

THE ARMENIANS IN POST-WWI TURKEY(1919-1938)¹

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Cesaria and the Environs (Cesaria, Everek-Fenese, Talas, Gemereg, Tomarza, Jujun, Manjesen...)

Reports of early January 1920, about the Armenians in Cesaria, recorded that the St. Stephanos Armenian Apostolic church was half-destroyed and the school building was in total ruins. Father Serovpe Burmayan had inaugurated both the Armenian Apostolic and Evangelical churches and consoled the parish during a mass. A local church committee was formed that called the compatriots in Egypt and the United States to support the local church and the school financially.² Since the orphanage buildings in Cesaria were inadequate and caused health problems, 800 of the orphans were sent to Cilicia, accompanied with an equal number of refugees.³ A bleak picture was depicted about Cesaria where the number of 600 Armenian families dwindled to around 250,⁴ while a different report affirmed that the Armenian males of Cesaria were being called under arms, and added that even the underage were working for the Turkish army. Community buildings were turned into warehouses and stockpiling locations.⁵

After the tide passed, and the Kemalists consolidated their rule in the country, new reports about Ccsaria Armenians indicated that they numbered 9000 in late 1922.⁶ According to a Near East Relief report, the three Armenian orphanages of Cesaria sheltered 1050 Armenian orphans. One of them, previously a school building, was at the end of the city. The second was in the city center - a four storey modern building with two subsidiary buildings and a very small garden which deprived the children from having a playground. The third orphanage was a set of 12 houses. The need for a school building had forced the Armenian Community Council to use them, even though they were not fit for the purpose. Taking into consideration the number of the Armenian orphans and the limitations of the budget of the orphanages, the orphans taken in were those who had no relatives at all. Sometimes whole families were in need, but the Relief declined to give them shelter unless they were in a total loss.

Clothing was given to the poorest if proved that they were in absolute need. Those who got aid had to do some work or chop wood instead. During spring, instead of soup the Relief provided 1800 needy people with dry bread (weighing less than half a pound for each). In Autumn, weather conditions brought forth a demand for boots, clothing and food.⁷

A shock in the community was caused by the mutiny against Kemal which resulted in loss of life among the Armenian community of Cesaria as well. 150 Armenians and 300 Greeks, accused of taking part in the rebellion, were tried by the military tribunal and hanged.⁸ In the mean time, the number of the Armenian orphans of Cesaria increased to 3000, since it became a regional center for saving scattered Armenian orphans. The orphans were packed in the monastery of St. Garabed, under the supervision of the Near East Relief.⁹ Late 1922 reports claimed that the Cesaria Armenians were ordered to liquidate their businesses and leave the area. This created havoc, and caused financial losses to most Armenians; the Prelate of Cesaria, Bishop Dirdart Balian for instance, lost all his belongings- his library, his philological research papers of 36 years, as well as his stamp collection.¹⁰ But later reports clarified that the Milli authorities had in fact granted freedom of movement to all minorities for a period of 31 days, provided that no one was allowed to sell his private belongings. Besides, those who had relatives abroad had to pay their bedel, and 10 years' property taxes of theirs and their relatives', even if their buildings were damaged or destroyed during the war.¹¹ Nevertheless, these restrictions did not deter some Armenians from leaving for Constantinople,¹² while the majority (around 5000), financially broke, stayed in Cesaria. Meanwhile, a further 350 Armenian orphans were brought to St. Garabed Monastery increasing their number to 550.¹³ The orphans were being supervised by the abbot of the monastery, Sembat Vardapet, after the departure of the American Relief from Cesaria.¹⁴ On the social level, a big number of widows lived in the city in extremely deplorable conditions and because of the confiscation of the community estates by the Turkish authorities, the community fell short of helping them in anyway. Later reports claimed that the Gumushian school was reopened and the St. Neshan monastery was returned to its Armenian owners.¹⁵ It needed basic renovation.¹⁶ These relieving measures did not change the lot of the Armenians who now faced with humiliation, unemployment and other financial hardships, were induced to leave.¹⁷ And in fact many left through Mersin and Alexandretta to Greece or Syria.¹⁸ The main concern of those who remained was the fate of the orphans, who were somehow better off due to the financial assistance of the Cesarian expatriates.¹⁹ However, a comprehensive report of Cesaria Armenians for the year 1924, regarded the prelacy as one of the most organized in the whole hinterland, with a 4400 strong community, in the region, of whom 2653 dwelt in the city, among whom 1114 were native Cesarians, 1141 had taken refuge from Roomdigin²⁰ and 398 were from other

villages. The report added that in Cesaria and its surroundings there were 7 community bodies, 3 church committees, 10 standing (not destroyed) churches,²¹ 1 monastery (changed into an orphanage), 3 clerics and 8 schools, not any of them functioning, because of the lack of teachers.²² In real terms, the situation was more discouraging than the report depicted. Well-informed sources of mid-1925 reported that there were barely 350 Armenian families in the city, while in the surrounding villages the number of the Armenians was very small, with neither schools nor churches nor priests. In cases of deaths, the villagers themselves used to do the burial services. Newborn babies were not baptized for years.²³

Not much was changed in the number of Armenians and their conditions in 1926, except for the moving of some Armenians from the surrounding villages of Tavloosoon,²⁴ Germir²⁵ and Efker²⁶ to Cesaria where the 6-700 school age children did not attend school, but wove rugs or played around. There was a lack of teachers and finances. The only functioning school was the Gumushian Kindergarten and Elementary school, financed by the Constantinople Gumushian will. The community boasted of having 2 dentists, 2 money exchangers, 9 coppersmiths, 4 rug weavers, 2 grocers, 6 peddlers, 10 knife sharpeners, 4 comb makers, 2 millers, 6 traders, 3 goldsmiths, 5 tailors, 20 *aboukht*²⁷ makers, 4 barbers, 5 stone carvers, 5 blacksmiths, 2 coffee makers, 6 secretaries, 4 cobblers, 7 manufacturers, 10 butchers, 4 carpenters, 4 potters, 8 *yazmajis* and 6 cart drivers.²⁸ Nevertheless, community life showed mixed signs of deterioration through reports recording the improper celebration of the St. Garabed monastery pilgrimage, the delayed baptism of many grown ups, the large number of school age children with no school, the orphans of St. Garabed in need of shoes...²⁹ These conditions did not improve and the deputy prelate of Cesaria called for a monthly allocation of funds to take care of the orphans and the poor. On the other hand, signs of assimilation were observed in late 1928, when reports recorded around 60 Armenian children attending Efker and Cesaria Turkish schools,³⁰ while the St. Garabed monastery, the only monastery in the whole hinterland, was closed permanently on June 11, 1928, confiscated by the Turkish authorities, and the 125 orphans and others sheltering there were brought to St. Loosavoritch church of Cesaria city.³¹ Other tragic reports highlighted the difficulties of the Armenian minority that seemed to be better off financially (though hardly ten families owned their homes), but worse in social, ethnic and religious conditions. The courtyard of St. Loosavoritch church was being used by three schools, or rather the names of three schools were stuck next to each other making room for 150 pupils, with 3 Armenian and 2 Turkish teachers. The orphanage, established in 1918, now numbered around 100 orphans and poor people, who were barefoot for years because of lack of finances. Community life did not promise any hopes of improvement: the Armenians of Cesaria could not upkeep their church, school, language and national traditions. Out of a total of around 3000

Cesarian Armenians only 2 read newspapers. Some received the *Rahnuma* newspaper. In the community there were 1 lawyer, 1 dentist, 5 rug weavers, 8-10 rug designers, 2 money exchangers, 10 secretaries, 2 tradesmen, 4 goldsmiths, 13 blacksmiths, 10 manufacturers, 8 tailors, 3 cobblers, 10 carpenters, 8 comb makers, 2 tinsmiths, 4 *yazmajis*, 8 masons, 6 coppersmiths, 8 potters, 3 barbers, 1 watchmaker, 22 *aboukht* makers, 15 butchers, 12 sausage makers, etc.³² In October 1928 the Cesaria community leaders ordered the closure of the already officially closed orphanage because of lack of financial means. Out of the 100 orphans in the orphanage, 53 had applied for passport documents, to leave the area, while nothing was done for the other 20-30 handicapped people in the orphanage, for whom the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople was the only hope.³³ As for the Patriarchal report of the Cesaria Armenians of 1928, it spoke about around 500 families living in Cesaria, mostly working in trade, crafts (rug weaving) and business. Out of the 3 churches of the city only St. Astvadzadzin was in Armenian hands where religious ceremonies were held. School life continued since 1919 in the Gumushian building against numerous odds. The students numbered around 300. The boys' section had 5 teachers, 3 Armenians and 2 Turks, while the female section had 2 Armenian and 1 Turkish teacher. Most of the expenses of the school was covered by the Patriarchate. There were further 200 Armenian children who did not attend school, but worked with their parents, or wandered around. The city had a National Trustee, that ran the church, the school and helped the poor. Around 2000 Armenians were spread in the villages, where religious services were conducted by 2 clerics, from time to time.³⁴ Still, in 1929, the Armenian community of Cesaria was considered to be the most organized prelacy in all the hinterland,³⁵ with its 335 families, numbering 1930 (384 men, 565 women, 459 boys, 422 girls), a decrease from the previous year's 2348. The Gumushian school had 270 students.³⁶ Other reports dropped the number of Armenians in Cesaria city to 1360 in 1929, while the number in the surrounding area was around 2600.³⁷

According to a report, in 1930 there were 700 Armenians below the age of 14, and 300 between 14-21 in Cesaria and the neighborhoods. Only 100-120 of these attended Turkish schools, because of the closure of the Gumushian school that year. A further 100 were apprenticed, while others wandered around. There were a number of Armenian orphans sheltered in Turkish orphanages in Cesaria.³⁸ Some families went bankrupt that year because of failures in their sausages business. Rug prices fell as well, and Armenian rug dealers suspended their work. This had a bad impact on the local Armenians and some left for Constantinople.³⁹ A new local council constituting young members⁴⁰ tried to patch things for the 2500 strong Armenian community of the Cesaria region in 1931.⁴¹ Financial hardships forced some families from the villages to leave for Constantinople, while orphans flocked to the city in July 1933.⁴²

Reports of 1936, informed that the deputy prelate of Cesaria, Sembat Vardapet

Salbashian, was running the 380 families strong community affairs with the help of a local council. Their objective was to care for the 30 orphans sheltered in the courtyard of the Cesaria church. The number of Cesaria Armenians had increased because of new arrivals from the surrounding villages and cities,⁴³ but a further decline in the community affairs, started by the news that the deputy prelate of Cesaria, who was elevated in his clerical rank, was sick in early 1937. He was not mentioned in the reports of Cesaria any more. The Patriarchate had to ask Father Sion of Diyarbekir to visit the Cesaria Armenians during holidays.⁴⁴ Seemingly this did not resolve the issue and Father Haygazoon became the *mutevelli* of Cesaria church replacing Kevork Jivanian. But he himself was expelled by the *evkaf*, who appointed a Turk, bey Ahmed to the post.⁴⁵ A report of 1938 put the number of the Armenians in Cesaria region at 340 families, most of whom were farm hands, *aboukht* makers and peddlers. Many of the children attended Turkish schools.⁴⁶ Still other reports put the number at 2280 in Cesaria, of whom 5% were shopkeepers, 35% craftsmen (tinsmiths, rug weavers, blacksmiths, stone carvers, butchers, *aboukht* makers, carpenters, masons millers, dyers, etc.), others were farm hands who went to the villages to earn a living, while females wove rugs in their homes. In his report of 1938, the deputy prelate of Cesaria Father Haygazoon Garabedian (who was reinstated in his post) stated that the Armenians of Cesaria had a peaceful life. Mass was conducted in the St. Loosavorich church of the city (its ruined walls were repaired in 1937). Since the majority of the population spoke Turkish, mass was conducted in Turkish. The majority of the community was in needy condition and did land work.⁴⁷ Other reports marked that the Armenians of Cesaria, numbering 2000, or 300 families, consisted of 30 local families and 270 settled peasants from surrounding 53 villages. In Roomdigin, Oozoonloo,⁴⁸ Boghazlian, Bunyan,⁴⁹ Aziziye⁵⁰ etc. there were over 300 Armenian families working on the land. The Gumushian school was turned into an orphanage with 20 orphans and refugees, while 900 Armenian children attended Turkish schools. Cesarian expatriates supported the beleaguered community financially.⁵¹

2.

