant who violated the existing international conventions: "intelligence proves that the Belgian civilians who were deported were systematically submitted to cruel treatment in order to force them to work for the army" (*La Presse*, July 12, 1917). Every newspaper firmly denounced the forced labor policy imposed by the German authorities, seeing it as a form of slavery: "The unfortunate Belgians enslaved by the Teutons" (*La Presse*, February 9, 1917). The media also deplored the fact that the deportees were treated "as slaves in Germany [and] coerced into working until they become human wrecks" (*L'Événement*, December 14, 1918).

Among the terms that the media used to qualify "German atrocities," our lists frequently found the words *barbare* (barbarian), *implacable* (relentless), and *considérable* (significant). For example, a long article summarized for its readers the acts committed by the Germans in Belgium, and it ended by stating that "All of the civilized world agrees to call these acts barbaric" (*L'Action catholique*, October 21, 1914). As for the adjectives significant and relentless, the former refers to accounts of the damage suffered by many monuments, dwellings and, more broadly, the cities bombed by the Germans. The latter was widely used to describe the treatment inflicted on the population often described as "acts of relentless cruelty" (*Le Canada*, March 11, 1915). Relentless also designates the coordinated aspect of the crimes committed by the Germans. That is why, in order to reinforce the criminal perception of the reported facts, the newspapers quoted large excerpts from the French Commission presided by George Payelle, president of the *Cour*

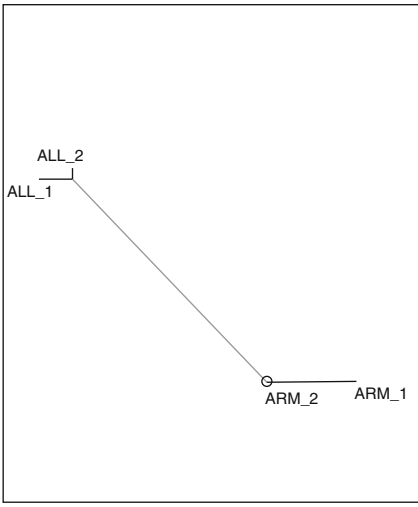
des comptes (Court of Auditors). Investigating the events of 1914,[19] he noted that "This whole display of devastation before our eyes reveals a uniform and relentless method of attack, it is impossible for us … not to see in it the execution of a prepared plan" (*La Patrie*, April 18, 1917).

As for the figures of the executioner and the victim, unsurprisingly in the French-Canadian press the first corresponded to the lexicon of Allied propaganda: the German troops are likened to the Hun, the Vandal and the Teutonic hordes. The person seen as ultimately responsible for these criminal acts is identified by his title, that of Kaiser, the German emperor: "*Les crimes du Kaiser* ("The Kaiser's Crimes") (*La Patrie*, August 26, 1914), "*Le Kaiser est l'émule de Néron*" ("The Kaiser Emulates Nero") (*Le Canada*, August 18, 1914), "*Les hordes du Kaiser*" ("The Kaiser's Hordes") (*Le Devoir*, October 16, 1914), "*Les barbares du Kaiser*" ("The Kaiser's Barbarians") (*La Patrie*, October 16, 1916). As for the victims, the second figure draws on the familiar traits of civilian victims of the war: children, girls, mothers, all of the unfortunate and the innocent. Sensationalist titles denounce these crimes: "*Ils font la guerre aux femmes et aux enfants*" ("They Wage War on Women and Children") (*La Patrie*, August 20, 1914), "*Ils fusillent les prêtres et égorgent les enfants*" ("They Shoot Priests and Slaughter Children") (*La Presse*, September 26, 1914). Already in the war's first weeks, the wildest rumors abounded, among which the cutting off of children's hands was widely circulated in the newspapers: "*Trois enfants qui ont eu les mains coupées par les Teutons*" ("Three Children have their Hands Cut Off by the Teutons") (*Le Devoir*, November 18, 1914), "*Les enfants belges mutilés*" ("The Mutilated Belgian Children") (*Le Canada*, December 4, 1914). Historian John Horne (1994) clearly demonstrated how this rumor constituted a manifestation of the terror that seized the civilian Belgian population in the face of the German invasion. As the corpus shows, this news item, which will later be proven false, fomented considerable emotion in international opinion.

Representing Extreme Violence

Our analysis of the lexical field specific to each corpus demonstrates that there was different media treatment for each of these two events. Using Hyperbase, the analysis of the lexical distances between these two corpuses is clearly demonstrated (Figure 8.2).

The analysis of lexical distance based on the presence and absence of words in each corpus, indicates the distance between the various texts according to their similarities and differences. From the beginning,



Rang	Titre	Noeud	Distance	X1	Y1	X2	Y2
1	ALL_1	5	407	1100	3000	1507	3000
2	ALL_2	5	128	1507	2871	1507	3000
3	ARM_1	6	1112	5900	6281	4788	6281
4	ARM_2	6	47	4788	6329	4788	6281
5	5	6	4841	1507	3000	4788	6281

Figure 8.2 Lexical distances between the two corpuses

Figure 8.2 shows a clear separation between the results from the German and the Armenian corpuses.

At the same time that the media narrative derived from each corpus analyzes the two events according to the atrocities and massacres committed against the civilian population during the Great War, the analysis of the global lexicon shows that the Canadian press presented a very different treatment of these two events.

First of all, we examine how extreme violence was presented in press accounts at the time of the events. As far as the German atrocities are concerned, the image of the "Barbarian Vandal" can be read as a synecdoche of the totality of the war crimes committed against the Belgian and French populations as well as the destruction of their cultural heritage. Thus, the word "barbarian" imposed its pejorative representations upon all the actors and their actions. The media ceaselessly denounced the "dreadful cruelty" of the invasion as well as the "plight" of the populations subjected to German occupation. The crimes committed by the German authorities were clearly identified by the media, which argued that their condemnation was warranted by international law.

In the written press, the "Massacre of the Armenians" represented an incredible event. The media struggled to name this crime, which, at the time, possessed no legal framework in international law. In 1915, the crimes against humanity of which French, British and Russian

authorities accused the Ottoman authorities took the form of a political statement and not that of a legal text. Their declarations aimed, in essence, at mobilizing international public opinion, and as a result, the Canadian press abundantly quoted them.

While liberally borrowing from the religious lexicon, the media narrative of the Armenian massacre was structured around certain representations given to the tragic fate of the population, but also because of the extraordinary nature of the crime in which, desperate and unfortunate victims became martyrs subjected to "frightful suffering" (*Le Droit*, August 11, 1916). Furthermore, the accumulation, in the Armenian corpus, of words built from the negative prefix "*in*" and the suffix "*able*" (Charaudeau, 1992: 71) added together, signified "that which may not be …" (Anscombe, 1994: 299). The images conjured up by the words *indicible* or *inénarrable* (unspeakable), *indescriptible* or *inqualifiable* (indescribable), *invraisemblable* or *incroyables* or *inouïs* (incredible) accentuate the impossible nature of these acts. Morphosyntaxically, they negate the possibility of naming them, imagining them, or describing them because of their extraordinary and grisly nature. The newspapers reported them by speaking of "*atrocités inqualifiables*" ("indescribable atrocities") (*Le Canada*, September 22, 1915), "*atrocités indescriptibles*" ("indescribable atrocities") (*Le Devoir*, October 5, 1915), "*atrocités inénarrables*" ("unspeakable atrocities") or even by deeming these acts "*une honte et une horreur indicibles*" ("an unspeakable shame and horror") (*L'Événement*, October 7, 1915).

The whole of Armenia was "threatened by a catastrophe that will result in the extermination of an entire people due to the volition of the Turkish government" (*L'Action catholique*, November 13, 1918). The expression Martyr Armenia, very present in these articles, allows a metonymical grouping of all these representations. This undoubtedly explains the success of this expression in the media of that time.

Conclusion

Our aim was to question whether the media was able to size up the different nature of the crimes that were committed against civilians on the Western front and in the Ottoman Empire during the Great War. Analyses show that media did indeed identify the difference between these two crimes. In fact, while the German atrocities were presented as *war crimes* under international conventions, the Armenian massacre was described as an *exceptional crime against humanity*. This being the case, the media generated metaphorical images that represented

the German crimes as "barbaric acts" intended to destroy "civilization," and the Turkish crimes as a "horrifying carnage" of unprecedented cruelty aimed at the destruction of the entire population of Christian Armenians.

By 1916, while the extermination of Armenians continued, a long article in the paper *L'Événement* returned to the words of Abbot Lagier, one of the directors of the Paris organization L'Œuvre d'Orient.[20] At the beginning of the war, he had been the first to evoke the atrocities committed by the central powers in Belgium and in Serbia, when he denounced the enemy's barbarity against these two small nations (Gumz, 2009; Kzenevic, 2011). In 1916, he then moved on to the main object of his intervention, specifically concerning the events taking place in Turkey:

> Armenia's martyrdom … prepares the nation's resurrection. These massacres will not go unpunished, and Armenia will be reborn from the blood and ruins. The World, which with the twentieth century expected the triumph of justice and the respect of international conventions, bears witness to a savage display which was not surpassed even in the times of the darkest barbarism. (*L'Événement*, January 13, 1916).[21]

During the war, Canadian newspapers, being submitted to censorship and propaganda, denounced the crimes perpetrated against civilian populations in Belgium, in France and in the Ottoman Empire. The occasionally sensationalist titles that adorn their articles are a constant reminder of the extreme violence of these events: the accounts of German atrocities and the massacre of Armenians convey the cruel and barbaric nature of the acts perpetrated by the military authorities in both these states. Moreover, Allied propaganda was quick to organize into a single, criminogenic representation the figures of the German Kaiser and the Young Turks. The excesses of this propagandist rhetoric have often been decried, and they undoubtedly have been a factor in denying and forgetting the proven facts associated with both these series of events (Sarafian, 1998; Horne & Kramer, 2001). Yet, it is evident that the press also contributed to revealing these events while informing its readership of the crimes committed against civilian populations. The factual events linked to "German atrocities" perpetrated during the invasion and occupation of Belgium and northern France were abundantly documented, commented and denounced by newspapers as they were happening. Furthermore, in the corpus, the majority of the articles were written specifically on these events. As for the "Armenian

massacre," it garners a more modest attention in the press, since Canadian troops were more present on the Western front and the events taking place in the Ottoman Empire were more distant and of less interest to the readership of the French-Canadian press. Nonetheless, as is true with the "German atrocities," the Canadian press was able to give its readers credible factual information on the events taking place in the faraway reaches of the Ottoman Empire. Like the allied and neutral press, the Canadian press did not hesitate to denounce such a crime of unprecedented gravity. It is nevertheless in the context of the First World War that the Armenian massacre and deportation are understood, defined and denounced (Adjemian & Nichanian, 2013). The state that committed these massacres – the Ottoman Empire, allied with Germany – was indeed an enemy state. Thus, denouncing Turkey also made it possible to condemn Germany which was responsible for war crimes on the Western front (Becker & Winter, 2010: 292).