In 1921, the Armenians of Everek were in an economic crisis. All gainfully employed males were either conscripted or were still in exile.⁵² Reports of 1925 recorded that there were 379 Armenians in Everek, with a church, a local council and a school⁵³ with 125 boys and 137 girls, 4 teachers (1 Turk, the other three were females). Its financial expenses were cared by the expatriates.⁵⁴

Other reports put the number of the Armenians there at 468 (102 men, 133 women, 87 boys, 146 girls), while in Fenese, there were 535 Armenians (146 men, 125 women,

114 boys, 150 girls).⁵⁵ It seems that, later on, the two schools of these localities were united into the Everek-Fenese joint Mesrobian-Roupinian school with 114 boys and 125 girls; the director, S. Donigian, was aided by two female teachers. The school was financed from Constantinople and by expatriates in the USA. All school age children attended school. Mass was conducted 2-3 times a year. There were 13 blacksmiths, 20 cobblers, 4 tailors, 4 barbers, 11 carpenters, 25 shop holders, 4 manufacturers, 3 secretaries, 8 butchers, 8 coppersmiths, 2 peddlers in Everek-Fenese.⁵⁶ In 1927, there were 1200 Armenians in Everek-Fenese,⁵⁷ which was considered the liveliest community in the Cesaria villages with a school, with around 250 pupils, a church, St. Toros, a clergyman and a local council.⁵⁸ In 1929, in Everek-Fenese, Efker, Talas and the neighboring villages there lived 2790 Armenians.⁵⁹ This number fell to 50 families in Everek-Fenese in 1933, with a local council of 5 members and Father Yeghishe Takvorian conducting the church services. But he was not paid which made his life difficult. The well-to-do families had left the city.⁶⁰ There were 200 families in Everek-Fenese in 1935 mainly working on the land. 2 members of the community, Boghos Geoybashian and Gulbengian were in good financial positions.⁶¹ In 1938, the 1000 (=200 families) Armenians of Everek-Fenese and the surrounding villages earned their living through crafts, while there were 15 needy families, and 10 orphans. The church was half-ruined, its courtyard walls had crumbled, and needed immediate repair.⁶² In a last report of 1938, it was stated that in the State of Everek (Poonar Bashe) 900 Armenians lived, with the St. Toros church run by Father Yeghishe Takvorian, while Arshag Semizian was the *mutevelli*.⁶³

3.

200 orphans were sheltered in the orphanage of Talas, in 1920.⁶⁴ The orphanage was turned into a school, financed by an old expatriate,⁶⁵ but it was closed in 1925. The number of Armenians in Talas, fell from 175 in 1927,⁶⁶ to 120 in 1929.⁶⁷ Reports of 1933, claimed that there were about 300 Evangelicals there, who conducted their services in the church freely. But it was disclosed that Miss Black, the teacher of Talas American College, was caught "red handed" while secretly teaching religion to Armenian Evangelicals.⁶⁸

- In 1925, the Armenians of Gemereg and neighboring 11 villages numbered 700, with no school and church.⁶⁹ This number fell to 400 in 1928. These Armenians used to work as *keole* - cheap and often unpaid laborers, under the arbitrary behavior

of Turkish landholders - in deplorable conditions and waited for a chance to move to Sebastia.⁷⁰ A last record from the area registered 8 families (8 men, 14 women, 8 boys, 7 girls) in 1929.⁷¹

- 1925 reports of Tomarza recorded 240 Armenians living there,⁷² with no school, but a church run by Father Krikor and a local council that collected the revenues of the St. Astvadzadzin monastery and sent them to Cesaria for the orphanage. This number dropped to 186 (30 males, 47 women, 42 boys, 67 girls), with 60 school age children not attending school. 1927 reports registered a flow to Fenese which reduced the number in Tomarza to 145 (44 men, 55 women, 22 boys, 24 girls).⁷³ Eventually, a 1930 report informed that the 150 Tomarza Armenians had left for Yerevan.⁷⁴

- A single report about the Jujun Armenians put their number at 73 (8 men, 19 women, 21 boys, 25 girls) in 1926, with no school.⁷⁵

- In Booroonkeshla there were 100 Armenian families (=420) in 1927. This number reached to 553, in 1932 (147 men, 138 women and 135 girls), with their local church, St. Toros. They were farm hands and farmers.⁷⁶ But due to difficult conditions, many took refuge in Constantinople in 1934.⁷⁷ Some of these returned to their homeland, where in 1935 they numbered around 200.⁷⁸

In 1925 there were 105 Armenians in Manjesen, with a local council. This number fell to 95 in 1926, to 8 families (3 men, 7 women, 3 boys, 6 girls) in 1927 and to 6 families (7 men, 12 women, 15 boys, 5 girls) in 1929.⁷⁹

- A report of 1927 recorded that there were 47 Armenians in Beoleren.⁸⁰ In 1929 there were 6 families (=8 men, 12 women, 4 boys, 4 girls) in Koomkooyoo, 1 family (2 men, 2 women, 2 boys) in Aghernas (which remained unchanged till 1932), 1 family (=2 men, 2 women, 2 boys) in Nuse/Nirze, 2 Armenians in Geomej, 4 in Saler, 28 in Erkilet (the number decreased to 15 in 1930).⁸¹

The fact that in 1931, during a visit by the Cesaria vice prelate to the Cesaria villages of Booroonkeshla, Terzili, Toprakpoonar, Kazelar, Karayakoob, Bebek, Hamza, Kurdkeoy, Keohne, Tashlek, Karakaya, Injirli, Injechayer, Fakebey, and Dzorker 534 Armenians were baptized, unveils the extent of the isolation of these Armenians from even their regional center!⁸²

The 1932 report of a number of Cesaria villages depicted the following picture: in Karayakoob there were 14 Armenian families (=75, 21 men, 23 women, 14 boys, 17 girls), working on leased land. In Bebek, there were 40 families (64 men, 78 women, 51 boys, 40 girls), in Peohreng, there were 2 families (=11, 2 men, 2 women, 2 boys, 5 girls), in Sarehamza, there were 29 families (=125, 33 men, 34 women, 33 boys, 25 girls), in Daneshman Chiflik, there were 2 men, 3 women, 3 boys, 2 girls, in Keohler/Yeshilova, there were 14 families (=70, 19 men, 25 women, 12 boys, 14 girls), and in Injirli, there were 27 families (=141, 27 men, 31 women, 48 boys, 35 girls).⁸³

Konya and the Environs (Konya, Yozgat, Boghazlian, Enguri)

In early 1920, Konya was a refugee post, where deportees were gathered and exiled.⁸⁴ Reports of that year claimed that the situation was calm there, people were busy with their work,⁸⁵ and Father Ardavazt Surmeyan was appointed and approved as the Patriarchal representative for the areas under Kemalist control.⁸⁶ But in late 1920, accused of participating in the anti-Kemalist movement in Konya, Father Surmeyan and 70-80 Armenian and Greek families were expelled to Sivas, while a number of local Armenian dignitaries were hung in Konya.⁸⁷ This left the Armenians of Konya in a desperate mood, but under the leadership of B. Kechian, they did their best to avoid further negative implication on the educational field, in cooperation with the American Relief, which allocated a monthly amount for the needy school-children.⁸⁸ The Greco-Turkish war too had a negative impact on the Armenians in the region. The Millis uprooted the 2500 Armenians of Afion Karahisar to Konya. On their way, a number of the uprooted children died.⁸⁹ These refugees mixed with the Konya and Eskişehir Armenians were deported to Sivas then to Hafik, Köçhisar (further east), and Bitlis, while others reached to Aleppo.⁹⁰ Eventually, all the Armenian males above 12, who lived in the vicinity of the railroad were uprooted,⁹¹ while the remaining Armenian women in Konya and Karahisar worked in the newly opened workshops of the Turkish authorities to produce military items, mainly clothing. They worked for 30-60 piasters per day.⁹² According to a report of the British Embassy of Constantinople and the Near East Relief, there were 9994 Armenians in the region of Konya in late 1922.⁹³ A short-lived gossip that the Kemalists had started to call back the exiled Armenians, and that Father Surmeyan was sent back to Sivas, was not confirmed. It seemed that such news were initiated by the Kemalists to counter foreign criticism about their handling of the minority problem and show eagerness to make some improvements before the convening of the Eastern Conference for the minorities of Asia Minor, to win the case. On the Armenian side, these news were observed with reservation.⁹⁴ Other reports spoke that the clerics of the Armenian Protestant and Catholic communities were exiled to Nigde unexpectedly, and that their homes were searched by the government.⁹⁵ In this turmoil a valuable loss was recorded by the death of the poet Diran Cherakian, who as a preacher of the Sabbathians, had gone to Konya, but exiled to Kharput and killed on the way.⁹⁶

For the Konya Armenians a new era started after April 1923. Now they officially numbered not more than 15 families, because of a wave of new pressures which forced them to conceal their identities.⁹⁷ Later on, this number got bigger and reached to 448 because of the arrival of Armenians scattered in the region. The community lacked school and church in 1925 and the school age children attended the Jesuit school. In the early 1930's, the town counted 800 Armenians, which fell by around 400 in the

mid-1930's, when Konya and Ereyli counted 40 families each (Ereyli village counted 269 Armenians in 1927 (66 men, 87 women, 68 boys, 68 girls)),⁹⁸ earning their living through crafts and trade. The community boasted of an Armenian lawyer Khachig Karayan who lived there since 1915.⁹⁹ Eventually, reports of the late 1930's recorded that in Konya city and neighboring Ereyli and Aksaray villages, there were around 600 Armenians, of whom 10% were craftsmen, 5% shopkeepers, 40% farm hands, coppersmiths, cobblers and cart drivers, a dentist, Voskan Gulistanian, and a well credited physician, Dr. Simon bey Terzioghloo.¹⁰⁰

2.

In 1920, the Armenian community affairs of Yozgat were run by the prelate of Cesaria who could not pay official visits to the neighboring villages for security reasons.¹⁰¹ 500 Armenian orphans were sheltered in the local orphanage then.¹⁰² Later on things improved a bit. The community was granted a vice prelate, Father Saradjian who in his letter to the Constantinople Patriarchate, reported that there were around 500 Armenians in Yozgat in extreme difficult conditions.¹⁰³ Other reports of 1922 hinted that some Armenians were leaving the area and many others would quit if moving restrictions and hindrances were lifted.¹⁰⁴ In 1923 reports disclosed that there were a few thousand Armenian women, girls and boys in Yozgat (which was then renamed Bozavek) and the surroundings, wandering around and in extreme need of safety and care.¹⁰⁵ The request of priests was a recurring demand of all the hinterland Armenian remnants, who tried to find consolation to their appalling conditions through spiritual leadership. But these requests were not responded.¹⁰⁶ In 1925 there were around 1000 Armenians in Yozgat, with a similar number in the surrounding 9 villages. Most of these dealt with trade, crafts and did landwork. Community affairs was run by a local body.¹⁰⁷ Father Seroype Bourmayer's report of 1925 suggested that there were 800-1000 Armenians in Yozgat, with no school for years, a church with 2 deacons conducting the church services. Father Bourmayer depicted an agonizing picture of the Armenians of Yozgat, stating that most of them sold *arak*, which led to obscene acts and immorality. Others spent their time in the *khahves*, gambling: "The scene is terrible in Yozgat. They are in lamentable conditions. There are 100-150 children and orphans between the ages 5-12 who need to be taken to Cesaria orphanage to save them from the Sodom-Gomorah they are in," he concluded.¹⁰⁸ It seems that later on social conditions improved a bit, since reports of 1926 informed nothing about a deteriorating social atmosphere but claimed that around 600 school age children were not attending school. Some of the community estates were burnt down into ashes in a fire that broke out in May.¹⁰⁹ This event reduced the income of the community and left the church expenses uncovered. In 1927 there were 200-250 families in Yozgat, with no

priest, but a deacon conducting church services.

In 1928 this number was reduced by half (150 males, 350 women), the males working in crafts and trade. The Patriarchate had recommended to open a Kindergarten, pledging to finance the expenses. Interestingly enough, the number of the Armenians in the surrounding villages was reported to be around 5000, working on land, with no school and church,¹¹⁰ but their social conditions had brought forth a tendency to leave for Armenia at all cost.¹¹¹ Reports of 1929, claimed that there were around 170 Armenian families in Yozgat, Boghazlian, Bozkeshla,¹¹² Monteshe and the surrounding villages, who suffered from all sorts of difficulties.¹¹³ Yet expectations ran high upon the visit of the vice prelate of Cesaria who conducted church services in the house of the Atamian family and baptized 30 children.¹¹⁴ He in his eye witness account sent to the Constantinople Patriarchate revealed that the Yozgat district numbered "thousands" of Armenians in need of spiritual leadership.¹¹⁵ In 1932, in Yozgat there were 70 families numbering 485 people (125 men, 105 women, 135 boys, 120 girls).¹¹⁶ A last comprehensive report on Yozgat city and Boghazlian district Armenians recorded that in 1938 there were around 1200 Armenians, 20% of whom were craftsmen, while most of the others were farm hands.¹¹⁷

3.

The 1920 reports about Boghazlian recorded thousands of Armenian orphans, women and girls serving in Turkish homes, calling for help,¹¹⁸ while reports of 1921 claimed that these were already massacred.¹¹⁹ The next bit of information is of the year 1925, with data that 1500 Armenians lived in Boghazlian, Soongoorloo,¹²⁰ Akdagh Maden¹²¹ and Choroum,¹²² without any spiritual leadership.¹²³ These reports were somehow confirmed in the Patriarchal report of 1927, which counted the Boghazlian Armenians to be around 100 families, doing landwork, working in crafts and business.¹²⁴ Some emigrated from Boghazlian to Constantinople now and then.¹²⁵ 1931 reports spoke of 70 Armenian families in Boghazlian, numbering 481 (113 men, 142 women, 115 boys, 91 girls), out of whom, due to an unprecedented visit by an Armenian priest, 53 Armenians of different ages were baptized.¹²⁶

As for the villages of Boghazlian, in 1925 Iydeli had 155 Armenians, mostly farm hands, with no priest.¹²⁷ Some of these emigrated to Constantinople in 1928,¹²⁸ thus dwindling the number in Iydeli to 8 families (9 men, 19 women, 9 girls, 9 boys, 45 in total) in 1929.¹²⁹ In 1929, there were 5 families (=20) in Melez,¹³⁰ 20 families (=80) in Fakrale,¹³¹ 15 families (=110) in Beoyuk Chat, 16 families (=90) in Gurden,¹³² 20 families (=60) in Belveran,¹³³ 6 families (=55) in Urnek, and at least 70 Armenians in Terziler, in 1930.¹³⁴ A single report of 1921, about Sivrihisar, claimed that because

of the massacres and deportations, only 40 Armenian women and children had survived out of a total population of 5000.¹³⁵

4.

Like the 300 Armenian orphans sheltered in Enguri,¹³⁶ the Armenians of Enguri were desperate in 1920.¹³⁷ According to reports of the British Embassy of Constantinople and the Near East Relief, in 1921 there were 13254 Armenians in Enguri.¹³⁸ In 1922 German clerics and laymen visiting there, helped the poor Armenians and even succeeded in setting free some Armenian prisoners.¹³⁹ 1923 reports spoke about 10,000 Armenian youngsters working in different workshops in Enguri, alongside a number of Armenian pharmacists and physicians.¹⁴⁰ In 1924, 1760 refugees arrived in Constantinople from Enguri,¹⁴¹ while 1925 reports stated that quite a number of Armenians, with Father Sahag Divarjian, resided in Enguri, which had become the capital of Turkey.¹⁴² Because of financial incentives, some 150 desperate Armenian families from Yozgat, Kesgin etc. flocked there. The reports of 1926 recorded that all the Armenians of Enguri were craftsmen, and that they earned a good living and conducted a free life. The community had no school but a small church in a home where mass was conducted from time to time, financed by the income of the community estates, run by the vice prelate, the local council and the provisional body.¹⁴³

Even the Catholic Armenians had a priest there and a small church.¹⁴⁴ The number of Armenians in Enguri further increased in 1931 to 1500 (=300 families), mostly craftsmen and merchants, while in the surrounding villages of Stanoz, Kalajek, Kesgin and Kershehir there were around 25 Armenian families.¹⁴⁵ But it seems that the growth of the Armenian community in the capital stopped in the late 1930's, when Father Sahag quit his 200 families strong parish.¹⁴⁶

Black Sea Coastal Areas (Trabizon, Samson, Kastemouni, Ordou, Zara, Bolou...)

According to reports, after the Armistice of 1918, 450 Armenian refugees and 160 orphans were gathered in Trabizon, alongside a number of the local Armenian remnants. They did landwork provided by the Near East Relief thus avoiding begging. Soon a mixed school, Sahag Mesrobian, was opened with a program of the Caucasian Armenian schools. The local prelacy was reorganized and Bishop Garegin Khachatourian, was reinstated in the post in August 1919.¹⁴⁷ But things deteriorated

in late 1920, due to the forceful conscription of Armenians and Greeks into the Turkish army. The Near East Relief, through Mr. and Mrs. Stapleton, rescued a number of Armenians, provided food, clothing and shelter to a section of the Armenian refugees. It cared for 3 orphanages, where 526 orphans were sheltered, at a cost of 18 piasters/day/orphan, excluding clothing expenses. Besides, 1136 refugees were fed/day and 1369 were given clothing in the orphanages. The lack of physicians and medicaments was felt in the city and the surroundings,¹⁴⁸ where according to the reports of the British Embassy in Constantinople and the Near East Relief there were 19927 Armenians in 1921.¹⁴⁹ Later reports recorded 130 Armenian families in the city, and around 70 widows, 80 male and 70 female orphans who were sheltered in orphanages, which were now managed by the prelate, Bishop Khachatourian, while the Relief continued its provision of clothing and food, through the American consulate. In the cities of the area the Christians felt unsafe. They were confined to their homes when night fell, since Armenians were being killed in the surrounding villages.

These killings enhanced the flow of the Armenians of these villages to the cities. Relations between the Prelacy and the local authorities were unsatisfactory, though the latter tried to conceal its sincere feelings towards the Armenians, because of the presence of foreign representatives.¹⁵⁰ These unfavorable conditions and the November 14, 1922 announcement which granted the Christians freedom of movement, led to the fall of the number of the Armenians in Trabizon to 120, in the end of 1922,¹⁵¹ causing an influx of Trabizonrefugees in Constantinople, which reached to 237,¹⁵² and to 1062 in 1924.¹⁵³ The status of Trabizon as an Armenian refugee center was lost after the prelate was replaced by Father Ferhadian, whose main task was to help the Armenian POWs returning from Garin, to get a document and leave the country.¹⁵⁴ In 1930 the number of the Armenians in Trabizon was reported to be 82,¹⁵⁵ with 16 in the Army.¹⁵⁶ No Armenians were reported in 1920 in Gumushkhane (near Trabizon),¹⁵⁷ yet later reports claimed that there were around 330 Armenians there, between 1929 and 1934.¹⁵⁸

2.

In 1920, the condition of the Armenians in Samson was desperate.¹⁵⁹ Reports spoke about the remaining 200 or so Armenians living in everyday fear of massacre and deportation.¹⁶⁰ The authorities confiscated the Ipranosian Trade Center and sold it. They restricted the movement of the Armenians, drew a number of them into the Milli army - acts which further demoralized the already disheartened Armenians.¹⁶¹ The act of conscription created a social crisis, since all the families depended on their males for a living.¹⁶² In the local orphanages, the Relief took care of 400 Armenian

orphans. The local Armenians (barely 300) worked in foreign tobacco companies.¹⁶³ The year 1922 ushered in a new episode in the Turkish-Armenian relations in Samson, as a direct consequence of the safety the Millis felt after consolidating their rule in the country. Now they staged reconciliation scenes. The Turkish newspaper *Hilal* wrote that to honor the local Turkish dignitaries and the Rights Defending Party, the Armenian leaders of Samson, held a dinner gathering in the Armenian Prelacy, where the Armenian speaker, Mogalian, highlighted the old friendship that existed between the Armenians and the Turks, deplored the criticism of the Western states about the minorities in Turkey and urged the Turkish government not to doubt about the allegiance and frankness of the Armenians.¹⁶⁴ After this air-cleaning act, the Kemalist authorities granted the Samson and Black Sea coastal line Christians freedom of movement till November 30, which incited the Greeks and the Armenians to quit their belongings and move to the coast, especially Samson, which now was jammed with 10,000 refugees, while 40,000 more were expected from the interiors. These refugees were mostly women and children, since the authorities had arrested all males between the ages of 19-55.¹⁶⁵ Some 300 Armenians were granted entry visas to Soviet Armenia by the local Soviet embassy.¹⁶⁶ The flow of the Armenians from Samson area continued in 1924.¹⁶⁷

Seemingly the Samson panic came to a relative halt in 1925, when around 300 Armenian residents were recorded there.¹⁶⁸ Later on this number reached to 1480 as a probable consequence of Armenian refugees pouring in from the interior. In 1928, there were 1000 Armenians in Samson and 480 in the villages.¹⁶⁹ This number fell to 800 in 1929,¹⁷⁰ and to 500 in 1931.¹⁷¹ A report of 1932 registered about 30 Armenian families there with no priest,¹⁷² living in satisfactory financial conditions.¹⁷³ A last report documented in 1938, about Samson, Ordou and other locations of the region recorded about over 500 Armenians, mostly craftsmen, and farm hands.¹⁷⁴

3.