Our analysis of the representations of extreme violence in the media narrative enables us to show how certain figures constitute markers to give readers a reading key capable of assisting them in understanding the more extraordinary aspects of the events being reported. For example, the frequent use of the religious lexicon, the comparison with widely known historical events, or the frequent use of words charged with primal emotion, that served to give a familiar context to the reporting of unfamiliar events. Also, in the case of the massacre of the Armenians, the media narrative struggled to designate a crime whose particular description and configuration escaped the legal framework as well as the social and cultural references of the time. In this perspective, they used the qualifiers like *épouvantable* (frightful), *inouï* (unheard-of / incredible), *effroyable* (horrifying), *horrible* (horrible) that accompanied the description of events that were said to be *inénarrables* and *indicibles* (unspeakable). They gave a hallucinatory representation to the Armenian catastrophe, but questions remain as to the ability of media representations of all genocide phenomena to adequately express the historical brutality of a people's annihilation.

Notes

1. These lexical and semantic analyses were conducted with computerized statistical tools developed within the framework of the interdisciplinary European network for text-based data analysis (JADT). The exploration and lexicometric analysis were performed using the Sphinx (http://www.lesphinx-developpement.fr/) and Hyperbase (http://ancilla.unice.fr/) software.
2. Early in the war, Colonel Ernest Swinton filled this position. He was mostly remembered for his direct contribution to the invention of the tank in 1914.

3. Censorship would remain in effect until April 30, 1919.
4. *La Presse Canadienne*, the agency's French-language counterpart, was created in 1951.
5. Canada's Chief Press Censor, Ernest J. Chambers, delivered his final report to the Canadian Parliament in March 1920.
6. Developed by Le Sphinx Developpement, France: *www.lessphinx-developpemet.fr*
7. Developed by M. Étienne Brunet, professor emeritus at Université de Nice Sophia Antipolis, CNRS, UMR Bases Corpus et Langage.
8. All translations are those of the authors. *Un grand nombre de localités situées dans le triangle compris entre Vilverde, Malines et Louvain … ont été livrées au pillage, partiellement incendiées, leur populations dispersée, tandis qu'au hasard des rencontres, des habitants étaient arrêtés et fusillés sans jugement sans motifs apparent … .* (*La Patrie*, November 28, 1914)
9. *Le programme du Sultan Rouge [surnom donné à Abdul Hamid II responsable des massacres commis contre les Arméniens en 1894–1896], repris par les Jeunes Turcs, est aujourd'hui bien près d'être réalisé, s'il ne l'est déjà tout à fait. L'extermination violente et systématique du peuple arménien a été poursuivie depuis plusieurs mois avec une méthode inexorable, qui ne pouvait manquer d'atteindre le résultat visé. Le fait est sans précédent dans l'histoire. Sous le régime hamidien, les massacres se limitèrent à certains districts de l'Arménie. Aujourd'hui, c'est le peuple entier, partout où il réside, dans toute l'étendue de l'empire ottoman, qu'il s'agit d'anéantir.* (*Le Devoir*, October 25, 1915)
10. *… des atrocités sans nom se commettent chez les Belges, et personne ici ne peut penser sans frémir au sort épouvantable qui attend les populations de la frontière française qui auront à subir l'invasion des hordes teutoniques. Le chapitre des actes de cruauté inouïe commis par les "barbares" semble inépuisable.* (*La Presse*, August 27, 1914)
11. On January 3, 1915, Cardinal Désiré-Joseph Mercier sent a pastoral letter to the clergy and congregation, to be read from every pulpit. It denounced, among other things, German atrocities committed in Leuven and in other towns and villages. Outraged by the prelate's letter, the German occupation authority forbade its publication and proclamation.
12. *Ces lanceurs de bombes voulaient frapper la Belgique au cœur. … Les faits d'armes germaniques en Belgique n'ont rien de commun avec la guerre des temps chevaleresques antiques ou sous les formes scientifiques modernes; on peut les comparer à une irruption du barbarisme dans un pays prospère, honnête et industrieux.* (*La Patrie*, September 11, 1914)
13. *Actuellement, et sans doute pour quelques temps encore la vie est pénible en Belgique. … Même dans les familles très aisées, l'alimentation normale devenait un problème difficile à résoudre, et on se demande avec angoisse quels seront les effets de ses longues et cruelles privations pour l'énergie de la race.* (*La Patrie*, January 14, 1919)
14. In 1944, Raphael Lemkin, a Polish jurist, created the concept of genocide in order to qualify the extermination of European Jews by Nazi Germany. However, the definition he gave to the acts was only ratified on December 9, 1948, in Resolution 206 of the United Nations General Assembly. It concerned the prevention and repression of genocidal crimes. It was only then, with the adoption of this definition, that such a crime became clearly

established and accepted by the international community. The Convention stated, in Article II, that the crime of genocide can be defined as actions committed with the intention of destroying, in whole or in part, a particular group (Schabas, 2000: 51–101).

15. The Bryce report was the British Government's Blue Book, widely quoted in Canadian newspapers (Bryce, 1916).
16. Henry Barby was a war correspondent for the *Journal*, one of the four main daily newspapers of the French-language press during the First World War. He accompanied the Russian army on the Caucasian front.
17. *Je croyais que mon enquête était close, je croyais avoir tout dit sur le martyre de la malheureuse Arménie. Mais à nouveau, il me faut y revenir, je dois une fois encore évoquer d'effroyables scènes, plus effroyables que toutes les autres, car les victimes en furent des enfants.* (*Le Droit*, September 25, 1916)
18. Djevdet (or Cevdet) Bey was *vali* (governor) of Van during the Armenian genocide. The exactions committed under his orders in this *vilayet* (province) are well documented by eyewitnesses (Ussher, 1917; Mendez, 1926).
19. This commission of inquiry was created by a decree dated September 23, 1914, to identify the acts committed in violation of civilian rights. The totality of the documents prepared by the commission was deposited in the Archives nationales, but many of its reports were published between 1915 and 1916 in six volumes by the Imprimerie nationale under the generic title of Rapports et procès-verbaux d'enquête de la Commission.
20. Founded in 1856, L'Œuvre d'Orient had its headquarters in Paris. This association, quickly recognized by the Vatican as an instrument of church work, sought to help Eastern Christians and particularly children (Legrand & Croce, 2010).
21. *... le martyre de l'Arménie … prépare la résurrection de cette nation. Les massacres ne resteront pas impunis, et l'Arménie renaîtra du sang et des ruines. Le monde, qui attendait du vingtième siècle, le triomphe de la justice et le respect des conventions internationales assiste à un spectacle de sauvagerie qui n'a pas été dépassé dans les périodes de la plus sombre barbarie.* (*L'Événement*, January 13, 1916.)

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9

A Case of Jewish Coverage of the Armenian Genocide in the United States: Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, "Champion of any Wronged People"[1]

Claire Mouradian

Introduction

A few recent monographs have shown an interest in the American attitude towards the Armenian Genocide,[2] a mix of humanitarian mobilization in aid of the victims and an inability to stop the extermination despite an early awareness of the ongoing massacres and the indignation of both the general public and the highest State authorities, chief among whom was President Woodrow Wilson.[3] When the United States finally entered the First World War in April 1917, it did not declare war on the Ottoman Empire, though the US was among the first to denounce the crimes of the Union and Progress Committee holding power in Istanbul.[4] Even for the missionaries, engaged in rescuing the victims and eyewitnesses to the massacres, but also conscious of preserving the future of their work and their presence in Turkey, their priorities did not include the rescue of a population destined for the slaughterhouse.[5] Proving the interest of a comparative approach for genocide studies, we can see some similarities with the American attitude towards the Holocaust, especially since we find some of the supporters of the Armenians, such as Henry Morgenthau and Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, continuously alerting the authorities and public opinion to the fate of European Jews during the Second World War.

As a prototype of 20th-century genocides, did the Armenian Genocide contribute to a precocious realization of the nature of Nazi crimes and the measures that would be (or should have been) taken in the short, medium or longer term; military action, humanitarian aid, or even

the creation of a sanctuary in the form of a national State? From this standpoint, the commitment of Stephen S. Wise, as a member of the first American Presidential Committee investigating various aspects of the First World War, including Turkish atrocities against Armenians, and a stalwart defender of the independence of Armenia (as he would later be for the creation of a Jewish State at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919) appears emblematic.[6] He is notable for the manner of his support actions, at giant rallies or press conferences or various support meetings, by participating in investigative or relief committees, in news articles or sermons, in street protests, even on the radio, which was a first. Every means of media coverage, including the most modern at the time, was put to use. Still, as for the Holocaust, the knowledge of atrocities would have little effect on ending or preventing them from happening again.

Who Knew What?