According to a report of the British Embassy of Constantinople and the Near East Relief, in 1921 there were 5542 Armenians in Kastemouni.¹⁷⁵ This number fell to 2-3000 in 1923,¹⁷⁶ while the Constantinople Patriarchate reports confirmed that there were 3426 Armenians in the region, mostly farm hands. The local council ran the community affairs, and though 150 Armenians had quit the region that year, 108 children were born there. Around 500 school age children did not attend school, because of lack of budget. The community seemed to be disorganized. The Prelacy was run by the deputy prelate Father Dadjad Basmadjian. The law of freedom of movement enabled 120 or so Armenian craftsmen to travel in the neighborhoods and earn a living.

Some even afforded to buy a home. A report of 1926 claimed that there were around 3600 Armenians in and around the city, mostly farm hands, craftsmen and peddlers. The community lacked school, the church was open and rendered its services to the community.¹⁷⁷ The absence of a community school was a significant reason for the Armenians to leave the area. According to *Aztarar's* reporter from Constantinople, the number of the Armenians in and around Kastemouni reached to 3200 in 1928.¹⁷⁸ This number fell to 2800 in 1929¹⁷⁹ and was unchanged in 1930.¹⁸⁰ A 1938 report about Kastemouni stated that there were around 2000 Armenians in the city and the surrounding. Of these 40% were craftsmen (wool-dyers, tinsmiths, coppersmiths), 35% workers, and 5% shopkeepers.¹⁸¹

4.

A telegram from Ordou to the Constantinople Patriarchate in 1920 informed about naked and famished Armenian orphans and asked for immediate help.¹⁸² The next report is of the year 1928, which claimed that there were 55 Armenian families (108 men, and 137 women) living there. A significant number of the women were widows but generally in good conditions. They either worked or received revenues from their inherited ownings. There were 4 manufacturers, 2 fruit-traders, 5 grocers, 2 coppersmiths, 2 tailors. The others were manual workers. Church services were conducted regularly every Sunday by Father Kevork Sahagian. The church had lost its estates in 1927 and was financed by local donations. The lack of an Armenian school in the city left the 60 school age children without school, except for few who attended Turkish schools.¹⁸³ In the surrounding villages conditions were not better. In Fatsa 15 Armenian families lived, while 5 families lived in Unia.¹⁸⁴ The social conditions of the Armenians in the region seemed to be difficult in 1930, since there were over 700 reported widows and orphans in Ordou, Sinob¹⁸⁵ and Zonguldak.¹⁸⁶ The condition of the Armenians was improved in 1931, when the flow of the remnants of the Armenians from the interior to Ordou increased their number to 80 families, mostly craftsmen.¹⁸⁷ This number further increased to about 100 families, with improved economic conditions, a serving church and a priest.¹⁸⁸ This picture remained relatively unchanged till 1938.¹⁸⁹

5.

First reports about the Zara Armenians spoke about 500 Armenians living there in late 1922.¹⁹⁰ This number remained unchanged till 1925,¹⁹¹ but dropped to 80 fami-

lies in 1926, with no school and church.¹⁹² Due to the flow of Armenians from the interior to the major coastal cities, 800 Armenian residents were registered in Zara in 1927 most of them farm hands, 3 tailors, 11-12 coppersmiths, 6 blacksmiths, 2 coffee-makers, 1 goldsmith and 2 cobblers.¹⁹³ In July, 1928, 286 Armenians left Zara for Russia, while the remaining Armenians made arrangements to leave the next year. The vacuum created was filled by the Armenian craftsmen of the surrounding villages who poured into the city. The church was open on Sundays, but only a few old women attended the services.¹⁹⁴ 1933 reports about the Zara Armenians spoke of 50 Armenian families residing there.¹⁹⁵

6.

On August 14, 1920, the Bolou Armenians were attacked by the Milli Kemalists under the pretext that they had supported the Cherkez assault on the Millis. The Millis surrounded and set ablaze the Armenian quarter, locked all the Armenian children and women in the Armenian church and burned them. Out of the around 700 Armenians of Bolou only 10-15 survived to reach Zonguldak.¹⁹⁶

The only available data about Zonguldak were for the year 1922, when reports spoke about 150 Armenian families (=850 people), their males conscripted to the Turkish army in February 1921 or exiled to Bitlis, Sebastia, Enguri. They were ordered to leave the area by the local authorities within 15 days which forced them to sell their ownings in very cheap prices and take refuge in Constantinople.¹⁹⁷ As for Bafra and Hafe, 500 Armenians lived there in 1929.¹⁹⁸

Bilejik, Keotahia, Afion Karahisar, Eskishehir, Rodosto, Izmit, Banderma, Brousa..

The ebb and flow of the Turkish and Greek armies on the battlefield disoriented the residents of the war zones, causing new hardships to the refugees. This was the fate of all the Christian inhabitants of the western coastal line of Asia Minor. The defeat of the Greek army by the Kemalists created disaster in the sense that thousands of male Armenians and Greeks were apprehended and sent to the interior of Turkey. Large numbers of refugees poured into Constantinople, swelling the premises of foreign embassies, in a desperate attempt to get a visa. It was claimed that the outbreak of war caused around 100,000 Armenian refugees from Smyrna, Balekesir, Brousa, and Bigha.¹⁹⁹

1.

During the retreat of the Greek army, in 1921, all the Armenians and the Greeks of Bilejik quit their homes and took refuge in Brousa.²⁰⁰ Later reports confirmed that Biledjik was demolished. This act was registered in the bulletin of the Interior Minister of the Enguri Government, Fethi Bey, who in the secret meeting of the Turkish cabinet in December 12, read a report about the destruction of Bilediik.²⁰¹ But other reports claimed that there were still 60 Armenians there, in the end of 1922.²⁰² In 1923, according to *Tjakatamart* newspaper, there were 20 Turkified Armenian families there,²⁰³ while 395 others had taken refuge in Aleppo.²⁰⁴

2.

According to a report of 1920, the Keotahia Armenians were in a desperate situation. All Armenian males above 14 were bunched up and sent towards Eskishehir.²⁰⁵ Other reports detailed that on September 10 1920, the Turks deported 92 Armenians and Greeks from Tavshanlu and Keotahia and sent them to Eskishehir. Their destiny was unknown. The Christian grocers were forced to open their shops only to be looted.²⁰⁶ The Tavshanlu Armenians had taken refuge in Brousa.²⁰⁷ Later reports claimed that there were 200 Armenian families in Keotahia in 1922. Many others had left for Constantinople, Brousa, and Smyrna. The Armenian school was open, but it was in bad shape.²⁰⁸ In 1924, the Keotahia Armenians, numbering 100, were granted a general amnesty.²⁰⁹ In the early 1930's there were 67 Armenian Catholics in Keotahia. The Catholic Armenian church was the only one functioning there.²¹⁰ In 1933, the Keotahia Catholic prelate Father Boghos Kirejian reported that 30 Armenian families still lived in Keotahia.²¹¹

3.

In July 1921, before retreating from Afion Karahisar, the Turks looted and destroyed the homes of the local Armenians.²¹² After the Greek advance, reports from Afion Karahisar, Keotahia, and Eskishehir informed that the local Greek authorities were being very helpful to the refugees. But the latter were afraid that the Greek authorities might leave. In Afion Karahisar, there were 300 Armenian families, in bad economic conditions, since nearly all their male members had disappeared. They had a school of 150-200 pupils, next to the Armenian church. Greeks and Armenians

conducted the mass in the Armenian church.²¹³ After a brief period of improvement, the situation deteriorated and 930 people took refuge in Constantinople, most of them from Eskişehir, Djerahi, Afion Karahisar, Bilejig, Brousa and Seolez.²¹⁴ Only 4 Armenian families lived in Afion Karahisar (7 men, 10 women, 8 boys, 6 girls) in 1928.²¹⁵ It was reported that the new MP of Afion, Berj Kerestegian, had changed his name to Berj Turkeri. He spoke 8 languages.²¹⁶

4.

In 1922 there were 150-120 Armenian families in Eskişehir, mainly working in the railway company.²¹⁷ With the Greek army advance, this number reached to 500 families, gathered from different locations. The Greek government was providing whatever available to the needy people. The Armenian Patriarchate ordered Father Ghazaros, to return to his flock at Eskişehir.²¹⁸ Yet, after a brief period of calm, most of the local Armenians left for Brousa and Constantinople,²¹⁹ after the retreat of the Greek army. There were 100 Armenians left in Eskişehir in 1925.²²⁰ A last report about Eskişehir, Afion Karahisar and the surrounding villages claimed that in 1929 there were 300 Armenians, mostly women.²²¹

5.

Reports of 1920 claimed that the Armenians and Greeks of Rodosto were massacred.²²² After the Greek advance things improved. The Greek government distributed 1500-2000 bread every next day to the refugees. The Relief was being helpful too. It reported from Rodosto that on the outskirts of the city, in the militia houses, there were 6400 refugees to whom soup was given every day and meat twice a week. A number of buildings were renovated to be used as schools. A health committee monitored the health of the deportees.²²³

But things changed. After the defeat of the Greek army, the Armenian refugees were gathered in 4 locations: Rodosto, Silivri, Sharkeoy and Murefte. The majority jammed Rodosto, where there were not enough buildings and many refugees were left on the streets. There were 2-3 refugee families in every local Armenian family's home. But because of the ensuing problems like food shortages, the Patriarchate transported some of them to different towns of Western Thrace. In October 1922 there were 9-10000 refugees in Rodosto 4000 in Silivri 1500 in Chorloo, 500 in Oozoon Keopru.²²⁴ All in all there were around 100,000 refugees in Rodosto. The Prelate of Thrace,

Archbishop Yervant Perdahjian, was sent to Rodosto to organize aid to the refugees.²²⁵ Nevertheless, reports of December 1922, claimed that no Armenians were left in Rodosto.²²⁶ But later reports claimed that there still were 120 Armenian families.²²⁷ Some 20 Armenian families left the area, but there remained around 100 Armenians in 1924.²²⁸ This number reached to around 300. 60-70 school age children did not attend school. There was a church but not a priest. The dead were buried without a priest.²²⁹ In 1936, Rodosto city had 95-100 Armenians. The local Armenian and Greek churches were demolished totally. There were no priests, neither were there religious activities. The cemetery of Takavor street was turned into a cultivated land. St. Hovhannes school was turned into a Turkish nursery, while the Jesuit school had become a Turkish Elementary school. The Armenians were forbidden to speak Armenian. They were all farm hands and financially poor. The youngest in the community was 21 years old. He could not read neither write Armenian.²³⁰

6.

The around 8000 Armenians taking refuge in Sharkeoy (a village of 1000 homes which was 4 hours distance from Geliboli), were unable to find space in this small village. With the 1000 Armenian refugees of Murefte, they started to spread to Keshan and Malgara, where a terrible picture was in the making. All school, church and community buildings were transformed into refugee centers. Thousands of exiled people were standing at nowhere with nowhere to go and nothing to do.²³¹ In 1922, reports spoke of falling numbers in Malgara where there remained not more than 104 Armenians.²³² Later on this number dwindled to only 15.²³³

7.

It seems that in June-July 1920, Izmit was the refugee center of the area. Refugees gathered there from Ovajek, Zakarkugh, Jamavayr, Kourdbelen, Sabanja, Akhisar, Khaskal, Adapazar, Daghkugh, Deongel,²³⁴ Armash, Bardizag, Arslanbek.²³⁵ But the resignation of the Greek PM Venizelus caused panic among the local inhabitants.²³⁶ Out of the 18,000 refugees in Izmit and the surroundings 6,000 were Armenians. The Relief had authorized Miss Storger to be in charge of helping the needy. Only three people had died of hunger, but kids begged on the streets and the refugees lived in very poor conditions. Their largest camp was the second floor of an empty and damp warehouse. The floor had holes of up to 4cm. wide. Others lived in stables. 1500

refugees lived in the demolished village of Rahmiye Keoy, where most of the homes did not have doors nor window panes.²³⁷ Some 100 Armenians of Merdegeoz and Yalak Dere, after being looted by the Milli chetes, were taken to an unknown destination and nothing was heard about them. Out of the 45 cities and villages of the Izmit region, only three were still standing: Izmit, Adapazar and Bardizag.²³⁸ Mid-1921 reports confirmed that not a single Christian had remained in the Izmit region, and that the Prelate, Archbishop Hovagimian, had left to Tekirdagh with his parish.²³⁹ The 1922 reports informed that the 300 female orphans of the American orphanage of Izmit, were transported to Constantinople and settled in Yeni village.²⁴⁰

8.

After the success of the Greek army, in early 1920 Armenian and Greek deportees were resettled in Banderma, Balekesir and the surroundings, but a year later their dreams were shattered²⁴¹ upon the reports that PM Venizelus had resigned.²⁴² After the fall of Banderma into Turkish hands most of the local Armenians preferred to leave for Thracea.²⁴³ Banderma was set on fire.²⁴⁴

9.

In 1920, in Brousa and the surroundings, the situation was quite satisfactory and it seemed unlikely that looting or massacres might happen.²⁴⁵ The town of Brousa, recaptured by the Greeks, had a population of 6193 Armenians before the war. Now 1600 had returned. There were 1373 houses of which, 700 remained intact. The church had 49 estates, with 450 pounds income, out of which 250 pound was allocated to the school. In Brousa there were 3 American orphanages, one with 135 boys, the second with 45 girls and the third with 59 boys. (The community school had 300 boys in 1920.) In Brousa and the surroundings out of the 50 silk factories 40 belonged to Armenians, but only 3 Armenians had reestablished their factories.²⁴⁶ Later on, the Turkish army advanced and the Millis burned down a number of villages in the region. The newly settled Armenians escaped to Yalova.²⁴⁷ But in November 1921, 7500 Greek, 3700 Armenian and 3100 Turkish refugees were registered in Brousa.²⁴⁸ The Prelate, Father Sarkis Der Sarkissian, reported to the Patriarchate that the people of Brousa were busy with their business and work.²⁴⁹ A later report of March 1922, claimed that there were around 3500 Armenian refugees in Brousa. The Armenians of 12 villages, plus the local Armenian residents of Brousa numbered 8500, with a

functioning school.²⁵⁰ After the advance of the Milli army, the Turkish authorities of Brousa demanded the 15 Armenian and 20 Greek families of Brousa to leave the town for Constantinople. The authorities provided them with trains till Mudania, and a steamship from then on.²⁵¹ Later reports claimed that there were 274 families and 967 individuals in Brousa.²⁵² Eventually, the local Armenian school was turned into Turkish, while the church was closed.²⁵³

10.

After the advance of the Greek army, it was revealed that the Armenian church of Balekesir was almost in ruins. Only the walls were standing.²⁵⁴ Christian life resumed quickly, and statistics showed that in Balekesir region there lived 1500 Armenians, in Balia-Maden 300, in Edremid 15, in Havran 10, in Kemer 30, in Ayvalek 30, in Armood Ovase 25, in Keboosa 45.²⁵⁵ Yet this revival was shortlived, because as soon as the Turks reoccupied Balekesir reports unveiled that the Armenian women and children of Balekesir were exiled.²⁵⁶

11.

Reports of 1921 about life in Edirne spoke that since the occupation of the Greeks, the Armenians were in perfect peace. They started to rebuild their houses. The local Armenian school started functioning under the auspices of a Board of Managers, with Dr. Khatcherian as the principal. The Elementary school had four teachers and 60 pupils. The Kindergarten had around 70 children.²⁵⁷

Yet this picture was stained a year later when Edirne, Keshan, Kirk Kilise and the surroundings were totally depopulated.²⁵⁸ In 1925 around 60 Armenian families lived there, in difficult conditions.²⁵⁹ In nearby Karaaghaj there were 58 Armenian families (=147). These were blacksmiths, textile sellers, grocers, and farm hands.²⁶⁰ This number fell to a total of 150 for Edirne and Karaaghaj, mostly in good financial conditions. But the tragic part was the fact that the Armenian population was growing older. Marriages and baptism did not take place. In 2-3 years only 2 marriages were celebrated. The spiritual services were conducted by the local Bulgarian priests. 2 of the Armenian churches were confiscated by the government. The St. Toros church was turned into a dancing salon, while the church of Karaaghaj was closed.²⁶¹ In 1928, the Edirne Armenians petitioned the Patriarchate to send them a priest from time to time for religious purposes. This was positively met.²⁶²

The Faith of the Constantinople Armenians

Early reports claimed that there were 54.799 Armenians in Constantinople in 1920,²⁶³ but according to the reports of the Constantinople British Embassy and the Near East Relief, in 1921 there lived 150.000 Armenians in Constantinople and 131.000 in the interior,²⁶⁴ while the League of Nations' investigation team reported that there were still 1.250.000 Christians in Asia Minor in 1922. These were the remnants of the 3.500.000 strong prewar Christians of Asia Minor. There were 350.000 Greeks and 200.000 Armenians in Constantinople, 160.000 Christian orphans, and another 90.000 orphans serving in Turkish homes,²⁶⁵ and according to the British High Commissioner another 15.000 women and children were serving in Turkish homes.²⁶⁶ Between July 3-October 1, 1923, 4.928 Armenians left Constantinople. 4502 left for France, 305 for Syria, 99 for Argentina, 14 for the USA, etc.²⁶⁷ 15.000 Armenian orphans were transported to Corfu.²⁶⁸ In October 1924, three Armenian newspapers were closed by the government, in Constantinople, the *Verchin Loor*, *Joghovoordi Dzayn*, and *Tjakatamart*, under the pretext that their owners did not live in the country.²⁶⁹

Among the 373.164 Moslems, 158.219 Greeks, 40.018 Jews and 51.006 foreigners living in Constantinople in 1924, there were 88.919 Armenians.²⁷⁰ According to Rev. Gently Cocket, there were still 35,000 Armenian girls in Turkish harems, and the missionaries were still rescuing Armenians from the horrors of Turkish harems, by paying \$5 for each person liberated. The Reverend claimed that on the faces of the girls signs were stamped so that they would be easily recognized.²⁷¹ The number of Armenians in Constantinople fell to 71.000 in 1925,²⁷² reached to 75,000, with a similar number for the interior, in 1926.²⁷³ (Other reports claimed that the number of Armenians in Anadoloo was more than expected, even though no clear numbers were available. There were Catholic Armenian communities in Sivas, Cesaria and Erzurum, but none in Van, Soormaloo, and Kars.)²⁷⁴ This number fell to 100.000, because of the continuous enforcement of the Turkification policy including confiscation of community lands, schools and limiting the teaching of Armenian in 1928.²⁷⁵ The number fell to 52.576, of whom only 44.529 spoke Armenian.²⁷⁶ But it changed to 70.000 in Constantinople and 30.000 for the interior, in 1929.²⁷⁷ In 1932 it changed to 65.000 in the city and 35.000 in the interior.²⁷⁸ This contradicted another report which claimed that not more than 80.000 Armenians lived in Turkey, of whom 70.000 lived in Constantinople.²⁷⁹

By the early 30s' the refugee waves from the interior to Constantinople had greatly decreased. In 1931 only 2000 refugees were registered in Constantinople,²⁸⁰ in contrast to the 6866 refugees in 1923.²⁸¹

As a post scriptum it is worth mentioning that a report claimed that only 57.599 people spoke Armenian in Turkey in 1940,²⁸² while in its March 9, 1995 issue, the

Turkish *Hurriyet* daily estimated that the Armenian population of contemporary Turkey was 90.000, of whom 80.000 lived in Istanbul, 700 in Ankara/Enguri, and 9-10.000 in Anadolou.²⁸³