As is the case with the Jewish Genocide, the Armenian Genocide was followed almost in "real time," thanks in part to the reports of missionaries and diplomats from the Ottoman Empire's allies (Germany, Austria-Hungary) and from neutral nations like Switzerland and the Scandinavian countries and, of course, the United States. From the entry of the Empire into the war on November 2, 1914, followed by the proclamation of *Jihad* on November 11, the American press denounced the acts of violence committed against Jews and Christians during the mobilization and war requisitions.[7] Added to the accounts of some refugees who made their way into Russia or the Balkans, we find very early information transmitted by the American ambassador to Constantinople, Henry Morgenthau.[8] Named to this position in 1913, Morgenthau was already aware of the threat to Palestinian Jews,[9] forced, when they were nationals of states at war with Turkey, to either become naturalized or leave the country, and when they were Ottoman subjects, submitted to compulsory conscription and genuine extortion. (Tuchman, 1977: 58–62; Adalian, 2003). Alerting Zionists to the risks that territorial claims might cause to the *Yishuv* (the Jewish community in Palestine) within a context of extreme radicalization of Turkish nationalism, Morgenthau intervened with American Jewish organizations and the State Department to provide humanitarian relief and plan the evacuation of those endangered, with the support of his friend Joseph Daniels, Secretary of the Navy. (Auron, 2001) In this respect, Morgenthau was undoubtedly one of the diplomats best able to grasp the meaning of the first measures taken against Armenians. Because,

despite repeated appeals made to the leaders of the Union and Progress Committee and the German ambassador, he was unable to stop the criminals from pursuing their task, he attempted to alert the authorities and the American public opinion and took part in organizing aid for the survivors.

Morgenthau, indeed, did not limit himself to transmitting to the State Department the dispatches he received from consuls and American missionaries in the Ottoman Empire, who quickly realized that, contrary to the massacres of 1895–1896 (200,000 dead) and April 1909 (30,000 dead), the full extent of what appeared to be "a war of extermination," "the murder of a nation," and "the assassination of Armenia." It was through his initiative that the Committee on Armenian Atrocities was formed in September 1915, in New York. This commission of inquiry brought together a Who's Who of Christian and Jewish personalities, industrialists and philanthropic financiers, civil and social rights

AMERICAN COMMITTEE ON ARMENIAN ATROCITIES
70, FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

James L. BARTON,[10] *President*

Samuel T. DUTTON,[11] *Secretary*

Charles R. CRANE,[12] *Treasurer*

Cleveland H. Dodge[13]	Frank Mason North[14]	
Charles W. Eliot[15]	Harry V. Osborne	Cardinal James Gibbons[16]
Rt. Rev. P. Rhinelander[17]	Rt. Rev. David H. Greer[18]	Karl Davis Robinson[19]
Norman Hapgood[20]	William W. Rockwell[21]	William I. Haven[22]
Issac N. Seligman[23]	Maurice H. Harris[24]	William Sloane[25]
Arthur Curtiss James[26]	Edward Lincoln Smith[27]	Frederick Lynch[28]
Oscar S. Strauss[29]	H. Pereira Mendes[30]	Stanley White[31]
John R. Mott[32]	Stephen S. Wise	

Figure 9.1 The founding committee of the American Committee on Armenian Atrocities

militants, who were, like himself, from, the Democrat circles close to President Wilson. Arnold Toynbee gave a list of these men in his *Armenian Atrocities. The Murder Of A Nation* (Mouradian, 2004), the first summary on the Genocide, published in 1915 (see Figure 9.1).

On October 4, 1915, the Commission made public a first synthesis report (Sarafian, 1994) based on the main testimonies of the Americans present on the ground,[33] which the State Department passed on to Rev. J. L. Barton, starting in June. In November 1915, the Commission was transformed into a humanitarian organization, the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief, which became the Near East Relief in 1919, mandated by the American Committee for Relief in the Near East and Caucasus. The organization was predominantly composed by the members of the preceding Commission of inquiry, with the addition of representatives from the National Allied Relief Committee, such as Frederick H. Allen,[34] lawmakers and eminent politicians – both Republican[35] and Democrat,[36] philanthropic and social businessmen,[37] intellectuals, scholars and journalists,[38] as well as representatives from the missionary world: Edwin M. Bulkley, Charles S. MacFarland,[39] James M. Speers,[40] George T. Scott[41] and Talcott Williams.[42] Among the Jewish personalities, we find businessmen as well as intellectuals and rabbis, conservative Zionists like Henry (Haïm) Pereira Mendes, or leading figures of reformed Judaism like Maurice Harris and, in particular, Stephen Wise.

In fact, Stephen Wise undoubtedly remained one of the most committed and attentive observers of the convulsions of the Ottoman Empire's bloody agony, over a span of more than three decades: the widespread massacres of the Hamidian period (1894–1896), the Young Turk revolution of 1908 followed by the Adana massacres (April 1909), the establishment of the dictatorship of the Union and Progress Committee (1913), the 1915 genocide, negotiations of the peace conference and the Treaty of Sèvres (August 10, 1920), which promised an independent Armenian State, and its subsequent abandonment by the Allies, endorsing Kemal's victory and the birth of a Turkish Republic that barely tolerated its remaining minuscule Armenian minority (Treaty of Lausanne, July 24, 1923). Horror in the face of the atrocities, resolve in providing relief to the victims, temporary enthusiasm for the 1908 revolution, great expectations for peace, and disillusionment: his private views in his personal correspondence, as well as public (meetings, press, sermons), reveal a constant concern for raising awareness in favor of the Armenians, whose fate seemed to be a premonition of what might be awaiting Jews in Europe.

The "Servant of the People": Rabbi as an Apostle of the Armenian Cause

In 1915, when he became a member of the first commission of inquiry, Rabbi Wise (1874–1949) was already seen as a leader of both the Jewish community and the American Zionist movement (Raider, 1998). He represented reformed and liberal Judaism, at the helm of the Beth Israel synagogue in Portland (Oregon) and, most of all, of the Free Synagogue[43] in New York, which he founded in 1907 and where he remained rabbi until his death.

Born in Budapest in 1874, the last of a line of religiously orthodox but politically liberal rabbis,[44] he was one year old when his family migrated to the United States. He attended public schools, the City College of New York, then Columbia University where he prepared his thesis, as well as the universities of Oxford and Vienna. It was at the latter that he was ordained a rabbi in 1893. Stephen Wise prepared for the rabbinate at the Jewish Theological Seminary, alongside his father and many famous New York rabbis, among whom was Gustav Gottheil. A German national, Gottheil was Rabbi of Manchester until 1873, before heading New York's main synagogue, Emanu-El, until his death in 1903. His son was the orientalist Richard Gottheil,[45] whose specialization was Semitic languages, and who was Stephen Wise's teacher at Columbia, as well as a member of his thesis committee (1900)[46] (Wise, 1956: 49). Defending a Jewish equivalent of the social gospel, and pioneering interfaith collaboration in the social domain, Wise was involved in many movements for housing rights, the abolition of child labor, the improvement of working conditions, women's voting rights, the civil rights movement, and world peace. He was also a co-founder of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1909 and of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) in 1920. He supported Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal, the President also being a personal friend of his. We could plainly see Wise as a voice for justice, as indicated by the title of the first biography written about him (Urofsky, 1982).

In line with his father Aaron, an adept of the American "Lovers of Zion" (Raider, 1998: 12), he was aware of the persecutions suffered by Russian and Rumanian Jews, who migrated in large numbers to the United States. This spokesman for the oppressed and the forsaken of America and the entire world was soon involved in the defense of Jews, the fight against anti-Semitism, and the Zionist movement, which he joined along with his wife, Louise Waterman. After creating the New York Federation of Zionists in 1897, he took part in the inaugural

congress of the Federation of American Zionists (July 4, 1898), of which he was elected honorary secretary, while Richard Gottheil became its first president (Raider, 1998: 13–14). He served as a delegate to the second Zionist congress at Basel in 1898 where he was fascinated by Herzl, then again at the fourth congress in London in 1900, and became a member of the movement's international executive committee in 1899. He also counts among the founders of the American Jewish Congress in 1917 and, later, the World Jewish Congress in 1936.

The selective edition of his personal correspondence, the first published letters of which are from 1899, do not tell us whether Stephen Wise took an interest in Armenians immediately after the Hamidian massacres of 1894–1896. We can suppose, without much doubt, that he was well informed on this subject, if only because of his interest in Palestine,[47] but also as a member of an American population made aware of Armenia by the missionaries. The development of Protestant missionary activity in the Ottoman Empire since 1819–1820 had in fact made Armenia, the supposed location of Eden, and the Armenians, the first nation to embrace Christianity as a State religion, familiar to Americans, even before an Armenophile movement developed in the midst of the first massacres of the Red Sultan, Abdul Hamid II.[48] As in France, this movement united figures from every allegiance, Democrats and Republicans, Conservatives and Liberals, Christians and Jews. Within the National Armenian Relief Committee created in New York in 1897, we find the name of banker Jacob Schiff, whose interest in the Armenian question was linked to his involvement with Jews fleeing the pogroms in tsarist Russia. (Balakian, 2003: 69–70) The Joint Resolution adopted at the 1896 Congress, condemning Turkish atrocities and demanding political action in order to provide aid to the victims of this faraway tragedy, was a first in American history, and created a precedent for subsequent legislation on human rights. (Balakian, 2003: 73) However the White House did not act upon this resolution, following the advice of the former ambassador in Turkey, Oscar Straus, who suggested to President Cleveland that if the Sultan were to take offense, he might ban Red Cross missions from his Empire. (Balakian, 2003: 73).

One of Wise's letters from New York addressed to his future wife in 1900, confirmed Oscar Straus's reluctance, expressed in a conversation with Richard Gottheil: "He spoke guardedly – or thought he did – but was most discouraging. He recognizes that something must be done for the Jews, my brothers, of Russia and Rumania, but favors Syria or Mesopotamia, rather than Palestine (Wise, 1956: 33–34). Another letter of that same date shows how Wise was certainly being directly

informed by one of his teachers at Columbia, an Armenian who taught him Arabic:

> My Syriac teacher is an anti-Roman agitator, my Arabic, an anti-Turkish Armenian, and the Hebrew man the first who, some years ago, began the crusade against the vice and open immorality of the lower east side of town. They are an interesting trio in their way, and I believe that I have made really solid progress under them the last few months (Wise, 1956: 46).