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1. This is the second part of a research paper devoted to the fate of the Armenians in Turkey after W.W.I Armistice. For the first part of this research, see *Haygazian Hayagitakan Handes*, Vol. 15, pp. 401-430.
2. *Kochnak*, Vol. 20, No 2, January 10, 1920, p. 56. The expatriates collected 25.754 Ot. Pounds within one and a half year and sent to the Cesaria orphanage. *Kochnak*, Vol. 20, No 44, October 30, 1920, p. 1411.
3. *Kochnak*, Vol. 10, No 3, January 17, 1920, pp. 86-89. This transportation was supported by Bremont, who interfered personally to the Turkish governor of Cesaria.
4. *Kochnak*, Vol. 10, No 9, February 28, 1920, p. 281.
5. *Kochnak*, Vol. 21, No 50, December 10, 1921, p. 1538.
6. *Amerikahay*, 1925, p. 36. This rise in number is probably due to the Greek-Turkish war, during which thousands of Armenians fled to Cesaria.
7. *Kochnak*, Vol. 22, No 6, February 11, 1922, p. 216.
8. *Kochnak*, Vol. 22, No 14, April 8, 1922, p. 475.
9. *Kochnak*, Vol. 22, No 25, June 24, 1922, p. 829.
10. *Kochnak*, Vol. 22, No 49, December 9, 1922, pp. 1595-1597. Reports suggested that probably during this turmoil the Turkish authorities had forcefully collected 1270 mixed kids from Cesaria, Boghazlian and Efkere Armenians and 500 Greeks and turkified them. *Kochnak*, Vol. 23, No 42, October 20, 1923, pp. 1336-1337.
11. *Kochnak*, Vol. 23, No 9, March 3, 1923, p. 281.
12. *Kochnak*, Vol. 23, No 28, July 14, 1923, p. 888. Others left for Aleppo, where they numbered 362 in 1923. *Sooryahay*, 1925, p. 319.
13. Later reports indicated that around 300 orphans were transferred to Syria-Lebanon, while 250 orphans remained in St. Garabed monastery, 80-90 of them were boys, alongside 50 widows, who earned a living through weaving rugs. *Kochnak*, Vol. 23, No 42, October 20, 1923, pp. 1336-1337.
14. *Kochnak*, Vol. 23, No 35, September 1, 1923, p. 1116.
15. *Kochnak*, Vol. 23, No 42, October 20, 1923, pp. 1336-1337.
16. *Kochnak*, Vol. 23, No 43, October 27, 1923, p. 1368.
17. *Kochnak*, Vol. 24, No 22, May 31, 1924, p. 695.
18. *Kochnak*, Vol. 24, No 28, July 12, 1924, p. 888.
19. *Kochnak*, Vol. 24, No 34, August 23, 1924, p. 1080.
20. Earliest reports about the Roomdigin Armenians claimed that they were massacred in 1920, which was not true. Later reports of 1929 put the number of the Armenians in the village at 65 families (77 men, 120 women, 94 boys, 75 girls). *Kochnak*, Vol. 21, No 16, April 16, 1921, p. 554 and *Taretsooyts*, 1929, p. 310.
21. Later reports brought their number down to three. St. Asdvadzadzin, St. Sarkis, and St. Loosavoritch. *Taretsooyts*, 1927, pp. 337-42.
22. *Kochnak*, Vol. 24, No 40, October 4, 1924, p. 1273.
23. *Kochnak*, Vol. 25, No 29, July 18, 1925, pp. 916-917.

24. In 1920, there were 10 men and 36 women in Tavloosoon, when father Serovpe Bourmayer during a visit to the village baptized 5 and conducted 4 weddings. It was claimed that Tavloosoon was the only village in the region of Cesaria where no one was deported. The number of the Tavloosoon Armenians fell to 40 in 1925, and to 26 (5 men, 7 women, 10 boys, 4 girls) in 1929. *Kochnak*, Vol. 20, No 2, January 10, 1920, *Taretsooyts*, 1925, p. 144 & 1929, p. 311.
25. Germir had 70-80 Armenians in 1925, with no priest. This number dropped to 5 families (7 men, 8 women, 3 boys, 10 girls) in 1929. *Taretsooyts*, 1925, p. 142, and 1929, p. 311.
26. Efkere had around 60 Armenians in 1925, this number fell to 45 in 1927, and to 12 families (=50, 9 men, 17 women, 10 boys, 14 girls) doing land work and serving the Turkish houses, and eventually dropped to 30 in 1930. *Taretsooyts*, 1927, p. 337 & *Kochnak*, Vol. 30, No 15, April 12, 1930, p. 473.
27. It is "a file of beef covered with a thick mixture of cumin, salt, dried and powdered red and hot pepper, smashed garlick and tomato paste, and dried in a shadowy place. It is thinly sliced and eaten uncooked."
28. *Taretsooyts*, 1926, pp. 92-4.
29. *Kochnak*, Vol. 26, No 38, September 18, 1926, p. 1337.
30. *Kochnak*, Vol. 28, No 7, February 18, 1928, p. 218.
31. *Kochnak*, Vol. 28, No 31, August 4, 1928, p. 983.
32. *Taretsooyts*, 1927, pp. 337-42. 33. *Kochnak*, Vol. 1928, Nov. 17, no. 46, p. 1466. 34. *Taretsooyts*, 1928, p. 366.
35. *Kochnak*, Vol. 29, No 33, August 17, 1929, p. 1046.
36. *Taretsooyts*, 1929, pp. 310-315.
37. *Kochnak*, Vol. 29, No 33, August 17, 1929, p. 1047.
38. *Kochnak*, Vol. 30, No 15, April 12, 1930, p. 473.
39. *Kochnak*, Vol. 30, No 19, May 10, 1930, p. 599.
40. *Kochnak*, Vol. 30, No 49, December 6, 1930, p. 1562
41. *Kochnak*, Vol. 31, No 24, June 13, 1931, p. 731.
42. *Kochnak*, Vol. 34, No 27, July 7, 1934, p. 642.
43. *Kochnak*, Vol. 36, No 20, May 16, 1936, p. 476.
44. *Kochnak*, Vol. 37, No 6, February 6, 1937, p. 149.
45. *Kochnak*, Vol. 37, No 41, October 9, 1937, p. 998.
46. *Kochnak*, Vol. 38, No 13, March 26, 1938, p. 310.
47. *Kochnak*, Vol. 38, No 8, February 19, 1938, p. 190.
48. In 1929, in Oozoonloo there were 12 families (19 men, 27 women, 25 boys, 25 girls), it reached to 20 families in 1932 (25 men, 20 women, 30 boys, 35 girls). *Taretsooyts*, 1929, p. 310 & 1932, p. 304.
49. In 1925, in Bunyan and the surrounding Gigi, Scvghen and Sare Oghlan villages there were 195 Armenians. This number reached to 200 for the Bunyan-Hamidiye area in 1927, but fell to 30 in 1930, and to 10 in 1938. *Taretsooyts*, 1925, p. 142, *Kochnak*, Vol. 30, No 15, April 12, 1930, p. 473 & *Armaghan*, p. 41.
50. There were 15 Armenians in Aziziye in 1930. *Kochnak*, Vol.30, No 15, April 12, 1930, p. 473 & Vol. 38, No 13, March 26, 1938, p. 310.
51. *Kochnak*, Vol. 38, No 33, August 13, 1938, p. 785.
52. *Kochnak*, Vol. 21, No 30, July 23, 1921, p. 994. There were 100 refugees in Aleppo in 1923, from Everek. *Sooryahay*, 1925, p. 319.
53. *Kochnak*, Vol. 25, No 9, January 28, 1925, p. 281.
54. *Kochnak*, Vol. 25, No 34, August 22, 1925, p. 1076.
55. *Taretsooyts*, 1925, p. 142, and 1926, p. 94.
56. *Taretsooyts*, 1926, pp. 94-6.

57. *Taretsooyts*, 1927, pp. 337-339.
58. *Taretsooyts*, 1928, p. 367
59. *Kochnak*, Vol. 29, No 33, August 17, 1929, p. 1047.
60. *Kochnak*, Vol. 33, No 22, April 22, 1933, p. 381.
61. *Kochnak*, Vol. 35, No. 32, August 10, 1935, p. 763.
62. *Kochnak*, Vol. 38, No 30, July 23, 1938, p. 716 & Vol. 38, No 33, August 13, 1938. p. 785.
63. *Armaghan*, pp.41-42.
64. *Kochnak*, Vol. 20, No 7, February 14, 1920.
65. *Kochnak*, Vol. 24, No 19, May 10, 1924, p. 600.
66. *Taretsooyts*, 1925, p. 142, 1926, p. 92, and 1927, p. 337.
67. *Kochnak*, Vol. 30, No 15, April 12, 1930, p. 473.
68. *Kochnak*, Vol. 33, No 24, June 17, 1933, p. 573.
69. *Kochnak*, Vol. 25, No 9, January 2x, 1925, p. 281.
70. *Kochnak*, Vol. 25, No 15, April 11, 1925, p. 472.
71. *Taretsooyts*, 1929, p. 310.
72. *Kochnak*, Vol. 25, No 9, January 28, 1925, p. 281.
73. *Taretsooyts*, 1925, p. 142, 1926, pp. 92-96, and 1929, p. 312.
74. *Kochnak*, Vol. 30, No 13, March 29, 1930, p. 405.
75. *Taretsooyts*, 1926, p. 94.
76. *Taretsooyts*, 1927, p. 343, and 1932, pp. 302-304.
77. *Kochnak*, Vol. 34, No 5, February 3, 1934, p. 116.
78. *Kochnak*, Vol. 35, No 30, July 27, 1935, p. 715.
79. *Taretsooyts*, 1925, p. 144, 1927, p. 337, and 1929, p. 310.
80. *Taretsooyts*, 1927, p. 337
81. *Kochnak*, Vol. 30, No 15, April 12, 1930, p. 473, *Taretsooyts*, 1929, p. 310, and 1932, p. 304.
82. *Kochnak*, Vol. 31, No 39, September 26, 1931, p. 1243.
83. *Taretsooyts*, 1932, pp. 303-304.
84. *Kochnak*, Vol. 20, No 2, January 10, 1920, p. 56.
85. *Kochnak*, Vol. 20, No 32, August 6, 1920, p. 1034.
86. *Kochnak*, Vol. 20, No 25, June 19, 1920, p. 808.
87. *Kochnak*, Vol. 21, No 3, January 15, 1921, p. 135 and Vol. 21, No 6, February 5, 1921, p. 241.
 Surmeyan's next exile station was Garin, while later reports claimed that while trying to escape to Batumi with 8 Armenians, he was apprehended to the Sivas War Tribunal. Even though later reports refuted these, due consideration should be given to the impact of such gossip on the already humiliated Armenians of Konya and the neighborhoods.
88. *Kochnak*, Vol. 21, No 20, May 14, 1921, p. 683.
89. *Kochnak*, Vol. 21, No 32, August 6, 1921, p. 1065.
90. *Kochnak*, Vol. 21, No 42, October 15, 1921, p. 1279.
91. *Kochnak*, Vol. 22, No 4, January 28, 1922, p. 125.
92. *Kochnak*, Vol. 21, No 43, October 22, 1921, p. 1312.
93. *Kochnak*, Vol. 23, No 3, January 20, 1923, p. 85.
94. *Kochnak*, Vol. 22, No 9, March 4, 1922, p. 315. Later reports from Konya, refuted these and confirmed that even the women and children of Konya were expelled.
95. *Kochnak*, Vol. 22, No 24, June 17, 1922, p.795.
96. *Kochnak*, Vol. 22, No 39, September 30, 1922, p. 1279.
97. *Kochnak*, Vol. 25, No 2, January 10, 1925, p. 55.
98. *Taretsooyts*, 1925, p. 145, 1930, p. 145, and 1927, p. 344.

99. *Kochnak*, Vol. 34, No 38, September 22, 1934, p. 908.
100. *Armaghan*, p. 42.
101. *Kochnak*, Vol. 20, No 3, January 17, 1920, p.87.
102. *Kochnak*, Vol.20, No 7, February 14,1920, p.87.
103. *Kochnak*, Vol.22, No 18, May 6, 1922, p.602.
104. *Kochnak*, Vol.22, No 51, December 24,1922, p.1659.
105. *Kochnak*, Vol. 23, No 45, November 10, 1923, p.1431.
106. *Kochnak*, Vol. 24, No 27, July 5, 1924, p. 857.
107. *Taretsooyts*, 1925, p. 141.
108. *Kochnak*, Vol. 25, No 4, October 10, 1925, p.1197.
109. The Yozgat church was looted in 28 October 1923. *Kochnak*, Vol. 23, No 49, December 8, 1923, p.1562.
110. *Taretsooyts*, 1926, p. 96, 1927, p. 345, and 1928, p. 367.
111. *Kochnak*, Vol.28, No 6, February 11, 1928, p. 186.
112. In 1929, there were 85 Armenian families (=600) in Bozkeshla. *Taretsooyts*, 1932, p. 304.
113. *Kochnak*, Vol. 29, No 33, August 17, 1929, p. 1047.
114. *Kochnak*, Vol. 31, No 35, August 29, 1931, p. 1117.
115. *Kochnak*, Vol. 32, No 6, February 6, 1932, p. 188.
116. *Taretsooyts*, 1932, p. 304.
117. *Armaghan*, p.42.
118. *Kochnak*, Vol. 20, No 3, January 17, 1920, p. 87.
119. *Kochnak*, Vol. 21, No 16, April 16, 1921, p. 554. The *qaimakam* of Boghazlian, after being stripped off his post, pushed the local Turks to attack the Armenian villages and loot the poor people. 3 brides from Tchokradan, 3 girls from Roomdigin and 2 brides from Gurdi villages were kidnapped. *Kochnak*, Vol. 20, No 2, January 10, 1920, p. 56.
120. In Soongoorloo there were 25 families in 1934. *Taretsooyts*, 1934, p. 290.
121. 1924 reports spoke that through Mersin, 50 Armenian refugees arrived in Alexandretta, from Akdaggh Maden, selling their belongings and hiring carts to travel with. They reported that there still were a number of Armenians in the village alongside the Cherkez refugees. *Kochnak*, Vol. 24, No 27, July 5, 1924, p. 857. There was 1 family (=1 man, 1 woman, 1 boy and 3 girls) in Maden in 1929. While in 1932 there were 5 families (= 29 people - 5 men, 6 women, 10 boys, 8 girls). *Taretsooyts*, 1929, p. 311, and 1932, p. 304.
122. In Choroom there were 3 families in 1934. *Taretsooyts*, 1934, p. 290.
123. *Taretsooyts*, 1925, p. 141.
124. *Taretsooyts*, 1927, p. 343. This number (100 families=600) was not changed for the year 1930.
125. *Kochnak*, Vol. 28, No 28, July 14, 1928, p. 891, and Vol. 30, No 19, May 10, 1930, p. 599, as well as Vol. 34, No 51, December 22, 1934, p. 1219. 3 families (=63) had arrived from Boghazlian's Monteshe village, to Constantinople in 1928. *Kochnak*, Vol. 28, No 28, July 14, 1928, p. 891. The village still counted for around 10 families in 1929, and 12 families, numbering 52 people (12 men, 15 women, 15 boys, 10 girls) in 1932. *Taretsooyts*, 1929, p. 311-318, and 1932, p. 304.
126. *Taretsooyts*, 1932, p. 303.
127. *Taretsooyts*, 1925, p 141.
128. *Kochnak*, Vol. 28, No 21, May 26, 1928, p.666.
129. *Taretsooyts*, 1929, p.310.
130. Other reports spoke of 1 family (1 woman, 1 boy), in Melez in 1929. This number changed into 5 families, numbering 29 people, (5 men, 6 women, 10 boys, 8 girls) in 1932. *Taretsonyts*, 1929, p. 311, and 1932,p. 304.

131. There were 17 Armenian families in Fakrale in 1932, numbering 85 people, (18 men, 19 women, 21 boys, 27 girls). *Taretsooyts*, 1929, p. 318, and 1932, p. 304.
132. There were 9 families there in 1929 (10 men, 14 women, 10 boys, 9 girls). *Taretsooyts*, 1929, p. 311.
133. The number of Armenians in Belveren in 1932 reached to 148 (35 men, 32 women, 45 boys, 36 girls). *Taretsooyts*, 1929, p. 311, and 1932, p. 304.
134. *Kochnak*, Vol. 30, No 20, May 17, 1930, p. 633.
135. *Kochnak*, Vol. 21, No 37, September 10, 1921, p. 1125.
136. *Kochnak*, Vol. 20, No 7, February 14, 1920.
137. *Kochnak*, Vol. 20, No 17, April 24, 1920, p. 543.
138. *Kochnak*, Vol. 23, No 3, January 20, 1923, p. 85, while there were 1003 refugees from the neighborhoods of Enguri, in Constantinople in 1923. *Kochnak*, Vol. 23, No 28, July 14, 1923, p. 888.
139. *Kochnak*, Vol. 22, No 40, October 7, 1922, p. 1310.
140. *Kochnak*, Vol. 23, No 29, July 21, 1923, p. 921.
141. *Kochnak*, Vol. 25, No 5, January 31, 1925, p. 151.
142. *Taretsooyts*, 1925, p. 141.
143. *Kochnak*, Vol. 26, No 36, September 4, 1926, p. 1274. This is confirmed by other reports that out of the 180-200 families of Enguri, only 20-25 were natives, while the others had emigrated from Yozgat, Kesgin, Stanoz, Kalajek, Kershehir and Nallookhan. *Taretsooyts*, 1927, pp. 344-5.
144. *Taretsooyts*, 1930, p. 144.
145. *Kochnak*, Vol. 31, No 36, September 5, 1931, p. 1147.
146. *Kochnak*, Vol. 39, No 20, May 20, 1939, p. 488.
147. *Kochnak*, Vol. 23, No 5, February 3, 1923, p. 150.
148. *Kochnak*, Vol. 20, No 34, August 21, 1920, p. 1092.
149. *Kochnak*, Vol. 23, No 3, January 20, 1923, p. 85.
150. *Kochnak*, Vol. 22, No 13, April 1, 1922, p. 440.
151. *Amerikahay*, 1925, p. 36, and *Kochnak*, Vol. 23, No 5, February 3, 1923, p. 150.
152. *Kochnak*, Vol. 23, No 28, July 14, 1923, p. 888. In fact, the whole Black Sea shore region Armenians were pushed out in 1925, when only 4-5 families remained in Trabizon. *Taretsooyts*, 1925, p. 147.
153. *Kochnak*, Vol. 25, No 5, January 31, 1925, p. 151.
154. *Kochnak*, Vol. 23, No 5, February 3, 1923, p. 150. The exodus of one of these POWs was reported. According to him, he was captured in 1922 in Smyrna, and was sent to the hinterlands with 5-6000 POWs. They reached Kars in May 1923. On the road, more than the half perished from massacres and famine. He was able to escape and reached to Kastemouni, mingled with Greek POWs. According to him there still were 1400 Armenian POWs who worked on roads in different parts of the Eastern Vilayets, cut off from the world and unable to inform about their whereabouts. *Kochnak*, Vol. 24, No 52, December 27, 1924, p. 1650.
155. *Taretsooyts*, 1930, p. 146.
156. *Kochnak*, Vol. 29, No 33, August 17, 1929, p. 1047.
157. *Kochnak*, Vol. 20, No 12, March 20, 1920, p. 380.
158. *Taretsooyts* 1930, p. 145, and 1934, p. 290, *Kochnak*, Vol. 29, No 33, August 17, 1929, p. 1047.
159. *Kochnak*, Vol. 20, No 17, 24 April, 1920, p. 543.
160. Something which was realized later by „transporting,, the Armenians of the whole coastal area into the interior, after the Milli authorities confiscated their belongings.
161. *Kochnak*, Vol. 21, No 2, January 8, 1921, p. 105, and Vol. 21, No 32, August 6, 1921, p. 1065.
162. *Kochnak*, Vol. 21, No 24, June 11, 1921, p. S09.

163. *Kochnak*, Vol. 22, No 13, April 1, 1922, p. 440.
164. *Kochnak*, Vol. 22, No 29, July 22, 1922, p. 959
165. *Kochnak*, Vol. 22, No 47, November 25, 1922, p. 1536.
166. *Kochnak*, Vol. 24, No 34, August 23, 1924, p. 1081.
167. *Kochnak*, Vol. 24, No 37, September 13, 1924, p. 1174
168. *Taretsooyts*, 1925, p. 145, and *Teotik*, 1926, p. 577.
169. *Kochnak*, Vol. 28, No 8, February 25, 1928, p. 250
170. *Kochnak*, Vol. 29, No 33, August 17, 1929, p. 1047.
171. *Kochnak*, Vol. 31, No 24, June 13, 1931, p. 731.
172. *Kochnak*, Vol. 32, No 19, May 7, 1932, p. 509.
173. *Kochnak*, Vol. 32, No 9, February 27, 1932, p. 269.
174. *Armaghan*, p. 42.
175. *Kochnak*, Vol. 23, No 3, January 20, 1923, p. 85.
176. Some 1735 refugees from Kastemouni and neighbourhoods were registered in Constantinople, *Kochnak*, Vol. 23, No 24, June 16, 1923, p. 758, and Vol. 23, No 28, July 14, 1923, p. 888.
177. *Taretsooyts*, 1925, pp. 144-5, 1926, p. 97, and 1927, pp. 345-6.
178. *Kochnak*, Vol. 28, No 8, February 25, 1928, p. 250.
179. *Kochnak*, Vol. 29, No 33, August 17, 1929, p. 1047.
180. *Taretsooyts*, 1930, p. 146.
181. *Armaghan*, p. 42.
182. *Kochnak*, Vol. 20, No 10, March 6, 1920, p. 316.
183. *Taretsooyts*, 1928, pp. 368-9.
184. *Taretsooyts*, 1928, p. 369.
185. Reports spoke of 1500 Armenians in Sinob in 1926. *Kochnak*, Vol. 26, No 44, October 30, 1926, p. 1530.
186. *Taretsooyts*, 1930, p. 146.
187. *Kochnak*, Vol. 31, No 28, July 11, 1931, p. 892.
188. *Kochnak*, Vol. 32, No 19, May 7, 1932, p. 509.
189. *Armaghan*, p. 42.
190. *Amerikahay*, 1925, p. 36.
191. *Teotik*, 1926, p. 577, *Taretsooyts*, 1925, p. 145 and *Kochnak*, Vol. 24, No 29, July 19, 1924, p. 920.
192. *Taretsooyts*, 1927, p. 344.
193. *Taretsooyts*, 1928, p. 367 and *Kochnak*, Vol. 27, No 42, October 15, 1927, p. 1338.
194. *Kochnak*, Vol. 28, No 37, September 15, 1928, p. 1179.
195. *Taretsooyts*, 1934, p. 290.
196. *Kochnak*, Vol. 20, No 40, October 2, 1920, p. 1289.
197. *Kochnak*, Vol. 22, No 47, November 25, 1922, p. 1534. It was claimed that this forceful deportation was a direct reaction to the local Greeks' national aspirations with whom allied the Armenians and acted against Kemal. The latter reacted through Fethi Bey ordering the deportation of the Christians of Ordou, Samson, Bafra, Inebolou and Trabizon to Sivas. *Kochnak*, Vol. 23, No 5, February 3, 1923, p. 150.
198. *Taretsooyts*, 1930, p. 146.
199. The number of the Armenian refugees in Greece fell to 53446 in November 1924. *Kochnak*, Vol. 25, No 2, January 10, 1925, p. 54.
200. *Kochnak*, Vol. 21, No 9, February 26, 1921, p. 327.
201. *Kochnak*, Vol. 22, No 10, March 11, 1922, p. 346.
202. *Amerikahay*, 1925, p. 36.