Peter Balakian considers Wise and Morgenthau to be leaders of American Jewish opinion on the Armenian question from the 1890s to the 1920s. Wise could not go without being *ex officio* among the members of the Association of American Rabbis who, during the Adana massacres in 1909, voiced an appeal: "urging the governments of the civilized world, particularly the signatory powers of the Berlin Treaty, to take vigorous and persevering action for the protection of the Armenian Christians in Turkey, and for the protection of and granting of rights of citizenship to Jews in Romania" (Balakian, 2003: 242). We also find signs of his sustained interest in the Ottoman Empire's political situation, as well as the hopes he placed on the Young Turk revolution. Thus, early in 1913, in a letter to his wife while he was in Munich, he wrote:

> Did you read of the murder of Turkey's strong man, Shevket Pasha[49] – the one reliance of the Turkish government? I am so sorry. You can see now whether I was right in sympathising with Turkey in the late [Balkanic] war. Serbia and Bulgaria can hardly be prevented from going to war – unless the powers should unitedly and immediately intervene – over spoils and territory (Balakian, 2003: 139).

Wise had already visited Ottoman Palestine during an earlier trip with his wife in 1912. (Balakian, 2003: 139) At this time, Wise specifically mentioned his interest in the Armenians, alongside his worries as to the fate of Ottoman Jews. As he wrote in his memoirs later on:

> One incident will help to illustrate the delicate nature of the Turkish problem. During 1913 and early 1914, I had set myself the task of organizing an investigation commission to survey all the needs of the Jews of Palestine. I secured the help of a small but distinguished group, including the late Henry Morgenthau Sr. The outbreak of the war, however, ended all possibilities of the commission. Morgenthau

> in the meantime had gone to Turkey as American ambassador, in part as a result of my plea to him in Dijon in August, 1913, that his going to Constantinople might serve America by improving Armenian conditions and bettering the situation for the Jews in Palestine. He cabled his alarm in August, 1914, over the irritation of the Turkish government in finding the Ambassador's name coupled with an investigation commission to be dispatched to the Ottoman province of Palestine. I hastened to Washington to forestall any criticism of Mr. Morgenthau, which could have reached the State Department from the Sublime Porte (Balakian, 2003: 143).

In fact, Morgenthau's name was removed from the list of members of the Commission. A few weeks later Wise interceded, as did Morgenthau, with the Secretary of the Navy, Josephus Daniels, in order to obtain the delivery of supplies to Palestine[50] (Balakian, 2003: 143).

A model of humanitarian intervention, alternately in favor of the Armenians and the Jews, had gradually been established since the end of the 19th century, mobilizing at times for the victims of anti-Semitic pogroms in Russia, at other times for the victims of the massacres that marked the end of the Ottoman era. Thus, Morgenthau suggested the collection of 1 million dollars in order to organize the evacuation of Armenian survivors to the United States or other countries, as he did for Jews a year before.[51] This type of collection contributed to the media coverage.

So, unsurprisingly, we find Stephen Wise, who was part of Morgenthau's inner circle,[52] among the members of the Commission of inquiry on the atrocities against Armenians, solicited by the ambassador in a telegram to the State Secretary on September 3, 1915.[53] Morgenthau would himself become an official member after his return from Constantinople, in 1916, and the transformation of the Committee on Armenian Atrocities into the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief. Wise and Morgenthau were also part of the Near East Relief, a corporation mandated by Congress on August 6, 1919, to organize relief for those widowed and orphaned by the war and by human cruelty.[54]

The *New York Times* of October 11, 1916, announced among other things, the upcoming talk by Rabbi Wise, during a large protest meeting held at the Century Theatre, on the following Sunday (16 October),[55] a few days after the publication of the first summary report of the commission of inquiry, of which he was one of the signatories. Wise also personally contributed financial aid for the survivors. In 1915, a letter to his wife indicates that he donated, in both their names, a weekly

contribution of 10 dollars to strikers, 10 dollars a month for Armenia, and 5 dollars for the relief effort in France (Wise, 1956: 149).

Certainly, Wise's main preoccupation remained the fate of the Jews. In 1915, he asked Wilson to send a message to Sir Edward Grey, British Minister of Foreign Affairs, in order to obtain rights for Russian Jews[56] (Wise, 1956: 152). With Louis Brandeis, he was one of the founders of the American Jewish Congress, whose aim was to defend the rights of Jews throughout the world (his wife, Louise, created a woman's chapter). He also played an important role in obtaining, not without difficulty, President Wilson's public support for the Balfour Declaration (Stein, 1983: 594–595; Reinharz, 1992b). But he also constantly professed his sympathy for the Armenians. In a letter written while in Detroit in 1917, he mentioned the meeting that was held in the morning regarding Armenia: "If anything they are suffering even worse than the Jews. And I rejoice to think that I am helping them a little. But who can undo the evil done them?" (Wise, 1956: 166). En route to a meeting in 1918, he wrote on the train: "Then, I would speak with the tongue of angels for the Armenians and against their oppressors. If a Jew is not to be the champion of any wronged people, who should be?"[57]

Until the United States' entry into the war, this attitude was probably discussed by other Zionists, while arguing the necessity of neutrality, if only to save Ottoman Jews from retaliation. Richard Gottheil was severely criticized for writing on Turkish atrocities against Armenians in the *New York Times* in January 1917 (Stein, 1983: 199, 359–360). But during a radio speech in favor of American participation in the conflict, titled "What are we fighting?," Wise mentioned the fate of the "little children of Armenia"[58] as one of the reasons that justify making the ultimate sacrifice:

> Remember that America is not in war for the sake of war … but for the sake of peace …, remember this is not a war, it is THE war. It is the contest of the ages which we and our allies together can make the last human holocaust, if we be mighty in war an even mightier in the generosities and magnanimities of peace. Yours sons have taken arms not to slay but to bring hope of unbroken life to countless generations unborn. As your sons bear fault in battle [fare forth to battle], be strong mothers and fathers in the knowledge that the sacrificial task unto which they are bent is nothing less than to make the world free. If suffering and agony be your and their lot, call to mind the little children of Armenia, the wronged women of Belgium, the enslaved men of Servia [Serbia], and know that these things can

> never again come to pass, if your sons, our younger brothers, be equal in the challenge which a free world cannot refuse to meet.[59]

We do not know if there are other examples of the use of radio to draw public attention to the events in Armenia, or who the real audience of this speech was, chanted like a sermon in the synagogue. Nonetheless, though unique, this example seems significant in its resorting to modern methods of communication at the time for the purpose of raising public awareness on the Armenian question.

Advocacy for a Land of Refuge

Following the genocide, Wise remained mobilized in support of both the Jewish and Armenian causes. At the Peace conference, where he represented Zionist interests, he pursued a double objective: on one hand, to defend Jewish rights in the various treaties being prepared and obtain the designation of Palestine as a Jewish homeland; and on the other hand, to promote Armenian independence. A meeting with Wise is mentioned in the writings of Boghos Nubar Pacha, president of the Armenian national delegation.[60] This followed the negotiations after his return to the United States in 1919, indignant at Turkey's rehabilitation: "I am ragingly wrathful about the conduct of the Allies in Paris. Turkey is reenthroned, not over Palestine as yet, but almost everywhere else. It is an abomination and I cannot be silent – though Jews be safe"[61] (Wise, 1956: 174).

Wise, indeed, became a member of the American Committee for the Independence of Armenia (ACIA), set up by lawyer Vahan Cardashian[62] in early 1919, with the approval of Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, president of the Foreign Affairs Commission, which counted among its members many more of the *crème de la crème* than did the humanitarian committees (Malkasian, 1984: 362) at a moment when most thought that "Armenia's hour has come".[63] With other Armenophiles, he opposed projects aimed at maintaining the Ottoman Empire's integrity, eventually placed under an American mandate, which was favored by business circles but also by missionaries whose priority was to assure the future survival of their work. Such is the case of Caleb F. Gates, president of Robert College (since renamed Bosphorus University), who warned the State Department that an independent Armenian state would be politically and economically untenable. He preferred the retention of the Empire, with the eventual autonomy of its eastern provinces, where the Armenian population could be repatriated under American

supervision. Wise joined the Armenian delegates in their protest against this view: "I name Dr. Gates' counsel extraordinary because it is a violation of and repugnant to our sense of obligation to the Armenian people, who may explicably be moved to say of Dr. Gates and like-minded folks – the good Lord deliver us from our friends."[64]

He seemed to diverge from Morgenthau, whose sympathy for the Armenians is beyond doubt,[65] but who, to the despair of Zionists and Armenians, seemed to find the idea of the Empire's dismemberment damaging. After suggesting, in May 1917, that he lead a mission to the Turkish government, officially to improve the situation of Jews in Palestine, but in reality to evaluate the possibility of a separate peace[66] (Stein, 1983: 350; Yale, 1949), the former ambassador was attacked for his hesitation over the immediate separation of the new Armenia from ancient Turkey: he indeed suggested a triple joint American mandate on Constantinople, Turkish Anatolia and Armenia—an unacceptable solution for Armenians and many Armenophiles alike:

> "How could one have the assassins and the assassinated, the rapists and the raped, the looted and the looters live under one roof?" asked W. D. P. Bliss, an eye-witness and a teacher living in Turkey. "Do the Armenians have to be enslaved to the hope that the Turks will become better masters, will stop looting raping and killing them in such a horrible fashion?[67] (Hovannisian, 1982: 322).

Armenians and Armenophiles, however, remained divided. Some increasingly deplored the posters and films – like *Ravished Armenia*, the first Hollywood production based on a survivor's account, with Aurora Mardiganian cast in her own role[68] – which exploited the image of starving Armenians in order to collect funds; they argued that there was a contradiction between Armenia's claim to independence and the accent placed on its people's misery and desperation. Such is the case of the ACIA and Stephen Wise. The ACIA wished to base Armenia's independence not only on its past suffering, but also on its assets: its contribution to the Allied war effort, its past and the interest it represented for the future of the new Middle East (Hovannisian, 1982: 394). On December 18, 1919, an open letter (in telegram form) to Wilson – signed by Charles Evan Hughes, future Secretary of State, among others – condemned the joint mandate project as a measure promoting pan-Turkish intrigues ("We are now being asked to enable the Turks to achieve under our protection that which they failed to attain through the war") and asked the President to support the creation of an Armenian state, comprising

the Armenian provinces of the Ottoman Empire and Russian Caucasus (Hovannisian, 1982: 395). In a letter written from Charleston in 1919, Wise noted: "I am going to prepare an editorial for him [Taft] on Henry Morgenthau's scheme to tie up Armenia and Turkey which I fancy he will use with little revision"[69] (Wise, 1956: 176).

At the San Remo Conference of April 1920, which gave the mandate over Palestine to the United Kingdom and pushed the United States to accept the mandate over Armenia, Wise declared: "In every church, Roman or Protestant, and every Jewish synagogue, the cry must go up: America must save Armenia!" In May 1920, during an address at St John the Divine Cathedral, he reminded President Wilson of his commitment, made three years prior during a White House meeting, that: "when the war will be ended, there are two lands that will never go back to the Mohammedan epoch; one is Christian Armenia and the other is Jewish Palestine."

Debates among Armenophiles led to the creation, in 1920, of a new society, the Armenia America Society (AAS, first known as the American Friends of Armenia), with George Smith as president, which preferred the solution of a single mandate without totally rejecting an eventual joint mandate. Wise joined, along with some of the members from former committees.[70] At its zenith in 1922, the AAS had some 60 chapters in the United States and cultivated close links with the International Philarmenian League in Geneva, earning it Cardashian's enmity, since he contested its role as a representative for Armenia. But already, public interest in the Armenians was fading. Support of their cause was diminished by traditional divisions, reactivated at the end of the war, between Armenian nationalists and American missionaries, between Republicans and Democrats, between associative philanthropy and the *realpolitik* of the State Department and the economic circles, without mentioning personal dissensions – among which that of Wilson and Cabot Lodge loomed largest.

In fact, the American public was growing weary of the Armenian problem and was increasingly worried about the weight of international responsibility generated by Wilsonian idealism, as reflected in the speeches of political figures like Ohio senator Warren Harding or in articles like the one penned by Clarence Day Jr in *Harper's Magazine* in 1920:

> We were at first horrified by the massacres in Turkey, but as time has gone on, and as the calls of these people for sympathy and friends have continued, a secret annoyance with them has begun to appear.

> It's an awful thing to say, but they have asked for help so much that they are boring us.

And he went on to an anecdote about a pestering Armenian rug dealer (Peterson, 2004).

The unraveling of the mobilization for Armenia occurred at a moment when the Kemalists together with their new Bolshevik allies launched their assault against the Armenian Republic that would annihilate any diplomatic projects, and when the United States was moving towards isolationism. The AAS moved from the principle of an Independent State as advocated in the Sèvres Treaty (August 10, 1920), for which Wilson had drawn borders in November 1920, to the idea of an Armenian Homeland, which also fizzled out. The attitude of Allen W. Dulles at the State Department's Middle Eastern Division was symbolic of the reversal taking place: while moved by the suffering of Armenians and although a trustee of Near East Relief, he wound up ignoring any Armenian claims, or those of other minorities (Jews, Kurds, Assyrians and Maronites). With Hughes, he opposed in Congress a resolution approving the Balfour Declaration.

To his wife, Wise wrote from Topeka (Kansas) in 1922 that he had just spoken with rare eloquence before an immense crowd of 5,000 teachers: "I rarely speak as I did this morning, calling attention to the Anti-American crime of Ku Klux Klanism, which is raging in part of Kansas. How I pleaded for Armenia, for its permanent salvation as well as its immediate relief" (Wise, 1956: 197).

In the sources available in France, there are no indications of his eventual participation in the final protests from Cardashian to the State Department against the Lausanne Treaty (July 24, 1923), against the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Turkish Republic (starting August 6, 1923) or the signature of a commerce treaty (1927). We may think Wise would have sided with those opposing these treaties, like former ambassadors to Constantinople, Abram I. Elkus and O. Straus, and many clergymen. We can also suppose that, after a decade of active commitment in support of the Armenians, Wise recalled their persecution when the first manifestations of Hitler's policies occurred.

When History Repeats

A mirrored approach to the plight of Armenians, transforming into that of the Jews, remains frequent, even when not openly expressed. Yair Auron reminds us that, in his book *Eretz Israel* (1918) written with

Ben-Zvi, David Ben Gourion did not devote a single line to the massacre of the Armenians and lauded Turkish tolerance towards minorities. Yet, in spite of his overt Turcophilia, he evoked, in a private letter to his father on December 5, 1919, his own deportation from Palestine:

> As you know, I was deported from the country five years ago by order of Jamal Pasha. I was caught by the authorities because they found my name in the list of delegates to the Zionist Congress and a Zionist in those days was considered a traitor. Jamal Pasha planned from the outset to destroy the entire Hebrew settlement in Eretz Yisrael, exactly as they did to the Armenians in Armenia[71] (Auron, 2001: 324–325).

Jabotinsky who, from the start, was more talkative about the Armenians, notably in his book *Turkey and the War*, published in London in 1917 and the object of a report in the city's Armenian newspaper, *Ararat* (March 1919), alluded to the fate of the Armenians. In another book, *The Battle Front of the People of Israel*, written in January–February 1940, in the chapter entitled "We are not on the map," he quoted the case of the expulsion and extermination by the Nazi of the Jews of Chelm and Hrubiszlow in December 1939: "as an item which will remind the reader of Enver Pasha's methods in 'liquidating' Armenians as described by Werfel in *The Forty Days of Musa Dagh*"[72] (Auron, 2001: 344).

A fortiori, the same might be said of Wise. He was one of the most active and precocious denouncers of Nazism in the inter-war period, calling for a boycott of Germany.[73] He counts among the artisans of the creation of the World Jewish Congress in 1936, destined to coordinate actions on the international stage, and he obtained, that same year, a promise from Roosevelt to exert pressure on the British to increase Jewish immigration in Palestine. During the Second World War, as soon as he learned of the "Final Solution," and even more after December 1942, he made desperate efforts to direct part of the American war effort towards saving the Jews of Europe.[74] Results are mitigated: vague promises by Roosevelt, "to the extent that the burden of the war would permit to provide aid to the victims of the doctrines of racial, political and religious oppression of the Nazis." Others than Wise would eventually convince the President to create the War Refugee Board in January 1944 and save a few groups. Wise was named as a representative for the Jewish Agency at the San Francisco UN Conference in 1945, giving him the opportunity, before his death, to witness the creation of the State of Israel; despite this, he expressed some bitterness about his own powerlessness to halt the genocide in his autobiography: "I have seen and

shared deep and terrible sorrow. The tale might be less tragic if the help of men had been less measured and whimsical."(Wise, 1949: xxi–xxii).

In their tribute to Wise in 1944, American Armenians showed they had not forgotten the depth of his commitment for the persecuted, both past and present:

> The Armenians have special cause for hailing warmly the renowned rabbi's jubilee because the emancipatory struggle which Jewry is now waging is a just cause, very close to the heart of the Armenians, and in its touching episodes, it is so similar to the Armenian cause; secondly, because the person of rabbi Wise is so cherished by all Armenians.
>
> The Jewish people have been one of the most wronged, crucified and afflicted peoples of the world and this misfortune is directly traceable to the loss of the Jewish homeland. Since the fall of Palestine independence nearly 2000 years ago, Jewry became a homeless element, hunted by fortune, until it understood that its only salvation lay in its return to the mother soil. This consciousness was embodied in the Zionist movement whose founders rightly perceived that a people cannot be happy until it has acquired a homeland of his own. Only a people having taken roots in the native homeland can live securely, can grow and flourish as a nation.[75]

Conclusion

In 2015, during the centennial commemoration of the Armenian Genocide, which led to a multitude of publications and all kinds of events throughout the world (e.g., conferences, exhibitions, concerts, documentaries, monuments, protests, meetings; and unprecedented worldwide media coverage, including influential persons like Pope Francis taking definitive and highly publicized positions, and numerous foreign delegations being sent to ceremonies in Yerevan), several newspapers highlighted that commemoration of this genocide was happening after "One Hundred Years of Solitude" (*Paris-Match*, *Le Monde*, *Radio-Canada*) or "One Hundred Years of Silence" (*Mediapart*).

The example of Rabbi Wise, one of many, reminds us that this is not exactly the case. While his mobilization, empathy and lesson in humanity were not forgotten by Armenians they certainly contributed to aid initiatives for surviving Armenians, and later to the help give to Holocaust survivors. Efforts of this kind and knowledge were insufficient to stop the killers and the genocides that would follow. What

happened to the Tutsis in Rwanda is a tragic reminder of this fact. When faced with Realpolitik, this is how we measure the limits of media coverage and the promotion of awareness in civil society during major crimes against humanity.

Notes

1. "Then, I would speak with the tongue of angels for the Armenians and against their oppressors. If a Jew is not to be the champion of any wronged people, who should be?" – see this chapter, p. 214.

   A shorter version of this chapter was published in French as "Les Juifs américains et le génocide des Arméniens: le cas du rabbin Stephen S. Wise" in *Terres promises. Mélanges offerts à André Kaspi*, articles réunis par Hélène Harter, Antoine Marès, Pierre Melandri et Catherine Nicault, Préface de René Rémond, Paris, Publications de la Sorbonne, 2008, pp. 223–239.
2. Cf. Jay Winter (ed.) (2003), *America and the Armenian Genocide of 1915* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press); Peter Balakian (2003), *The Burning Tigris. The Armenian Genocide and America's response. A History of International Human Rights and Forgotten Heroes* (New York: Harper & Collins); Simon Payaslian (2006), *United States Foreign Policy toward the Armenian Question and the Armenian Genocide* (Basingstoke: Palgrave-McMillan).
3. Thomas Woodrow Wilson, President from 1913 to 1921, was made aware of the Armenian question by a number of his friends, who later were members of the King–Crane Commission on the 1915 massacres; he lent his support to the Sèvres Treaty (August 10, 1920) which confirmed the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire and projected the creation of a new independent Armenian state as its reward (November 22, 1920). But his defeat in the November 1920 presidential election prevented both the ratification of the Treaty and the United States from joining the League of Nations.
4. See the Entente note dated May 24, 1915 on the *crimes contre l'humanité et la civilisation* (Crimes against humanity and civilization) of which the Ottoman government was guilty, in Archives du Ministère des Affaires étrangères (Paris), Série guerre 1914–1918, vol. 887, fol. 127. (Beylérian, 1983)
5. For example, Levi James Barton (1855–1936): Although President of the Committee on Armenian Atrocities and of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, he was among those who convinced President Wilson not to declare war on the Ottoman Empire in April 1917 (Barton, 1998).
6. This chapter, which certainly does not claim to be a definitive account, draws from the private correspondence of Stephen Wise, essentially to his wife and published by his children under the title *The Personal Letters of Stephen Wise* (Wise, 1956), his autobiography, *Challenging Years*, New York, Putman & Sons, 1949, his published sermons at the Free Synagogue (*Free Synagogue Pulpit, Sermons and Addresses by Stephen Wise*, 1910–1922, many volumes, New York), some of his articles, his works on Zionism and diverse sources relative to the Armenian question, as well as his biography by Melvin I. Urofski (1982). His other works, such as *The Great Betrayal*, New

York, Brentano's, 1930 (with Jacob de Haas), and his edited *Letters on Zionism, 1898–1936*, Brandeis University Press, 1965 were sadly impossible to find in Paris. It would have been necessary to explore the important archives Steven Wise left to the American Jewish Historical Society, the catalogue of which (http://americanjewisharchives.org/collections/ms0049/) may still prove enlightening, as well as the inventory of the Wise papers of Brandeis University (https://archon.brandeis.edu/?p=collections/findingaid&id=95).

7. See the *New York Times* articles of December 12 and 14, 1914, of January 11 and 13, 1915, as reproduced in Richard D. Kloian (1985: 2–3). See http://teachgenocide.org/newsaccounts/index.htm. Then, in 1915, we can note the *New York Times* published 145 articles, one every 2–3 days, on the extermination of Armenians. For the British Press: Katia Peltekian (2013). For the Canadian Press: Armenian National Committee of Canada (1985).
8. Henry Morgenthau (1856–1946), who would have preferred a ministerial office, acknowledged accepting this position (occupied from 1913 to 1916) on the insistence of some friends – among whom was Wise – who argued that he would be better able to protect Ottoman Jews. Initially published in 1918, his memoirs as an ambassador in Constantinople constitute a fundamental testimony on the responsibility of the Young Turks in the Armenian Genocide (Chaliand, 1984; Balakian, 2003).
9. In the fall of 1914, following acts of violence committed against Palestinian Jews, he worked with New York Jewish philanthropists to create the American Joint Distribution Committee. After the war, he acted as co-president of Near East Relief (1919–1921) and, at the League of Nations, the Committee for the relocation of Greek refugees (1923–1928). This tradition was carried on by his son, Henry Jr. (1861–1967), Secretary of the Treasury under F. D. Roosevelt (1934–1945), for war refugees in 1946.
10. See note 5.
11. Samuel Train Dutton (1849–1919), professor at Columbia University, treasurer of the College for Women of Constantinople, secretary of the Steering Committee for the World Peace Foundation, member of the Carnegie Endowment Inquiry Commission in the Balkans after the 1912–1913 wars.
12. Charles Richard Crane (1858–1939), Chicago businessman and philanthropist, specialist on the Arab world, member of the board of directors at Robert College in Constantinople, took part in the Allied mission on mandates in the Middle East, called the "King–Crane Mission" (June-August 1919). See: http://www.hri.org/docs/king-crane/ and Hapgood (2000).
13. Cleveland H. Dodge (1860–1926), prototypical businessman philanthropist, generously funded a number of humanitarian and educational institutions, among them the American University in Beirut, and Robert College in Constantinople. He was treasurer (and one of the financiers) of the Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief. It was in his office that the inaugural meeting of the American Committee on Armenian Atrocities took place.
14. Rev. Frank Mason North (1850–1935), missionary for the Episcopalian Methodist Church and a representative of Social Christianity, was also a member of the Foreign Missions Bureau of the Methodist Church (Creighton, 1996).
15. Charles W. Eliot (1834–1926), President of Harvard University (1869–1909), was the author of an anthology of World literature in 50 volumes, *The*

Harvard Classics. *The Shelf Fiction*, New York, Collier & Son, 1909–1917, and honorary president of the National Allied Relief Committee created in July 1915. His main articles were assembled in two collections: *A Late Harvest* edited by M. A. de Wolfe Howe (1924) and *Charles W. Eliot, the Man and His Beliefs*, edited by W. A. Neilson (1926).

16. Cardinal since 1886 and famous for his pastoral, charitable and educative work, James Gibbons (1834–1921) was undoubtedly one of the most prominent personalities of American Catholicism. (Ellis, 1952)
17. Philip Mercer Rhinelander (1869–1939), Bishop of the Protestant Episcopalian Church (diocese of Philadelphia).
18. David H. Greer (1844–1919), Bishop of the Protestant Episcopalian Church (New York dioceses), very active in the fight against child labor.
19. Karl Davis Robinson, co-organizer of the National Allied Relief Committee in July 1915, with John Moffatt, Norman Hapgood and Charles W. Eliot.
20. Norman Hapgood (1867–1937), was, from 1903 to 1912, editor-in-chief of the popular *Collier's Weekly* (1888–1957) where he favoured investigative journalism with social and hygienic inquiries which led to many reforms. He suggested that Charles Eliot (see note *supra*) publish his anthology of great literary works, designed as a portable popular university. Later becoming editor of *Harper's Weekly* (1913–1916), and *Hearst International Magazine* (1923–1925), he denounced Henry Ford's anti-Semitism.
21. William Walker Rockwell (1874–1958), former ambassador, teacher at New York's Union Theological Seminary, edited two collections of testimonies: *The Deportation of the Armenians Described from Day to Day by a Kind Woman Somewhere in Turkey*, New York, American Committee for Armenian and Syrian relief, 1916; *The Pitiful Plight of the Assyrian Christians in Persia ad Kurdistan, Described from the Reports of Eye-witnesses*, 2nd edn. New York, and a bibliography on Armenia: *Armenia ; A List Of Books and Articles*, with annotations, White Plains, NY, The H. W. Wilson company, 1916.
22. Rev. William Ingraham Haven (1856–1928), one of the founding members of the Epworth League, the youth organization on the Methodist Episcopalian Church (1889), general secretary of the American Bible Society, author of works on social questions.
23. Isaac Newton Seligman (1856–1917), son of the founder of one of the first American investment banks, with branches in Europe. Aside from his support of diverse Jewish works, Seligman was involved in the fight for the abolition of child labor with personalities such as Cardinal Gibbons and Bishop Greer.
24. Maurice H. Harris (1859–1930), English-born scholar, was, from 1882, Rabbi of the Israel Temple (reformed) of Harlem, and later of New York City. Eminent representative of Progressive Judaism, he was at the origin of many works. During the First World War, he quickly supported the Allies, against the hesitations of many of the German-born members of his flock.
25. William Milligan Sloane (1850–1928) was one of the great intellectual personalities of his time. Following studies at Columbia and in Germany, he was professor of History at Princeton (1883–1896), then at Columbia, and editor of scholarly reviews (*Political Sciences Quarterly*, *American Historical Review*), president of the American Historical Society and the American Academy of Arts and Letters (where he joined Woodrow Wilson). A friend of Baron Pierre de Coubertin, Sloane was president of the American Olympic

Committee and the International Committee from 1894 to 1925, which led him to accompany the American delegation to the inaugural Olympic Games in Athens in 1896.

26. Arthur Curtiss James (1867–1941), magnate of industry and finance, and a member of the Presbyterian Church, sat on the board of directors of the Union Theological Seminary in New York and, like his father, funded many church and charity works.
27. Rev. Edward Lincoln Smith (1865–1940), member of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.
28. Rev. Frederick Henry Lynch (1867–1934), pastor of the Congregationalist Church, close to Andrew Carnegie, about whom he published his memoirs (*Personal Recollections of Andrew Carnegie*, 1920), a member of the New York Peace Society and first president of the American-Scandinavian foundation created in 1910.
29. Oscar Solomon Straus (1850–1926), having immigrated to the United States from Germany as a child, served as ambassador to Turkey (1887–1889, 1909–1910). A member of the Permanent Arbitration Court in The Hague (1902–20), he was one of the first American professional diplomats and among the first Jewish ministers in charge of the Ministry of Commerce and Labor (1906–1909). After the war, he campaigned for the entry of the United States into the League of Nations and worked to help Jewish refugees.
30. Henry (Haim) Pereira Mendes (1852–1937), born in Birmingham, England. He was Rabbi of the Sephardic Congregation in Manchester (1874) and then Shearith Israel in New York (Orthodox) from 1877. One of the founders of the journal *The American Hebrew* (1879), of the New York Board of Ministers (1881), of the Jewish Theological Seminary (1886, as conservator) Séminaire théologique juif (1886, as curator), and many charitable works for the handicapped. Vice-President of the American Zionist Federation and member of the Vienna Action Committee (1898–1899), he was also the author of various theological and moral works.
31. Stanley White (1862–1930), a Presbyterian clergyman, Secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions from 1907 to 1925 and chaplain at Rutgers University, member of the Committee for Relief in the Near East, he conducted an inspection visit in the Middle East in February-September 1919.
32. John Raleigh Mott (1865–1955), evangelist of the Methodist Church, author of many works, Nobel Peace Prize laureate (1946) for his actions in missionary movements. He became one of the pillars of the YMCA (Young Men's Christian Association) in the United States and throughout the world, President of the World Union (1926–37) and one of the organizers of the Edinburgh World Missionary Convention (1910) at the origin of the modern world ecumenical movement and the World Council of Churches. With the Swede, Karl Fries, he organized the Federation of Christian Students in 1895, travelling the world to create national branches. During the war, the YMCA offered its services to President Wilson, and Mott, named Secretary General of the National War Work Council, led a humanitarian action for war prisoners in France He also presided over the Movement of Student Volunteers to Foreign Missions (1915–1928) and the International Council of Missions (1921–1942).
33. Neutral until 1917, the United States continued to use its wide network of consulates in Turkey, often entrusted to missionaries (a common practice in

American diplomacy in the Levant in the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century: cf. Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East: Missionary Influence in American Policy, 1810–1927*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1971).

34. Frederick H. Allen, also a member of the central committee of the American Relief Clearing House and the American Joint Distribution Committee; he contributed, with John Moffat, Norman Hapgood, Karl Davis Robinson to setting up, in July 1915, the National Allied Relief Committee with Charles W. Elliot as its honorary president (see *supra)*.
35. Like ex-president William Howard Taft (1857–1930), the former Governor of New York and future State Secretary Charles Evans Hughes (1862–1948), Myron T. Herrick (1854–1929), former Governor of Ohio, ambassador to France from 1912 to 1914, and from 1921 to 1929.
36. Like Simeon E. Baldwin (1845–1927), Governor of Connecticut from 1910 to 1914, and Vance MacCormick (1872–1946), businessman and president of the Democrat National Committee (1916–1919).
37. Such as footwear industrialist George W. Brown (1853–1921), William Cooper Proctor, son and successor to one of the co-founders of the important soap firm Proctor & Gamble, department store pioneers John Wanamaker (1838–1922) and Julius Rosenwald (1862–1932), and Chicago bankers Harry A. Wheeler and William Shieffelin (1866–1956).
38. For example, Hamilton Holt (1876–1951), owner-editor of the New York daily *The Independent*, Harry Pratt Judson (1849–1927), President of the University of Chicago, Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur (1875–1949), President of Stanford University, George A. Plimpton (1855–1936), director of Ginn and Co. Editors.
39. Charles Stedman Macfarland (1866–1956), president of the Federation Council of the Churches of Christ in America, author of 1934's *New Church in New Germany*, on Hitler's politics towards religion.
40. Member of the Board of Foreign Missions, the Laymen's Foreign Mission, and one of the directors of the ecumenical movement Interchurch World Movement, dissolved in 1923.
41. Assistant Secretary of the Foreign Missions Council of the United States Presbyterian Church.
42. Talcott Williams (1849–1928), born in the Ottoman Empire where his father, a missionary, played a role in the foundation of Robert College in Constantinople as well as the American University in Beirut. Completing his studies in the United States, he became director of Columbia University's new school of journalism, created by Joseph Pulitzer in 1912. He was also an executive board member at Amherst College (1909–1919), where he held a diploma, and at the Women's University of Constantinople.
43. In founding this synagogue, Stephen Wise claimed total freedom of preaching and expression, the refusal of any distinction between the faithful based on their social origins or their financial contribution to the Temple, the synagogue's participation in every aspect of social service in the community, the identification not only with Judaism but also with the fate and future of Israel. Originally denounced and derided, the Free Synagogue developed to the point of being the very incarnation of American Liberal Judaism. Henry Morgenthau was its first president. (Wise, 1956: 119). See his *Open Letter to*

the Members of Temple Emanuel of New York on the Freedom of the Jewish Pulpit, Bushing & Co, 1906.

44. His grandfather, Joseph Hirsch Weiss [Weissfeld], chief rabbi of Erlau from 1840 to his death in 1881, was one of the directors of the Hungarian Haredi Party, opposed the reformation of Judaism, but supported Kossuth. His father, Aaron Wise [Weiss] (1844–1896), migrated to the United States in 1874. He was rabbi of the Baith Israel Congregation in Brooklyn, then at Rodelph Shalom Temple in New York where he remained until his death. He was one of the founding members of the Jewish Theological Seminary, and its first vice-president. He also founded the Rodeph Shalom Sisterhood of Personal Service, which established an industrial school bearing his name (Aaron Wise Industrial School) to celebrate his memory (*Jewish Encyclopaedia*).
45. Richard James Horatio Gottheil (1862–1903) arrived in the United States from Manchester at age 11. Following studies at Columbia, Berlin, Tubingen and Leipzig (Ph.D. in Syriac grammar), he was named at the Semitic Language and Rabbinic Literature Research Chair at Columbia University (1887), at a time when the interest in biblical scripture was stimulated by debate on evolutionist theses, in which Gottheil defended a modern, critical approach against the orthodox doxa. Aside from a brilliant career in academia, Gottheil was an early adherent of the American Zionist movement: he was the first president of the Federation of American Zionists (1898) and we owe him the article on Zionism in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia* of 1901–1906 (Bloch & Pratt, 1936).
46. Its title according to Columbia University Press 1901 publication is: "The Improvement of the Moral Qualities. An Ethical Treatise of the Eleventh Century by Solomon ibn Gabirol; printed from an unique Arabic manuscript, together with a translation and an essay on the place of Gabirol in the history of the development of Jewish ethics" (Wise, 1956: 45).
47. His grandmother had migrated to Jerusalem after her husband's death (Urofsky, 1982).
48. About these massacres, see notably Meyrier (2000); Dédeyan, Mouradian & Ternon (2010). One may also refer to the series of *Blue Books* published by the British Parliament (Turkey, 1895–1898), London, Harrison & Sons, and the French so called *Livre Jaune*/*Yellow Book*: Ministère des Affaires étrangères, *Affaires arméniennes. Projets de réformes dans l'Empire ottoman, 1893–1897, Documents diplomatiques*, Paris, Imprimerie nationale, 1897. For a bibliography: http://www.hyeetch.nareg.com.au/genocide/oppres_p4.html On the Armenophile movement, see Mouradian (2007).
49. The assassination of Grand Vizier Mahmud Shevket Pasha on January 21, 1913, by Enver Pasha was the start of the dictatorial Union and Progress Committee regime of the triumvirat Enver-Djemal-Talaat.
50. Letter dated "New York, 1914."
51. See the article "Would send here 550,000 Armenians. Morgenthau urged a scheme to save them from Turks. Offers to raise $1,000,000," in the *New York Times*, September 14, 1915 (Kloian, 1985: 30).
52. He had known him since 1900 at least, date of a dinner mentioned in his correspondence. Morgenthau is president of the Free Synagogue since its inception. Wise was, like him, one of the backers for New York Governor Wilson's candidature for the 1912 presidential election, and again in 1916.

As we have seen, he also incited Morgenthau to accept the position of ambassador to Constantinople.

53. "Will you suggest to Cleveland Dodge, Charles Crane, John R. Mott, Stephen Wise, and others to form committees to raise funds and provide means to save some of the Armenians and assist the poorer ones to emigrate?" in *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1915 supp. (Washington, DC, 1928), p. 988. The message was transmitted to James L. Barton, secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and an ex-missionary in the Ottoman Empire himself.
54. For the text of this legislative act the website of the Armenian National Institute of Washington DC: http://www.armenian-genocide.org/Affirmation.228/current_category.7/affirmation_detail.html
55. "To plead for Armenians. Mass Meeting to be Held at Century Theatre Sunday" (Kloian, 1985, p. 71).
56. "New York, 1915." He asked his wife to mention this intervention to no one.
57. See epigraph and note 1.
58. When President Wilson addressed the American people in favor of the orphaned in October 1917, Wise, in a meeting at New York's Hippodrome Theater, gave this warning: "If the 100,000 orphans in Armenia today are allowed to starve, the Armenian race will be destroyed."
59. For a transcript of the speech see http://www.jstor.org/stable/20667947?seq=5#page_scan_tab_contents (this passage on page 18), and to hear Wise's address visit the Library of Congress website: http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/D?nfor:2:./temp/~ammem_FHKp::.
60. Boghos Nubar Pacha (1851–1930) son of Nubar Pacha (1825–1899), former reformist Prime Minister of Egypt. Living in Paris from 1912, he was mandated by the Catholicos to represent Armenian interests to the authorities in charge of preparing a new wave of administrative reforms. From 1915 on, he was involved in relief efforts for the victims of the genocide. In 1916, he was at the origin of the "Légion d'Orient" constituted of Armenian and Syrians volunteers and fighting in the Middle East alongside the Allies. In 1919, he was president of one of the two Armenian delegations at the Peace Conference, the National Delegation representing Ottoman Armenians, the other being the Republic of Armenia delegation representing Armenians in the Caucasus. From 1921, he devoted himself entirely to philanthropic action in support of Armenia and its diaspora (Ghazarian, 1997).
61. "En route vers Cleveland," 1919.
62. Born in Ceasarea (Kayseri) in 1880, Cardashian emigrated to the United States in 1902. He studied law at Yale and was called to the Bar in New York in 1909, where he opened a prosperous firm. Lawyer for the Ottoman embassy and the Ottoman consulate in New York since 1911, he resigned in 1915, upon receiving news of massacres, where he lost both his mother and sister. He then entirely committed himself to the defense of the Armenian cause. (Malkasian, 1984)
63. As quoting from the title of Anthony Krafft-Bonnard's booklet, *L'heure de l'Arménie*, Geneva, 1922.
64. *New York Times*, July 13, 1919. (Hovannisian, 1982: 318)
65. Even if some may have claimed that the energy he spent on rescuing Jews in Palestine lessened his efficiency in his rescue of Armenians. See the

article published under the title "Criticizes Mr. Morgenthau. London *Times* Correspondent Says He Wasted Energy on Zionists," in the *New York Times* October 8, 1915. *(*Kloian, 1985: 63)

66. Wise volunteered to join this mission whose secret nature was quickly compromised, in order to ensure the respect of Zionist interests. A Harvard Law professor, Frankfurter, was chosen in his stead because his moderate Zionism posed a lesser risk of indisposing Turkish authorities. But the mission faced pushback from both Armenians (James Malcolm for the Armenian National Delegation) and, in England, Zionists (Chaim Weizmann) – because, in the event of a separate peace, any hopes of partitioning the Empire and forming national states would be forfeit. In the end, the mission was cancelled following an interview between Morgenthau and Weizmann in Gibraltar. (Reinharz, 1992a) According to this author, this project's failure bolstered Morgenthau's anti-Zionism. Let us note that it was through James Malcolm, a Persian-born Armenian who studied at Oxford, became a British subject and the representative in London of the Armenian National Delegation (created in Paris in 1916), that Chaim Weizmann was introduced, in late January 1917, to Christopher Sykes, who favored for a time the idea of an Armenian–Judaic–Arabic alliance, and a project for a Judeo-Armenian homeland. Leonard Stein notes the particular role in this project of pro-British agent Aaron Aaronhson, also in contact with Malcolm ad Sykes; the latter was worried the Armenian experience might repeat itself at the Jew's expense and considered it a necessity for the Zionist project that an Armenian state be created in the Middle East, as a buffer between Jews and Arabs (Stein, 1983: 361; Auron, 2001).
67. W. D. P. Bliss [formerly a teacher in the Ottoman Empire], in *New Armenia*, XII, January 1920, pp. 1–3.
68. Inspired by the book *Ravished Armenia. The Story of Auora Mardiganian, the Christian Girl who survived the Great Massacres,* New York, Kingfield Press, 1918, published under the auspices of the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief, the film *Auction of Souls* was presented in many countries. It was censored in London because of the violence of some of its scenes which might shock the public. In France it was shown under the title: *Le martyr d'un peuple* (A people's martyrdom). Some twenty well-preserved minutes of it were recently discovered and can be seen here: https://archive.org/details/RavishedArmenia1919. Cf. http://genocidedesarmeniens.blogs.nouvelobs.com/archive/2011/01/10/ravished-armenia.html. See Chapters 2 and 3 of this volume.
69. Being unable to find it, we can only conjecture that Wise disapproves of the said plan, and that he undoubtedly did not appreciate the fact that Morgenthau signed an anti-Zionist petition presented to President Wilson on March 4, 1919 (Stein, 1983: 358).
70. See Malkasian (1983: 363, n. 31) for a list of members in April 1921 where we find, among others, Hamilton Holt (secretary), Henry S. Huntington (treasurer), George R. Montgomery (director), Robert Ellis Johnes, Charles S. Mac Farland, William R. Runyon, Stanley White, R. J. Caldwell, Frank Mason North, William Cardinal O'Connell, Philip N. Rhinelander, Oscar S. Straus, etc.
71. According to Ben Gourion, Djemal's project was halted by Talaat, Minister of the Interior, which is contested by Auron.

72. The English translation of Franz Werfel (banned by the Nazis upon its publication in 1933) was published as soon as 1934 (London, Jarrolds) and the French one in 1936 (Paris, Albin Michel). It is known to have been recited by the members of the resistance in the Warsaw ghetto.
73. With the American Jewish Congress, he organized, in March 1933, a huge protest rally bringing together over 20,000 people in Madison Square Garden. As early as 1930, his book written in collaboration with De Haas, *The Great Betrayal* served as a warning.
74. A recent controversy on the actions of American Jews during the war goes back to the role played by Wise. See notably Dr. Rafael Medoff, "Were US Jews powerless during the Holocaust? Another View", in *New Jersey Jewish News*, 10 November 2005, which questions the positions defended by Prof. Feingold, written in the same publication on October 27. Among other reproaches, Wise is charged with agreeing, at the demand of Secretary of State Sumner Welles, not to immediately reveal to the public the telegram he received from London on August 28, 1942, sent by Gerhart Riegner, representative of the World Jewish Congress in Switzerland, informing him of the implementation of the Final Solution. Likewise, he is accused of not obtaining softer conditions for refugee entries into the United States, possibly because, as a member of the establishment, he did not wish to provoke an onslaught of anti-Semitism in the United States by drawing attention to the suffering of European Jews. When he announced it during a press conference on November 24, 1942, the news was lost in a sea of dispatches. According to others, members of the State Department blocked his efforts until the Secretary of the Treasury, Henry Morgenthau Jr., discovered proof of this stonewalling and interceded with Roosevelt for the creation of the War Refugee Board.
75. *Hayrenik Monthly*, Boston, 24 March 1944.

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Epilogue

Joceline Chabot, Richard Godin, Stefanie Kappler and Sylvia Kasparian

This volume has highlighted the contested nature of memory and representation with respect to the Armenian Genocide in the light of its centenary. Analyses have raised questions about the representability of violence, the politics of memory, the legitimacy of dominant narratives of representation as well as the role of the mass media in disseminating information on the genocide on the one hand, and its complicity in framing this information to match political agendas on the other hand. A comparative analysis of the media in the international press, and more specifically, the countries of Germany, Russia, Poland, Turkey, and Canada, as well as in a Jewish context, sheds light on the extent to which these acts of violence have been framed in very diverse ways. However, conflicts about the ways in which the genocide should be represented can not only be found *between* those countries, but also *within* them, where the media can be said to be embedded in wider local and national power struggles. It therefore becomes obvious that the media discourses on the Armenian genocide as outlined by the contributors of this book are embedded in geopolitical contexts.

Against this background, our attempt to establish a dialogue between those competing discourses allows for a more factually nuanced understanding of the genocide in terms of its framing in public opinion during the last century. The authors of the chapters in this volume reflect the extent to which those discourses cast light on the past and have, over time, become media archives which contribute to the recognition of the past today. The volume highlights representation as politics and rhetorics of memory and commemoration as well as their implications on the present controversies around the ways in which the past should be represented. Our authors cast light on the relational nature of representation,

in that it can create bonds of solidarity and empathy on the one hand, but also of distancing and victimization on the other hand.

Such analyses certainly raise wider questions about the importance of ethically responsible (media) representation of past events, not only during the events themselves, but also in their aftermath. This is part of what Peace and Conflict Studies call 'Dealing with the Past', as the belief that the ways in which the past is remembered has strong effects on identity formation in the aftermath of conflict (cf. Brown & Cehajic, 2008; McGrattan, 2012; Diawara, Lategan and Rüsen, 2013). Societies which have found ways of dealing with their violent past in a constructive way have often found it easier to move on from their past. A perhaps often-cited example in this context is certainly South Africa, which has been praised for the work of its Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) dealing with violence that occurred under its apartheid regime. On the other hand, the TRC has, as it currently seems, only been able to deal with a partial aspect of its history, and the renewed xenophobic protests show the extent to which other parts of the country's history have been insufficiently addressed.

In that sense, what has happened in the past is always important in the present and future through its memory and representation. The media are certainly a highly relevant memory actor in the sense that they shape the ways in which people commemorate and narrate any given event. Violence thus does not end abruptly, but is carried on, transformed and modified through its (aesthetic) representation. The question then is how this violence that is carried forward can be channeled in a way in which it becomes a modification, rather than repetition of the event?

Acts of violence occurring after the Armenian Genocide, as we could witness during the Holocaust, the Balkan wars or even, more recently, in Iraq or Syria, have shown that a focus on 'never again' is more pressing than ever. There is not just a local or national, but also international responsibility to commemorate and represent events in a way in which violence is not glorified or justified, but critically investigated independent of political stakes. Archives, memorials, museums and many more memory artefacts are already playing a key role in the ways in which violence is represented – some in more, some in less responsible ways. It is therefore important that representations of the past become 'lived' memories, which allow societies to reflect on the past from a variety of perspectives. 'Never again' thus affects all parts of society, including central memory actors, but also the media, and certainly in the age of mass consumption of new media, this responsibility is spread out even more widely across society.

Now one hundred years after the event, the commemoration of which took place on April 24, 2015, Armenians from all over the world have reminded us that such a never-ending story has forged their own destiny. In that particular case, the lived memory continues to be at the heart of a social tendency to recognize what has happened. During the day of the anniversary – even for a week or two – public demonstrations were held and speeches were given in public spaces, including Turkey.

If the media shape our way of seeing the world and our representations of its shape, then we can certainly state that the memory of the Armenian genocide was still clearly alive on the day of its anniversary. The representation of the commemorations plays a key role in such a context. It can be observed that the main obvious goal of commemoration activities aims for the Turkish government's recognition of its past responsibility for, or complicity in, that genocide. In that respect, to quote but one example, the *New York Times* published over 80 articles between April 1 and 27. In these articles, the implicit and explicit 'never again' must be interpreted as an Armenian quest for recognition by Turkey. Most of the articles insist on this point, arguing that recognition would help the Armenians to move forward. Some articles cast light on the demand for recognition on the one hand, and the possible political clash that is expected follow in the international scene on the other hand. The article titles are illustrative in this context, including "European Parliament Urges Turkey to Recognize Armenian Genocide" (April 15, 2015); "White House Acknowledges Armenian Genocide, but Avoids the Term" (April 21, 2015); "A Century After Armenian Genocide, Turkey's Denial Only Deepens" (April 16, 2015); "Pope Calls Killings of Armenians 'Genocide,' Provoking Turkish Anger" (April 12, 2015); "German President Labels Armenian Killings as Genocide" (April 23, 2015); "Turkey Says it 'Rejects and Condemns' Putin Calling 1915 Armenian Massacre 'Genocide'" (April 24, 2015).

Indeed, during this anniversary year, both the traditional and new social media have successfully initiated a public debate about the genocide, which has raised questions about the complexities of its official recognition. A considerable number of documents, films, videos, websites and discussion through social media are available online, raising awareness and appealing to the memory of an international public. Public recognitions of the genocide, including the speech of Pope Francis, and the Austrian and German declarations during a number of public events all over the world were reported and commented on by the social media and have thus contributed to a transformation of the ways in which the event is represented in the Armenian community,

but also in Turkey and the international community. In that vein, parts of the Turkish population are aware of the "Armenian question" and are supporting its cause. The Armenians themselves, long represented as victims, are now demanding reparations and have strong political and public support for their cause.

Either way, what we can observe today is the key role that the media have been playing in this debate. They have indeed played a central role in the development of the diverse representations of the genocide, in all their historical, political and commemorative dimensions.

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