203. *Kochnak*, Vol. 23, No 36, September 8, 1923, p. 1144.
204. *Sooryahay*, 2nd year, 1925, p. 319.
205. *Kochnak*, Vol. 20, No 44, October 30, 1920, p. 1416.
206. *Kochnak*, Vol. 20, No 43, October 23, 1920, p. 1384.
207. *Kochnak*, Vol. 20, No 44, October 30, 1920, p. 1419.
208. *Kochnak*, Vol. 22, No 33, August 19, 1922, p. 1089.
209. *Kochnak*, Vol. 24, No 22, May 31, 1924, p. 696 and Vol. 25, No 9, January 28, 1925, p. 281 and *Teotik*, 1926, p. 577.
210. *Kochnak*, Vol. 32, No 37, September 10, 1932, p. 941.
211. *Kochnak*, Vol. 33, No 28, July 15, 1933, p. 669.
212. *Kochnak*, Vol. 21, No 30, July 23, 1921, p. 998.
213. *Kochnak*, Vol. 22, No 33, August 19, 1922, p. 1089.
214. *Kochnak*, Vol. 22, no 44, November 4, 1922, p. 1438.
215. *Taretsooyts*, 1929, p. 311.
216. *Kochnak*, Vol. 35, No 11, March 16, 1935, p. 259.
217. *Kochnak*, Vol. 22, No 10, Mareb 11, 1922, p. 346.
218. *Kochnak*, Vol. 22, No 28, July 15, 1922, p. 929.
219. *Kochnak*, Vol. 23, No 28, July 14, 1923, p. 888.
220. *Teotik*, 1926, p. 577.
221. *Taretsooyts*, 1930, p. 145.
222. *Kochnak*, Vol. 20, No 8, February 21, 1920, p. 255.
223. *Kochnak*, Vol. 21, No 43, October 22, 1921, p. 1312.
224. *Kochnak*, Vol. 22, No 43, October 28, 1922, p. 1402.
225. *Kochnak*, Vol. 22, No 42, October 21, 1922, p. 1372.
226. *Kochnak*, Vol. 22, No 48, December 2, 1922, p. 1500.
227. *Kochnak*, Vol. 23, No 4, January 27, 1923, p. 121.
228. *Kochnak*, Vol. 24, No 46, November 15, 1924, p. 1463.
229. *Kochnak*, Vol. 25, No 36, September 5, 1925, p. 1043.
230. *Kochnak*, Vol. 36, No 45, November 7, 1936, p. 1075.
231. *Kochnak*, Vol. 22, No 43, October 28, 1922, p. 1403 and p. 1406.
232. *Kochnak*, Vol. 22, No 48, December 2, 1922, p. 1500.
233. *Kochnak*, Vol. 36, No 45, November 7, 1936, p. 1075.
234. *Kochnak*, Vol. 20, No 30, July 24, 1920, p. 961.
235. *Kochnak*, Vol. 20, No 37, September 11, 1920, p. 1195.
236. *Kochnak*, Vol. 21, No 32, January 8, 1921, p. 104.
237. *Kochnak*, Vol. 21, No 16, April 16, 1921, p. 554.
238. *Kochnak*, Vol. 21, No 25, June 18, 1921, p. 830.
239. *Kochnak*, Vol. 21, No 31, July 30, 1921, p. 1026.
240. *Kochnak*, Vol. 22, No 28, July 15, 1922, p. 929.
241. *Kochnak*, Vol. 20, No 2, January 10, 1920, p. 56.
242. *Kochnak*, Vol. 21, No 2, January 8, 1921, p. 104.
243. *Kochnak*, Vol. 22, No 40, October 7, 1922, p. 1310.
244. *Kochnak*, Vol. 22, No 43, October 28, 1922, p. 1406.
245. *Kochnak*, Vol. 20, No 37, September 11, 1920, p. 1196.
246. *Kochnak*, Vol. 20, No 42, 16 October, 1920, p. 1352.
247. *Kochnak*, Vol. 21, No 22, May 18, 1921, p. 734.
248. *Kochnak*, Vol. 21, No 46, November 12, 1921, p. 1407.

249. *Kochnak*, Vol. 22, No 5, February 4, 1922, p. 154-155.
250. *Kochnak*, Vol. 22, No 10, March 11, 1922, p. 346.
251. *Kochnak*, Vol. 22, No 43, October 28, 1922, p. 1404.
252. *Kochnak*, Vol. 22, No 47, November 25, 1922, p. 1533.
253. *Kochnak*, Vol. 23, No 42, October 20, 1923, p. 1336.
254. *Kochnak*, Vol. 21, No 9, February 26, 1921, p. 328.
255. *Kochnak*, Vol. 22, No 41, October 14, 1922, p. 1341.
256. *Kochnak*, Vol. 22, No 47, November 25, 1922, p. 1535.
257. *Kochnak*, Vol. 21, No 3, January 15, 1921, p. 135.
258. *Kochnak*, Vol. 22, No 47, November 25, 1922, p. 1534.
259. *Taretsooyts*, 1925, p. 147. Other reports put the total number at 150 which is nearly the same. *Teotik*, 1926, p. 578.
260. *Taretsooyts*, 1925, p. 147 & *Teotik*, 1926, p. 578.
261. *Kochnak*, Vol. 28, No 39, September 29, 1928, p. 1242.
262. *Kochnak*, Vol. 36, No 48, November 28, 1936, p. 1147.
263. *Kochnak*, Vol. 20, No 44, October 30, 1920, p. 1411.
264. *Kochnak*, Vol. 23, No 3, January 20, 1923, p. 86.
265. This issue got out of its proportion. A committee, appointed by the League of Nations, reported on the forced islamization of female Armenians by the Turks. *Kochnak*, Vol. 21, No 34, August 20, 1921, p. 1021.
266. *Kochnak*, Vol. 22, No 44, November 4, 1922, p. 1439.
267. *Kochnak*, Vol. 23, No 44, November 3, 1923, p. 1404.
268. *Kochnak*, Vol. 23, No 4, January 27, 1923, p. 121.
269. *Kochnak*, Vol. 24, No 47, November 22, 1924, p. 1496.
270. *Kochnak*, Vol. 25, No 26, June 27, 1925, p. 823.
271. *Kochnak*, Vol. 26, No 7, February 13, 1926, p. 346.
272. *Kochnak*, Vol. 26, No 17, April 24, 1926, p. 646.
273. *Kochnak*, Vol. 27, No 30, July 23, 1927, p. 933.
274. According to reports from Constantinople, the Enguri National Meeting had established a restricted zone for the Armenians in the areas east of Samson-Mersin line. Armenians were not allowed to settle in Kharpert, Marash, Van, Cesaria, Bitlis, Adana, Aintab and Sebastia regions. Similar measures were taken against the Georgians, and Arabs. *Kochnak*, Vol. 24, No 15, April 12, 1924, p. 474.
275. *Kochnak*, Vol. 28, No 2, January 4, 1928, p. 37. A circular, dated November 28, 1920 and stamped by the Interior Ministry, addressed to the interior districts of the Turkish state entitled the Turkish authorities to forceful islamization of the remaining Armenians, confiscation of their land and forcing them to settle in Turkish villages, on condition that their number should not exceed the 5% of the village population. *Kochnak*, Vol. 20, No 2, January 10, 1920, p. 59. This policy continued later on, in 1928 for instance, new regulations dictated that the non-Muslim minority children, 7-12 years old, were to attend Turkish schools. *Kochnak*, Vol. 30, No 5, February 1, 1930, p. 133.
276. *Kochnak*, Vol. 28, No 52, December 29, 1928, p. 1658.
277. *Kochnak*, Vol. 29, No 3, January 19, 1929, p. 72. According to Patriarchal reports, in 1919 1127 Armenians got married in Constantinople, 1650 in 1920, 1237 in 1921, 928 in 1922, 688 in 1923, 507 in 1924, 439 in 1925, 434 in 1926, 228 in 1927, 249 in 1928 and 213 in 1929. *Kochnak*, Vol. 30, No 14, April 5, 1930, p. 439.
278. *Kochnak*, Vol. 32, No 36, September 3, 1932, p. 916.
279. *Taretsooyts*, 1932 p. 297.
280. *Kochnak*, Vol. 31, No 52, December 26, 1931, p. 1147.

281. *Kochnak*, Vol. 23, No 28, July 14, 1923, p. 888.

282. *Taretsooyts*, 1940, p. 47.

283. *Hurriyet*, March 9, 1995, as quoted from *Haratch*, March 10, 1995, 69th year, No 18546, page 1.

284. *Kochnak*, Vol. 20, No 37, September 18, 1920, p. 1224.

285. *Kochnak*, Vol. 22, No 24, June 17, 1922, p. 795.

286. *Kochnak*, Vol. 23, No 27, July 7, 1923, p. 835.

A.D.

ՀԱՅԵՐԸ ՅԵՏ-ՊԱՏԵՐԱԶՄԵԱՆ ԹՈՒՐՔԻՈՅ ՄԵԶ

(1919-1938)

(Ամփոփում)

ԱՆԴՐԱՆԻԿ ՏԱԳԷՍԵԱՆ

Այս ուսումնասիրությունը ամփոփում է հասցնել *Հայկազեան Հայագիտական Հանդեսի* ԺԵ հատորին մեջ լոյս տեսած նոյնանուն հետազոտությունը:

Այստեղ կը ներկայացուին Արեւմտեան Անատոլիոյ, Սեւ Ծովու Հարաւային ցամաքամասի, Փոքր Ասիոյ Արեւմտեան Նահանգներու եւ Պոլսոյ ու Եւրոպական Թուրքիոյ շրջանները, մասնատրաբար՝ Կեսարիան իր յարակից շրջաններով, Գոնիան, Եռզկաթ-Պողազլեանն ու Անքարան իրենց յարակից գիւղերով, ամաններով, Տրապիզոնը, Սամսոնն ու Քասթեմունին իր շրջակայ գիւղաքաղաքներով, Քէօքսահիան, Աֆիոն Գարահիսարը, Էսքիշեհիրը, Ռոտոսքօն, Իզմիրը, Պանտըղման, Պրուսան, Պալքեսիրը, Պոլիսը, Թրակիան: